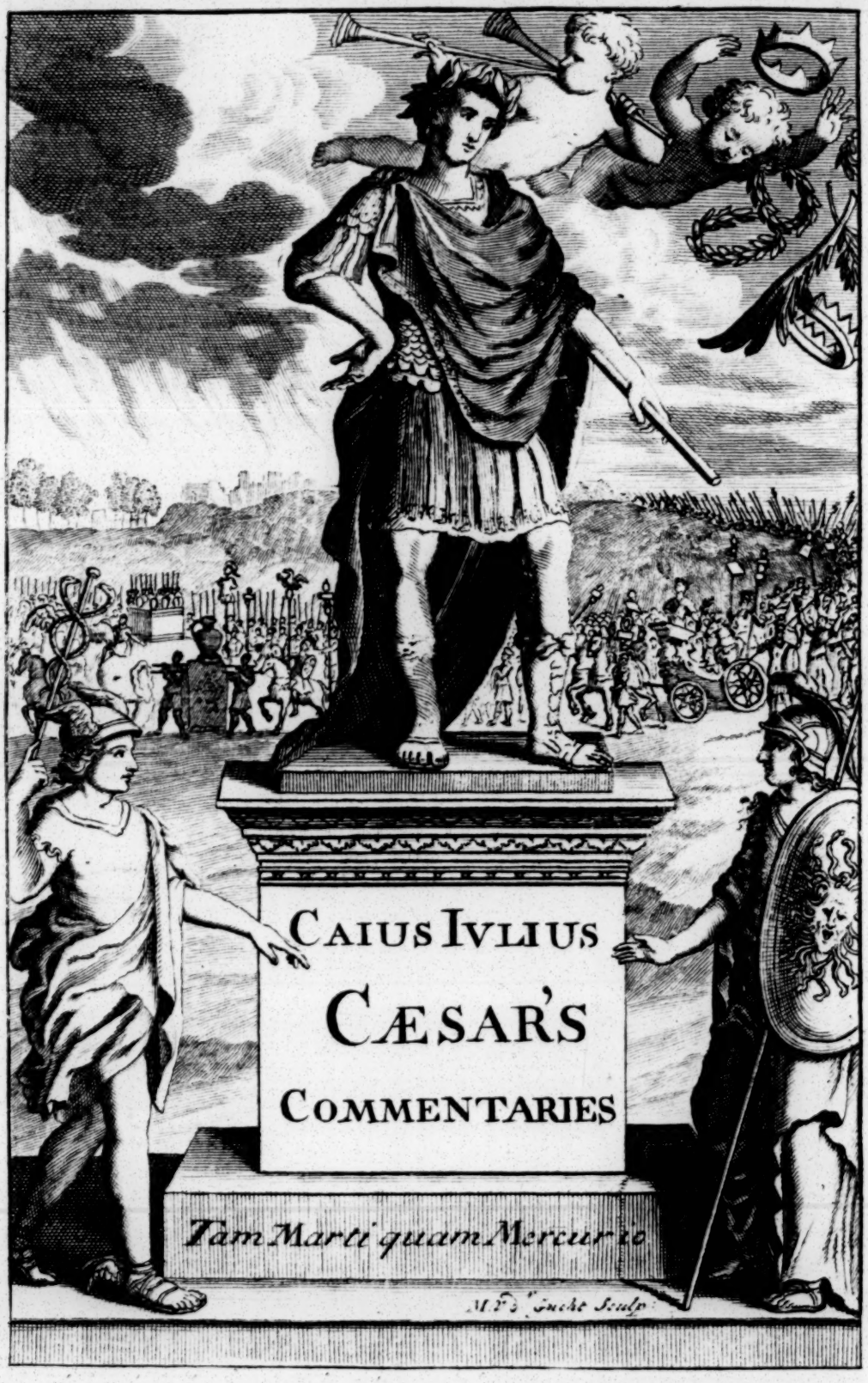

CAIUS IVLIUS
CÆSAR'S
COMMENTARIES
Tam Marti quam Mercurio
M.F.S. Gucht Sculp.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR'S
COMMENTARIES
OF HIS
Wars in *Gaul*,
AND
Civil War with *Pompey*.

To which is added,

A SUPPLEMENT to his Commentary of his WARS in GAUL;

As alſo, COMMENTARIES of the Alexandrian, African, and Spaniſh WARS,

By *AULUS HIRTIUS*, or *OPPIUS*, &c.

WITH THE AUTHOR's LIFE.

Adorn'd with SCULPTURES from the DESIGNS of the Famous *PALLADIO*.

Made Engliſh from the Original Latin,

By Col. *MARTIN BLADEN*.

THE SIXTH EDITION.

With NOTES explaining the moſt difficult Places, the Ancient and Modern Geography exactly compared, and DIONYSIUS VOSSIUS's Supplement collected from PLUTARCH, APPIAN, DION, &c. which makes a Connection between the Wars in Gaul and Civil War with POMPEY.

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Printed by *T. Wood*, for J. J. and P. KNAPTON, in *Ludgate ſtreet*; D. MIDWINTER, in St. *Paul's Church-Yard*; R. GOSLING, in *Fleet ſtreet*; T. WARD, in the *Inner Temple-Lane*; A. WARD, in *Little-Britain*; J. CLARKE, at the *Royal-Exchange*; E. WICKSTEED, in *Newgate-ſtreet*; and C. WARD and R. CHANDLER, without *Temple-Bar*.

M DCC XXXVII.

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TO HIS

EXCELLENCY

JOHN,

Duke of MARLBOROUGH,

Marqueſs of Blandford, Earl of Marlborough, Baron CHURCHILL *of Sandrich and Aumouth, Captain General of all her Majeſty's Forces, One of the Lords of her Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy Council, Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from her Majeſty to the United Provinces, Prince of the Empire, and General of the Confederate Armies, &c.*

SIR,



Perſuade my ſelf your GRACE will pardon this preſumption, when You ſhall conſider, the ſame unavoidable neceſſity that obliged the King of Spain to put his ſword into your GRACE's hands, forces me to lay CÆSAR at your feet. For who ſhould the greateſt Hero of his age have recourſe to, but the Greateſt of ours? Whoſe protection

ſhould CÆSAR court, but the victorious Duke of MARLBOROUGH'S?

Not that I wanted inclination to prompt me to the choice; but I reſolved my officious zeal ſhould not offend your GRACE, before I could bring an offering that might attone for the intruſion: 'till then, I was content, with the reſt of mankind, ſilently to adore your GRACE'S virtues; and return heaven thanks for bleſſing You with the ſucceſs, your Royal Miſtreſs's cauſe, and your own merits deſerved.

Often have I wiſhed in vain, that nature had bleſſed me with a genius, fit to record the noble actions your GRACE has done in defence of Europe; that I could oblige poſterity with ſo grateful a character, to whom ſo many after ages ſhall hold themſelves indebted for liberty; that I could deſcribe your GRACE'S moderation, wiſdom, generoſity, juſtice, mercy, your conduct, and your courage; an equal mixture of the hero and the chriſtian. But, alas! the attempt were as vain as glorious; PHAETON like, I ſhould tumble from the heaven I ſoared to, and convince mankind, my affection was greater than my power, my ambition than my prudence. Here, would the cenſorious ſay, lies the man, who eſſayed to draw the MIGHTY CAPTAIN, that he might ſet his own name at the bottom of the picture, and erect an eternal monument for himſelf, by being attendant on ſo great a perſon.

But as CÆSAR thought no body ſo proper to write his actions as himſelf; ſo your GRACE being beſt acquainted with your own wiſe counſels, deep deſigns, and happy executions, can beſt deſcribe the battles You have fought, the victories

victories You have gained, the ſieges You have formed, and the towns You have taken; nor were a leſs perſon worthy of the office.

And certainly CÆSAR, who writ as well as he fought, gave proofs of his wiſdom in leaving theſe Commentaries, where his pen has engraven the conqueſts his ſword atchieved: a truth the great HENRY the fourth of France was ſenſible of, when he tranſlated this book, and deſigned to copy after it. Had ALEXANDER taken the ſame care, many of thoſe actions which now paſs for fables, might have met with credit, when related with greater modeſty: but the preſent accounts we have of his exploits ſeem wholly poetical, ſtuffed with Greek hyperboles; and his character, with that of CYRUS, appear ideas for forming the minds of young princes, perfect TELEMACHUS's to teach monarchs what they ſhould be, rather than what others really were. But CÆSAR, who was not inferior to ALEXANDER in virtue, equalled him in ſucceſs, and far excelled him in conduct.

From your GRACE's memoirs the world might expect an impartial account of the three laſt campaigns; of the ſieges of Bonn, Limburgh, and Liege, of the glorious and ſucceſsful attempt at Schellenberg, and of that unparallel'd action at Blenheim; where the Bavarians ſtrove in vain to blaſt brave Prince EUGENE's Italian lawrels, whilſt united vigour forced them to retreat. The engineers, aſhamed to ſee their party fly, reſolved richly to vindicate the loſs of lives innumerable, by taking Yours: but the guardian angel, whom heaven appointed to protect your perſon, taught even bullets to pay your GRACE

all awful deference, and glide ſubmiſſively between your horſe's legs.

Here the eyes of all Europe were fix'd upon your GRACE, for the fate of the Empire depended on your ſword, which effected wonders; yet nothing leſs would have anſwered the expectations the world had from your management. Reading therefore the journals of this happy day, when from your all-conquering arm France received ſo fatal a blow, and the Danube gained a more glorious name than Simois, or Scamander, from the fate of many thouſands, whom your GRACE diſpatch'd to carry news of your victory to the other world, future ages ſhall break out into that rapture, with the polite and judicious PATERCULUS, *Circa Bleinheim vero, tantæ Res geſtæ, quantas audere vix hominis, perficere, Nullius certe niſi Dei!* Then comparing your GRACE's actions with thoſe of CÆSAR, confeſs You wanted nothing but the ſame independent command of an army, to have rendered You equal with him in renown. For as ALEXANDER fought with an effeminate people, ſo CÆSAR encountered the Gauls when unexperienced, though a warlike nation: but your GRACE has engaged and defeated them, with their beſt allies, after they were grown old in arms, had been inured to perpetual camps and ſieges, and long renowned for the moſt expert ſoldiers in Chriſtendom.

This defeat then, the moſt intire one France has received ſince our Black Prince led their Flower-de-luce captive into England, his Imperial Majeſty and all mankind agree was as much owing to your GRACE's conduct as your courage; a virtue always preferred by CÆSAR to the latter,

latter, witneſs his ſpeech to his ſoldiers in Spain, when he declined fighting AFRANIUS upon advantage, where his mercy ſhined as conſpicuouſly as your GRACE's at Liege.

Yet thus far ſucceſs attended HANNIBAL, 'till the rout of EMILIUS, and the dreadful ſlaughter at Cannæ made the Capitol tremble: but here, for want of conduct, ſhe deſerted him, leaving his name a proverb to poſterity: Hannibal knew how to win, he knew not to improve a victory." Fluſh'd with the pride of conqueſt, he vainly thought he had already raiſed the common wealth of Carthage above that of Rome: empty applauſe, trophies engroſſed his every thought; ſo intent was the African upon the action paſt, he could not afford one moment to reflect on accidents that might hereafter happen.

Not ſo your GRACE, whoſe deeper judgment, loyal zeal, and charitable care for Europe, taught You to purſue your fortune, whilſt by your compoſure, and wondrous ſedateneſs, a ſtranger would have judged your GRACE had been the conquered, not the conqueror. From ſuch elevated, ſuch more than human minds, the Grecians cull'd the choiceſt attributes to deck their heathen deities: hence they inform us, when their JOVE had thunderſtruck the rebellious ſons of earth, that aſpired to dethrone him; as much unmoved with victory as with their inſolence before, retiring to his cabinet, he meditated good to this inferior orb.

But whither will the delightful ſubject hurry me? I forget, whilſt I thus detain your GRACE, I am ſinning againſt the publick; that whilſt I attempt to do You juſtice, I offend your mo-

deſty; and that my utmoſt endeavours cannot add a ſingle ſpark to your GRACE's luſtre, whoſe ſurpriſing virtues have placed you as far above the reach of praiſe as envy. Let me therefore, Sir, only beg you would graciouſly pleaſe to accept this tranſlation, as an earneſt of my moſt profound reſpect.

So may thoſe powers that have already made your name immortal, long preſerve your GRACE's life for the univerſal good of mankind: long may the QUEEN be bleſſed in ſuch a Subject, England in ſuch a General; may conſtant ſucceſs attend your GRACE's enſigns; ſtill may You continue the Darling of Europe, and the Terror of France.

I am,

SIR,

Your GRACE's

Moſt Obedient, moſt Devoted,

And moſt Humble Servant,

MARTIN BLADEN.

TO THE READER.

SO much of this book as CÆSAR writ himſelf, was tranſlated into Engliſh, and illuſtrated with notes by Mr. EDMUNDS, for the uſe of Prince HENRY, the hopes of our nation, in the reign of King JAMES the firſt: and whether the difficulty of the work, or the diſadvantage of coming after ſo great a man, has prevented others from attempting a new verſion, I know not; but no body hitherto has obliged the world with an eſſay of this nature.

Theſe reaſons, I muſt confeſs, with the trouble of the various lections, the impoſſibility of expounding the ancient names in ſome places with modern, and adjuſting military terms to the taſte of ſuch readers as have not been verſed in Roman hiſtory, almoſt diſcouraged me from venturing upon a taſk, wherein I had not the vanity to expect applauſe, whilſt I run ſo apparent a hazard of expoſing my weakneſs to an age that never accepts the intention for the deed. But when I reflected how much more correct the laborious criticks have made our author, and how many improvements our native

native tongue has received ſince Mr. EDMUNDS's time, I thought CÆSAR in a modern ſtile might not be an ungrateful preſent, to ſuch as either do not underſtand, or are not willing to give themſelves the trouble of reading the Latin. Nor was this the only cauſe that moved me to the undertaking; for comparing the old Engliſh with the original, I found there were ſeveral groſs errors, ſuch as applying the * actions of one ſide in a battle to the contrary party, with other trifling miſtakes, almoſt in every page; which I rather attribute to the printer, the edition the book was tranſlated from, or the defect of our language in thoſe days, than to Mr. EDMUNDS's, whoſe notes ſufficiently prove he wanted neither judgment nor learning.

And indeed 'tis a melancholy thought, to reflect with Mr. WALLER and DRYDEN, what ſtrange revolutions our language has ſuffered; whilſt a modern Frenchman may yet underſtand the barbarous jargon our Law-Reports are penn'd in, the laſting remembrancers of our Norman ſlavery; and PETRARCH ſtill ſpeaks good Italian, though CHAUCER, who died ſixty-ſix years after him, muſt have a Saxon or Scotch commentator to make him intelligible. Yet, on the other hand, when I conſider to how vaſt a degree of politeneſs thoſe two incomparable maſters, the preſent Biſhop of Rocheſter and Sir ROGER L'ESTRANGE, have arrived, I cannot help thinking they have ſaved the kingdom the expence of an academy, and brought us to that perfection our neighbours ſo much boaſt of. Our language at preſent is full, elegant, and expreſſive; our very news-mongers write better now than the moſt renowned authors about a century ago; and except one or two vulgar errors, it will be difficult to inſtance any thing in familiar diſcourſe that claſhes with grammar. If we are not altogether ſo happy as other nations in a natural turn and ca-

* *Vid.* EDMUND's tranſlation, Book V. of the Wars in Gaul, chap. 6. line 13. of the firſt column. *Ibid.* Civil Wars, book III. chap. 22. col. 2. from line 22 to 30, &c.

dence;

dence; one advantage I am ſure we have to value ourſelves upon, which will more than ballance that defect; that as the mild puniſhments inflicted by the laws are an argument of our native honeſty, our language is no leſs: we have no ambiguous words, nay, the marſhalling of them does not admit of a double meaning: Thus the traitor, who gave that oraculous advice about king EDWARD the ſecond, *Edvardum occidere noli timere bonum eſt*, was obliged to travel beyond the limits of his country for the expreſſion.

Mr. EDMUNDS's remarks on CÆSAR's Commentaries, it muſt be confeſſed, are very juſt; but every age has the advantage of the former, and the ingenious Mr. KENNETT has far out-done all that have gone before him on the ſubject of antiquities. His ſhort, but comprehenſive chapter of the Roman Art of War, may make any perſon a compleat maſter of that learning, and ſerve for a comment to explain ſuch things in the following hiſtory, as to the Engliſh reader appear not intelligible: for though VEGETIUS, LIPSIUS, and ſome others, are very voluminous upon this point, yet our countryman has omitted nothing neceſſary to be known.

'Tis fit I ſhould acquaint you, I chiefly made uſe of VOSSIUS's edition, which the learned take to be one of the moſt correct. But I muſt own, for the buſineſs of various readings, I have generally followed my own judgment, proceeding upon this maxim, That CÆSAR could not write nonſenſe. Therefore whereever the text was inconſiſtent with reaſon or connexion, though others have not, I have taken the liberty to alter it. But on the other hand, I did not think it worth my while to enter into diſputes about derivations, whence CÆSAR had his name, whence the ancient Druids theirs, from Hebrew, Greek, or Welſh; nor yet, whether the epiſtle CÆSAR ſent QUINTUS TULLIUS CICERO, when beſieged by the Gauls, was writ in private characters, or Grecian letters: enquiries of this

nature

nature I refer to thoſe Gentlemen, who have more leiſure and curioſity than I. For in my opinion, whoever makes a progreſs in ſpeculations of this kind, when he appears in publick, will convince the world he has miſpent abundance of time; and whilſt he endeavours to ſhew his reading, betray his want of judgment.

CÆSAR writ no more of theſe Commentaries than the ſeven firſt books of his exploits in Gaul, with thoſe other three of the Civil Wars: for the eighth book of the Gallic, the Alexandrian, African and Spaniſh wars, were ſupplied by other hands, whether AULUS HIRTIUS PANSA, or OPPIUS, imports not the reader much to know. All, except the Spaniſh memoirs, are very well penn'd, though not comparable to CÆSAR's ſtile: but for the laſt, 'tis difficult to determine whether they were more barbarouſly written, or careleſly tranſcribed; any man may ſoon diſcover, they owe their original to a different hand from the reſt. RHELICANUS, who is as wretched a commentator as the other a writer, attributes this ſingle book to OPPIUS, the reſt to HIRTIUS: but I am rather inclined to believe it belonged to ſome more modern author, who had the vanity to think future ages might miſtake his ſpurious iſſue for CÆSAR's; for he awkwardly apes him, uſes the words *nos* and *noſtri* upon all occaſions, to make himſelf a party to the action, which HIRTIUS ſeldom or never does; and in the deſcription of a bridge croſs the Guadalquivir, ſeems to refer to that of CÆSAR's over the Rhine, by theſe words, *ut ſupra ſcripſimus*, as we have already taken notice. All, but this worthy piece, have ſince been added at different times to Mr. EDMUND's works: and indeed it has nothing to recommend it to the publick, but that it contains part of CÆSAR's actions: for the text is ſo ſtrangely mangled and corrupt, I was frequently obliged to make both the original and the verſion too.

'Tis

'Tis the duty of every tranſlator ſtrictly to adhere at leaſt to his author's meaning, if not his words; for the latter of theſe the various idiom of languages ſometimes will not admit of, and he who endeavours to turn a book *verbatim*, may be eſteemed an able grammarian, but he will meet with very few readers. On the other hand, I am by no means for allowing ſo great a liberty as Monſieur D'ABLANCOURT has taken; ſuch as tranſpoſing whole paragraphs, leaving out ſentences, inſerting periods, and (if I may be allow'd to ſay it of ſo learned a man) miſtaking others. For though all verſions fall ſhort of the excellence of their original, yet he who renders a book into his native language, ſhould conſider he is only accountable for his own, not for his author's failings. To me it appears very ſtrange, that French Gentleman, who has aſſumed ſo great a freedom in other places, ſhould be ſo extreamly modeſt where neceſſity and even CÆSAR's meaning required he ſhould be otherwiſe.

Thus our author, deſcribing the cuſtoms of the Germans, tells us, pag. 163. *Qui diutiſſime impuberes permanſerunt, maximam inter ſuos ferunt laudem: hoc alij ſtaturam, alij vires, nervoſque confirmari putant. Intra annum vero XX feminæ notitiam habuiſſe, in turpiſſimis habent rebus.* Thus turned by Monſieur D'ABLANCOURT. *C'eſt une honte parmi eux d'avoir la compagnie des femmes avant l'âge de vingt ans, & ils eſtiment beaucoup ceux qui ſont long-temps ſans avoir le barbe, parce qu'ils croyent, que par ce moyen ils ont plus de taille & plus de force & de vigueur.*—Thus by Mr. EDMUNDS: Such as continue longeſt beardleſs are moſt commended amongſt them: for this ſome think to be very available to their ſtature, others to their ſtrength and ſinews. They hold it a moſt diſhoneſt part, for one to touch a woman before he is twenty years of age.

Here the reader may pleaſe to remark, both theſe Gentlemen are ſtrangely miſtaken in the meaning of the word *impuberes*, which in this place ſignifies not beardleſs, but virgins: to render it otherwiſe were to make CÆSAR contradict all other naturaliſts, who eſteem hair an argument of ſtrength, and inform us, that too early a knowledge of women, relaxes the nerves, and ſpoils our growth: therefore I would tranſlate it thus; "They eſteem thoſe men the moſt who have lived the longeſt virgins, which they believe contributes to their growth, vigour, and the ſtrengthning of their nerves; but nothing is thought ſo ignominious amongſt them, as to have known a woman before they paſſed the twentieth year of their age."

Next, for the proper names, I have conſulted ſeveral authors, as CLUVER, SCALIGER, ORTELIUS, but chiefly Monſieur SANSON, Geographer to the preſent French King, whom one might reaſonably expect to have found infallible in the chart of his own country: but towns have frequently changed not only their names, but even their ſituations; this therefore may excuſe what errors he has been guilty of, together with the ambition of confuting an opponent, which upon ſome occaſions would not allow him leiſure to reflect before he reſolved.

I will give you two inſtances: Uxellodunum, ſay ORTELIUS and SCALIGER, is Uſſeldon in Quercy; but SANSON will have it to be Cahors, becauſe, it ſeems, there are ſeveral of the ſame diſtinguiſhing marks to be met with there, which occur in CÆSAR's deſcription of this place, as the mount, the fountain, &c. But ſo long as all mankind agree there are ſtill exactly the ſame to be ſeen at Uſſeldon, methinks the affinity of the name might have decided the queſtion in favour of the latter. Another of his arguments ſeems to run thus, *Civitas Cadurcorum*, in CÆSAR's time, meant

meant the capital of Quercy, which is now called Cahors, as appears by the notice of the provinces; whereas in fact, SCALIGER's *Notitia Galliæ* calls *Cahors*, *Epiſcopatus Cadurſenſis*, and *Divona Cadurcorum*. Beſides, granting ſo large a *Poſtulatum*, it were no difficult matter to prove York and Aldborough to be the very ſame place; for Iſuvium, or Aldborough, was the capital of that part of England, before York was founded.

But the other is more palpable than this. SCALIGER and ORTELIUS affirm Metioſedum to be the ſame with Melodunum, the more modern name of the two for Melun, which lies upon the banks of the Sein, between Sens and Paris. But SANSON ſays this Metioſedum is another town, which he calls Meudon, about four miles below Paris. The reaſons he gives are taken from chap. 27. book 7. of the wars in Gaul, where you may obſerve LABIENUS deſigning to ſecure his retreat from Sens to Paris, commanded the Roman knights to fall about four miles down the river, with the ſhips he brought from Melun, and expect him there: five cohorts he left in his camp; five more with the baggage he ſent up the river; and ordered a parcel of cock-boats to row the ſame way with as much noiſe as poſſible, to alarm the Gauls: Who, upon advice of theſe motions, likewiſe divided their forces into three parts; one body they left over-againſt the Roman camp; *Et parva manu Metioſedum verſus Miſſa, quæ tantum progrederetur quantum naves proceſſiſſent*, &c. "And detaching a ſmall party towards Metioſedum, with orders to advance as far as the ſhips were gone before, &c." From hence, ſays he, it plainly appears Metioſedum cannot be Melun, becauſe the ſhips fell down the river four miles lower than Paris, whereas Melun lies up the river.

So great a veneration have I for Monſieur SANSON's character, had he poſitively affirmed this, without giving his reaſons, in the Diſſertation upon his

his map of old Gaul, I might have paid an implicit faith to his ſkill; for my logick taught me ſo much complaiſance to every artiſt in the way of his own profeſſion. But it happens very unfortunately, the next ſentence ſhould confute him; *Reliquas copias contra* LABIENUM *duxerunt*: "They marched with the reſt of their forces againſt LABIENUS;" who was actually with the ſhips in perſon, before the legions croſſed the river; therefore granting what he ſays, either the Gauls three parties were dwindled into two, or he has divided LABIENUS and his legions, after CÆSAR joined them.

The ſtreſs of his argument you may perceive depends upon the word *naves*, which CÆSAR has indifferently made uſe of in both places; whereas he expreſly calls the veſſels that rowed upwards *lintres*, cock-boats. But had Monſieur SANSON given himſelf the trouble of looking a little further backward, I am perſuaded he would have changed his opinion; for CÆSAR ſays expreſly in the chapter before, Metioſedum is a town in the country of Sens; and then it is impoſſible Paris could lie between that and Sens; for though theſe two were once united, yet in CÆSAR's time they were different ſtates. Beſides, the ſame chapter tells us, LABIENUS was then come immediately thither from Sens; but finding he could not get over the moraſs about Paris, returned the ſame way he came, and ſurprized Metioſedum upon his march; which plainly demonſtrates that town muſt lie between Paris and Sens.

Had he only conſidered the propriety of that phraſe, where CÆSAR ſays, after LABIENUS had rebuilt the bridge at Metioſedum, he marched from thence *ſecundo flumine*, or with the ſtream, towards Paris, he could not have been guilty of this miſtake. The very ſame expreſſion is made uſe of in the directions given the ſhips, *ſecundo flumine progredi*, to fall down along with the ſtream; whereas the cock-boats were to row *adverſo flumine*,

or

or againſt the current. But no wonder CÆSAR ſhould make uſe of the word Naves upon this occaſion, to expreſs the orders given by the Gauls, who might eaſily miſtake the cock-boats in the dark for more conſiderable veſſels, by the noiſe LABIENUS had commanded them to make.

So much for monſieur SANSON's opinion, with whom his own countryman D'ABLANCOURT likewiſe differs; for he tranſlates this place Corbeil, according to MARLIANUS; which I durſt not, for fear of offending JOSEPH SCALIGER, who wiſhes thoſe that miſtake Melun for Corbeil, a return of their ſenſes; but this critick was no more burdened with ceremony than his father: I might here take notice, that BUNO's edition of CLUVER, places Mediolanum about four miles below Paris; which name, in my opinion, is much nearer a-kin to the Dauphin's palace at Meudon than Metioſedum: but I have already conſumed too much of your time about trifles; ſo we have but a perfect account of the action, the place is not abſolutely material: Beſides, for my part, I do not pretend to be a geographer, nor will I ever envy the learned the reputation they may acquire by that ſtudy.

For one particular I muſt not omit to apologize, becauſe I perceive ſome gentlemen, for whoſe judgment I have no ſmall eſteem, are diſpleaſed at it: I have in ſome places made uſe of the French terminations for towns and countries out of their dominions, where we have no Engliſh, as Bavier inſtead of Bavaria. But if this be a miſtake, I ſhall freely confeſs, 'twas a wilful one, for I choſe Bavier as the ſhorter word; and ſince no body has hitherto naturalized Bavaria, I thought the French came nearer our language than the Latin. Our news-papers, I know, call it Bavaria, but by the ſame reaſon they might ſtill write Germania and Hollandia: moſt gentlemen that have been abroad, ſave themſelves the expence of ſuch un-

neceſſary ſyllables, and the borrowing a word from France, falls not within the laſh of the act for prohibition of commerce. I could heartily wiſh the following ſheets were ſubject to no greater errors; for I have not taken notice of others failings, to make you fancy I have none myſelf: I am conſcious of too many in every kind, which I entirely ſubmit to your mercy, in hopes your good nature will forgive them.

THE



THE

LIFE of CÆSAR.

CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR, the ſon of LUCIUS JULIUS CÆSAR and AURELIA, as he himſelf informed the Romans, in the funeral oration he made upon his aunt, was deſcended on the father's ſide from IÜLUS the ſon of ÆNEAS; on the mother's, from ANCUS MARTIUS. He was born at Rome, during the conſulat of C. MARIUS, and L. VALERIUS FLACCUS, on the twelfth of July, A. U. C. 654. of the JULIAN period 4615, and of the world 3851, about ninety-nine years before the birth of our Saviour. His genius proved him worthy the deſcent; for notwithſtanding the difficulties of a narrow fortune, his virtue raiſed him to that ſtupendous height, which few have attempted, none arrived at.

He was contracted, whilſt a boy, to COSSUTIA, a lady whoſe family, though far from the meaneſt, was not comparable to her riches: What reaſons induced him to put her away, and take CORNELIA, the daughter of CINNA, in her ſtead, I do not find: but this action, SUETONIUS informs us, encreaſed the hatred SYLLA bore him, on the ſcore of his affinity to MARIUS, who married his aunt. At ſixteen years of age he loſt his father, and the next conſulate put up for the the office of Flamen Dialis, or High-prieſt of JUPITER; whether he obtained it, or no, authors differ; SUETONIUS affirms he did; PLUTARCH ſays otherwiſe, whoſe opinion is much

much the more likely of the two; for SYLLA, having then the ſupream power in his hands, might, with leſs trouble, have prevented CÆSAR's being choſen, than turn him out of the the pontificate, after he had once gained it by the ſuffrages of the people. 'Tis agreed on all hands, this election had like to have proved fatal to him, for his early ambition rouzed the dictator's jealouſy: the preſages he made of him, are very remarkable: "You conſider not, ſaid he to the perſons that were ſuiters for CÆSAR's life, and urged the innocence of his youth, that many MARIUS's are in that boy." He therefore was for practiſing the ſame ſure, but bloody policy with ULYSSES, who after the taking of Troy, caſt the young ASTYANAX headlong from a tower. For tyrants are never free, even from needleſs apprehenſions; though this, it muſt be confeſſed, was a judgment well grounded, as appeared by the future event.

Thus CÆSAR, though labouring under the misfortune of a quartan ague, was obliged to hide amongſt the Sabines, and remove his lodgings every night: yet his utmoſt caution could not prevent his falling in ſometimes with the dictator's parties; but CORNELIUS's good nature was not proof againſt the talents he offered for his ranſome. Such was the courſe of CÆSAR's life, till at length SYLLA, yielding to the repeated inſtances of MAMERCUS EMILIUS, AURELIUS COTTA, and the veſtal virgins, vouchſafed him a pardon, though not without the utmoſt reluctancy: "Take, ſaid he, the fatal gift you ſo earneſtly deſire; but remember I have foretold you, he will one day prove the ruin of our party." So many hardſhips did our hero labour under, and ſo great difficulty was there to preſerve his life, whom fate had deſtined for head of the Roman empire, and lord of many kings.

This conceſſion in a manner extorted from SYLLA, CÆSAR judged no ſufficient ſecurity for his perſon; wherefore ſo long as the other was in power, he continued at as great a diſtance from Rome as poſſible. He ſerved as volunteer in Aſia, under THERMUS the prætor, who ſent him to Bithynia for the fleet; where he contracted a friendſhip with king NICOMEDES. Returning from thence, he behaved himſelf ſo well at the ſiege of Mytilene, he obtained a civic crown; nor did he give leſs proofs of his courage, when under the command of SERVILIUS ISAURICUS in Sicily, the time he remained there, which was only ſhort. For on advice that SYLLA's intereſt declined, he quitted the camp; but inſtead of returning to Rome, as his

his friends desired, took a voyage for Rhodes, where with CICERO he became a hearer of APOLLONIUS, MOLON's son, a great rhetorician; designing to render himself equally famous at the bar, and in the field. In this study he made no indifferent progress; and we may easily conclude from the masculine and polite stile of his commentaries, with that admirable speech on CATALINE's conspiracy, recorded by SALUST, he might have rivalled TULLY, had not more important reasons changed the lawyer for the statesman, the orator for the general, arts before as incompatible as empire and liberty, but reconciled in CÆSAR.

In his passage to Rhodes, he was taken by the pirates that infested those seas, who proffered him his liberty for twenty talents; but thinking that sum too small, of his own accord he added thirty more. Dispatching messengers to raise the money, he remained their prisoner forty days, 'till it came, attended only by his physician and two servants. During his stay amongst them, as an argument of his unconcern, he frequently employed his time in making verses and orations, obliged them to be his auditors, and if their want of judgment, or ill nature, gave him not the praises he deserved, would threaten, in jest, to crucify them, which he afterwards performed in earnest; though then it only passed for raillery, and the effect of juvenile heat.

The first proof he gave of his excellence in speaking, was when he accused DOLABELLA of male-administration in Greece; but lost more by the enemies he made on that occasion, than he gained by the applause. His second attempt, indeed, against PUBLIUS ANTONIUS, for bribery, was more successful: he engaged in this affair to oblige the Grecians, and urged the matter so home before M. LUCULLUS, prætor of Macedonia, the defendant was glad to appeal to the tribunes at Rome. Here likewise CÆSAR acquired great reputation by his address, fluent speech, and easy converse; which did not a little engage the common people in his interest: add to this, his magnificent treats, which so strongly confirmed their affections, their votes always bore witness for their gratitude.

CÆSAR all this while lived far greater than his patrimony could afford, contracted many debts, owed 1300 talents before he obtained any publick office; and his enemies, who reflected not to how great advantage he bestowed his money, did not descry the politician through the prodigal: still in vain they expected when his credit would

ſink, till he had diſcharged the moſt honourable employments in the ſtate, and effectually gained his point, by ſettling a character for the moſt generous, beſt humoured nobleman in Rome.

The firſt trial he made of his intereſt, was when he ſtood with C. POPILIUS for a tribunate of the ſoldiers, and carried it. Some time after he was choſen quæſtor, but that year had the misfortune to loſe his aunt JULIA and wife CORNELIA. It had always been the cuſtom to make orations on the deceaſe of grave matrons, but never on young women: CÆSAR, however, took this opportunity to ſhew the affection he had for his departed lady; and ſo well was he beloved by the people, they looked upon the innovation as the effect of his tenderneſs and good nature. But making the harangue in honour of his aunt's memory, he produced the images of her huſband MARIUS, which no body ever had the hardineſs to do, ſince the adminiſtration came into SYLLA's hands, who declared MARIUS's party enemies to the ſtate; a politick, bold and happy attempt; for by this means he revived their drooping hopes, and made himſelf head of that faction. But CÆSAR knew the poſture of affairs was ſomething changed; therefore thought he might ſafely venture to do his uncle that juſtice, which he afterwards did his enemy: for when the civil wars were decided, thinking it ſufficient revenge to have conquered, he was ſo far from triumphing over the misfortunes of his rival, he reſtored thoſe trophies the people had demoliſhed. Upon which occaſion CICERO was heard to ſay, "CÆSAR, by ſetting up POMPEY's ſtatues, had eſtabliſhed his own."

By this time we are to ſuppoſe he had arrived at the twenty-fourth year of his life; for not before that age, according to the cuſtom of Rome, was any perſon capable of diſcharging the office of quæſtor, or treaſurer: Now therefore he began to enter upon action. The farther Spain was the theatre, where he attended the prætor FOTUS, and acquitted himſelf with ſucceſs; yet beholding the ſtatue of ALEXANDER the great in the temple of HERCULES at Cales (whither he went by the prætor's command to hold a convention of the ſtates) he was ſeized with an extraordinary melancholy, reflecting what an unactive life he had hitherto led; whereas that noble Grecian, by his age, had ſubdued many nations. Thus as the deſire of imitating HERCULES made an ALEXANDER, ſo that of following him, produced a greater CÆSAR, in whom concurr'd the valour of ALEXANDER, the clemency

mency of CYRUS, and the conduct of FABIUS MAXIMUS.

Whilſt his head was filled with glorious notions, and an ardent deſire of rendering his name immortal, it is reported he had a dream which ſhocked him extreamly: he fancied he committed inceſt with his mother. The conſtruction the ſoothſayers made of this was, He ſhould ſubdue his mother earth: an interpretation very agreeable to the temper of the man. But the oracles and augurs of old, ſeldom ſent a votary away diſſatisfied, provided he was able to pay for the anſwer. Hence the prieſts of JUPITER HAMMON perſuaded PHILIP's ſon he was nearly related to the ſkies; and from the ſame fountain, no doubt, did many of thoſe auſpicious omens riſe, that attended CÆSAR's arms when he defeated POMPEY; little crafts deſpiſed by the wiſer ſort, but of ſingular uſe to hoodwink the populace, who never fight ſo zealouſly, as when they fancy religion and heaven are on their ſide.

After his return from Spain he married POMPEIA, leſs renowned for virtue than beauty; witneſs her affair with CLODIUS: all CÆSAR's accompliſhments, which enſlaved the world, were not ſufficient to fix the roving inclinations of a woman: nay, ſo imprudent were her deſires, ſhe muſt needs appoint the gallant an interview at her own palace when (CÆSAR being prætor) ſhe and all the Roman ladies were celebrating thoſe ſacred rites to the goddeſs BONA, where men were never permitted to be preſent. She hoped the youngſter's beardleſs age would have concealed him: A truſty maid, who was privy to the intrigue, introduced the gentleman; but as her evil ſtars would have it, the impatience of a youthful lover made CLODIUS quit the place he had been poſted in; another of her maids accidentally met him, and diſcovered by his voice, he had no title to wear petticoats. This immediately put the whole palace in an uproar, the Orgia ended very abruptly; CLODIUS was complained of, not only as an adulterer, but a prophaner of the holy ceremonies; and CÆSAR thought it high time, at once to be rid of his wife and the ſcandal: yet being ſummoned as a witneſs againſt CLODIUS, he ſaid he had nothing to alledge againſt him: "Why then, anſwered the proſecutors, have you diſmiſſed POMPEIA? Becauſe, replied he, I would not have my wife even ſuſpected."

Thus CÆSAR was divorced, CLODIUS acquitted.

Finding his generoſity turned to ſo good account, he ſtill continued to give proofs of it on all occaſions. Be-

ing elected edile, his magnificence ſo far excell'd his collegues, that the whole honour redounded only to CÆSAR, whilſt BIBULUS ſhared the ſame fate with POLLUX, the other with CASTOR, by whoſe name alone that temple in the Forum was called, dedicated to both the brother twins.

Every day encreaſed the affection of the people; and CÆSAR, relying on their favour, put up for the extraordinary government of Eygypt, becauſe the Alexandrians had expelled their king. He wanted not ſuffrages; but PTOLEMY having formerly been honoured by the ſenate with the name of friend, now found protection from his allies. This was the firſt diſappointment he met with; nor did this diſcourage him from ſtanding ſoon after for the pontificate, which became void by the death of METELLUS. CATULUS and ISAURICUS, both perſons of great intereſt in the ſenate, were his competitors; the former, dreading the loſs of his honour, privately ſent CÆSAR a conſiderable offer to deſiſt, for he had not much to apprehend from ISAURICUS: but he gave him to underſtand, he would himſelf expend a much larger ſum to carry the day. When the time appointed for the election was come, leaving the houſe, he told his mother, "She ſhould either ſee him high-prieſt that day, or baniſhed." Thus probably had he miſſed of the office, his future hopes had been for ever daſh'd: but fortune had not a mind to diſoblige the man, for whom ſhe had already cut out ſo much buſineſs; therefore decided the cauſe in his favour, by a vaſt majority of votes.

When CATALINE's conſpiracy broke out, CÆSAR was prætor: The queſtion being put, what ſhould be done with LENTULUS, CETHEGUS, and the reſt of their faction; after many ſenators had voted for putting them to death, he ſtood up and made an oration, wherein having urged the illegality of executing perſons of their rank before they had been duly tried, he adviſed CICERO, then conſul, might confine them in ſome of the municipal towns, 'till CATALINE ſhould be defeated, that the ſenate might have leiſure to deliberate on their ſentence. So ſtrong were his arguments, with ſo peculiar a grace were they delivered, and ſo wondrous an effect had they upon the audience, that not only moſt who came after ſubmitted to his opinion, but even ſome that had voted before him recanted: 'till the ſevere CATO, tranſported with zeal for the common-wealth, made a virulent ſpeech, wherein, to diminiſh the credit of CÆSAR's

reaſons, he inſinuated him to be a party to the plot, which effectually turned the ſcales. Whether CÆSAR was really concerned in this affair, or CATO's ſuſpicions were falſe, has furniſhed the world with matter of diſpute; SALUST leaves his reputation clear, and truly CÆSAR had ſo many enemies in the ſenate at that juncture, amongſt which number was the conſul himſelf, they would gladly have laid hold of ſo fair an opportunity to have delivered themſelves from a perſon whoſe popularity gave them ſo many fears. Beſides, if CÆSAR, as SUETONIUS informs us, declined embarking with LEPIDUS, much more would he have avoided an intimacy with ſuch ſhallow plotters as theſe, who admitted ſtrumpets into their councils: on the contrary it appears, they were ſo angry for want of a lawful pretence to diſpatch him, that CICERO's guards (by whoſe inſtigation may be eaſily judged) had like to have ſent him to the other world, without the formality of a ſentence: but the conſul, it ſeems, thought better of it, covered CÆSAR with his gown, and ſo preſerved his life.

Thus finding himſelf as much hated by the nobility, as beloved by the common people, his countenancing the tribune METELLUS, when he preferred laws in favour of the latter, may be the eaſilier excuſed. Upon this, however, the ſenate deprived him of his prætorſhip, but reſtored it again, and returned him thanks, when they found he modeſtly declined doing himſelf juſtice by that force the people proffered.

His præture ended, which gave him more trouble than any office he ever diſcharged before or after, CÆSAR was choſen governor of the farther Spain. His creditors, who were very numerous, grew mighty uneaſy at the thoughts of his leaving Rome before they were paid. Wherefore, to ſatisfy the moſt importunate, he got CRASSUS to be engaged for him, as far as eight hundred and thirty talents; then purſued his intended journey. Paſſing by a ſmall village on the Alps, inhabited by a few miſerable wretches, his friends in jeſt demanded, "Whether he thought the people had any diſputes for offices, or feuds about elections there? No, replied CÆSAR; but I aſſure you ſincerely, I would rather be the firſt amongſt theſe, than the ſecond man at Rome." They tell you likewiſe, as a farther inſtance of his ambition, he uſed frequently to repeat two verſes of EURIPIDES, which he thus inverted:

Nam

Nam ſi violandum eſt jus, regnandi gratia
Violandum eſt; aliis rebus pietatem colas.

If violation of the laws admit
Of reaſon, empire muſt the failing quit;
In other things to piety ſubmit.

Yet even the ſage PLUTARCH agrees, CÆSAR would have been contented with an equal, POMPEY would not.

Arriving in Spain, he ſoon raiſed a conſiderable army, reduced Portugal and Gallicia; then puſhing his ſucceſs, advanced higher, and carried his arms as far that way as the ocean would permit. Thus he proved himſelf an able general; nor had the world leſs reaſon to think him a wiſe civil magiſtrate, from the wholeſome laws he made for the peace, and quiet government of the province. This ſucceſs, when the year expired, entitled him to a triumph; but that interfering with his pretenſions to the conſulate, ſince CATO's management hindered his obtaining both, he wiſely declined the former, entered Rome as a private perſon, and with BIBULUS was choſen conſul.

This was the ſecond time BIBULUS had the misfortune of being joined in publick office with CÆSAR, who as far eclipſed him now, as when formerly edile: For whereas CÆSAR only relied on the people's favour before, now he had ingratiated himſelf with the two moſt conſiderable perſons in Rome, by reconciling POMPEY and CRASSUS, whilſt each of them courted him to be of his party. By this action he did not only gain both their friendſhips, but was adored by all men, except CATO, for a peace-maker, whoſe perpetual jealouſies foreſaw fatal events from that triumvirate, though without any apparent reaſons. Which PLUTARCH obſerves, then acquired him the title of a ſullen buſy man, though afterwards of a wiſe and unfortunate counſellor: for his caſe was exactly the ſame with that propheteſs's, who always ſpoke truth, but was never believed. And indeed his opinion was more the effect of foreſight than of any juſt ground; for ſo long as that alliance continued, Rome enjoyed her imaginary freedom; for in reality ſhe had never been free ſince the days of MARIUS. But to a people that had always been governed by two, the name of a ſingle magiſtrate, or king, was a dreadful ſound, a magick word

ſufficient

ſufficient at any time to conjure up civil diſcord, and act the moſt ſolemn murders under the ſpecious name of aſſerting liberty. And this was the fatal word which afterwards coſt CÆSAR his life.

Thus having matched his daughter JULIA to POMPEY, being ſupported both by him and CRASSUS, CÆSAR was equal to either of them: and had not the latter's untimely death in Parthia, left the other two ſole diſputants for the ſupream power, thoſe wars, which coſt Rome ſo much of her pureſt blood, had never happened: For when there is only one life between ambition and a crown, the object appears ſo near and ſo lovely, few are able to withſtand the temptation; but in deſpite of laws, human and divine, give a looſe to their deſires. Thus, in all probability, CROMWELL had not been inſtrumental in cutting off the ROYAL MARTYR's head, had not the lord THOMAS FAIRFAX, reflecting on the cauſe his miſtaken zeal embarked him in, laid down his command: a ſecond error, more fatal than the former; for this put it out of his power to preſerve the king; and all he could do afterwards, was little more than ſending his wiſhes for the reſtoration of the royal line.

Thus CÆSAR having by the intereſt of CRASSUS and POMPEY, notwithſtanding BIBULUS oppoſed them, paſſed ſuch edicts, as made him more popular than before, and diſcharged the office of conſul much to his own ſatisfaction, obtained the government of Illyricum, and both the provinces of Gaul; where PLUTARCH informs us, in nine years time he took five hundred towns by ſtorm, conquered three hundred ſtates, engaged three millions of men at ſeveral times, killed one third, and took another. But for a farther account of his glorious exploits in that country, of his actions in Italy, Spain, Greece, Alexandria, Aſia, and Africk, I refer you to the following memoirs; having only thus far deduced his life, in the nature of a ſhort appendix to this verſion. Let it ſuffice therefore to acquaint you, ſo long as CRASSUS and CÆSAR's daughter JULIA lived, POMPEY and he were in perfect friendſhip with each other: the greateſt men at Rome made their court to him, POMPEY, CRASSUS, APPIUS, the prætor of Sardinia, and NEPOS, proconſul of Spain, at once attended him at Lucca, where one hundred and twenty lictors, and above two hundred ſenators were preſent. In ſhort, the management of affairs at Rome was wholly decided by theſe three powerful

men. But when CRASSUS died, CÆSAR and POMPEY fell out; ſo the civil wars began.

How much induſtry, conduct and courage, how much mercy he ſhewed to his enemies, and how well he was beloved by his own ſoldiers, let every page in the following hiſtory witneſs for him. Even CATO himſelf, had not deſpair carried him out of the world, might have ſurvived the loſs of UTICA. When CÆSAR heard of it, he ſaid, "O CATO! how much do I envy thee thy death, ſince thou haſt prevented me the honour of pardoning thee!" But CATO's ſons lived to taſte of his mercy; CASSIUS and BRUTUS, who afterwards killed him, were received into favour; and no body aſked forgiveneſs in vain.

Thus giddy with the wondrous height fortune had raiſed him to, he returned to Rome, after the defeat of young CNEIUS POMPEY; here he was allowed five ſeveral triumphs, for Egypt, Pontus, Africk, Gaul, and Spain. Being declared perpetual dictator, he rewarded thoſe who had well deſerved from his friendſhip, and promoted ſome of his enemies. But the people enjoying peace, and having leiſure to reflect how laviſh they had been, were for reaſſuming their mighty grant. This could not be done without an aſſaſſination; but inſtruments were quickly found, and the ungrateful BRUTUS, partly prompted by ambition, partly by old prophecies trump'd up to ſerve that particular turn, and the vanity of imitating his anceſtor, that expelled the TARQUINS, became leader of this faction. Yet the confuſion Rome was in after the bloody deed committed, is a ſhrewd argument, revenge had a greater ſhare in the action than any other deſign. But divine juſtice did not long permit ſuch an inhuman murder to go unrevenged, for all the aſſaſſins came to an untimely end; CASSIUS killed himſelf with the ſame dagger that wounded CÆSAR, and BRUTUS's ill genius overtook him at Philippi.

The ſenate-houſe was the place where this tragedy was acted; many were the accomplices, when CÆSAR, having received three and twenty wounds, expired. If ever man was predeſtined to die by a certain time, he ſurely was; for divers portentous tokens warned him to beware the fatal day; nay, he had actually a liſt of the conſpirators names, with an account of their deſign, given him as he was walking to the place, from whence he never returned alive: but fortune in all ages has made the cataſtrophe of heroes very remarkable; having promoted

CÆSAR

CÆSAR to the greateſt honours ever man obtained, ſhe ſhewed him her lateſt friendſhip in granting his deſire of a ſudden death, before ſhe recalled her uncertain favours. Thus fell the great JULIUS CÆSAR on the fifteenth of march, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, having only ſurvived his rival four, and founded the Roman empire in his own blood; for after his deceaſe the common-wealth became an abſolute monarchy, the conſtant fate of ill-governed republicks. He had only the ſingle failing of ambition to prove him mortal; yet aſſuming ſupream authority, was no more than what the ſafety of his perſon required, for otherwiſe it would have fallen into POMPEY's hands, and then the conſequence muſt have proved fatal to CÆSAR: but the greateſt uſe he made of power was to pardon thoſe that offended him. Many were the honours decreed his memory, and his name was the title of eleven ſucceeding emperors.

THE

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people of Guelders. LABIENUS *has the like ſucceſs in Treves.* CÆSAR *makes a ſecond expedition into Germany. The Sicambri attack his camp; which he defends with ſome loſs; and having laid waſte the country of Liege, returns to Italy.* p. 107

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BOOK

BOOK III.

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C. J. CÆ-


HIBER
NIA
BRITANNIA
Insula
Cujus Incolæ
Aucalites
Bibroci
BRITANNI
Segontiaci
TRINO
BANTES
CANTIUM
Thamesis Flu
OCEA
NUS
CADETES
SESSUH
GALLIA
RHEC
CURIOSOLI
DONE
VENETI
LIXES
Ligeris Flu
TURONES
BITURIGES
LEMOVICES
Garunna Flu
TOSES PETRO
AQUI
Sibuzates
Uxellodunum
RUTE
VOLCE
TECTOSA
HISPANIA
Rhenus Flu
Mosa Flu
Ambia
Melodunum
Agendu
Genabum
Aurelianum
Gergovia
Narbo
North
South
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A Map of
OLD
FRANCE
by Monsr. Sanson
North
South
East
Rhenus Flu
Mosa Flu
BATAVI
Insula Batavorum
USIPETES
MENAPII
CAMBRI
TENC
TERI
GERMA
NIA
Condrustes
Centrones
Caeresi
Silva
TREVIRI
VANGIONES
NEMETES
MATRI:
Matobrisa
RHEMI
TRANS
LUCI
Melodunum
SENONES
LINGONES
RAURACI
SEQUANI
Vesontio
Madinbil
Ulteria
Amb ba
Augustodunum
AEDUI
Bibracte
Cabillonum
Bibracte
Ulatisma
Pons ad Ararim
Bannovices
Verbigenus
HELVETII
VIBERI
Lacus Lemanus
Genua
VERAGRI
LEPONTII
SEGUSIANI
ALPES
GRAIAE
TARANTASIA
GALLIA CISALPINA
ULTERIOR
VELAUNI
BRIGE
GALLIA
CATU
PROVINCIA
ULTERIOR
Scelus
Taurini
Gebenna Mons
VOLCA
ARECOMICI
ALBICI
Arelate
Massilia
Rodani Fluvius
Insula
Taurentium
MARE
MEDITERRANEUM
Scale of English Miles
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C. J. CÆSAR'S COMMENTARY OF HIS WAR in GAUL.

The FIRST BOOK.

Gaul deſcribed: Invaded by the Swiſs; who are worſted by CÆSAR *in two battles: His war with* ARIOVISTUS: *The Germans driven out of Gaul.*

CHAP. I.

GAUL is divided into three parts, each inhabited by people of different language, laws, and cuſtoms, the Belgæ, Acquitains, and Celtæ, as they call themſelves, but we the Gauls; the laſt of theſe are divided from the Acquitains by the river Garonne, and by the Maern and Seine from the Belgæ, the moſt warlike people of the three, becauſe they are the greateſt ſtrangers to the politeneſs of the province, hold no commerce with merchants, who import ſuch wares as ſerve to nouriſh luxury, and are ſituated next the Germans beyond the Rhine, with whom they wage perpetual war; for which reaſon the Swiſs likewiſe are more hardy than

Gaul divided. But this relates only to the Gallia Comata, Garumna, Matrona, Sequana.

Helvetij,

WAR in GAUL.

the Gauls, becauſe they and their German neighbours are continually quarrelling, whilſt each of them ſtrives to encroach on the other's dominions. The territories of the Gauls commence at the river Rhoſne, are bounded by the Garronne and the ocean, on that ſide next the Belgæ, ſtretching out northward along the Rhine, which divides them from the Swiſs and Franchecomtois; Belgia, which lies north-eaſt, joining to the extreameſt confines of Gaul, extends as far as to the lower Rhine; and Acquitania or Gaſcony, ſpreading between the Garronne and the Pyrenees, bounds north-weſt upon the Spaniſh ocean.

Sequani; but in Cæſar's time only contained part of Franche-comte, viz. Beſançon.

During the conſulat of M. MESSALA and M. PISO, * ORGETORIX, the moſt conſiderable man amongſt the Swiſs, as well for birth as riches, being prompted by ambition, engaged the nobility in his intereſt, and perſwaded the people to quit their country in an entire body; by aſſuring them, that they, who ſo far excelled all other nations in valour, might without much difficulty make themſelves maſters of Gaul; which they were the eaſilier induced to, by the cloſeneſs of their own dominions, divided on one ſide by the Rhine, a broad and deep river, from the Germans, on another by the inacceſſible mountains of St. Claud from Franchecomte, and on the third by the lake of Geneva, and the river Rhoſne from our province: being thus encloſed, they wanted opportunities of enlarging their territories, or invading their neighbours; nor was it a little irkſome to a numerous and warlike people, to ſee themſelves confined within ſuch narrow limits, as thoſe of a country extending but 240 miles in length, and 180 in breadth.

* Orgetorix perſwades the Swiſs to invade Gaul.

Mons Jura. Lacus Lemanus.

Theſe circumſtances, ſo luckily concurring with the authority of ORGETORIX, had that effect, that the people unanimouſly reſolved to prepare for the expedition; whereupon they bought up conſiderable numbers of waggons and beaſts for carriage, tilled their ground, that they might have plenty of corn in their journey, and made a peace with all their neighbours: two years time they thought ſufficient to compleat their preparations, and obliged themſelves, by a law, to begin their march the third.

CHAP. II.

Orgetorix ſent embaſſador to the neighbouring ſtates.

THE management of this important deſign was committed to the ſole conduct of ORGETORIX, whom they deputed their embaſſador to the neighbouring ſtates, where

where he perſwaded CASTICUS, the ſon of CATAMANTALIDES of Franchecomte, where he had reigned many years, and been honoured by the ſenate and people of Rome with the name of friend, to take upon him the ſovereignty of that ſtate, which his father formerly enjoyed: the ſame advice he gave to DUMNORIX of Autun, a man of the beſt intereſt in that province, to whom he married his daughter; he demonſtrated how eaſily they might compaſs their deſign; and promiſed, ſo ſoon as he had conquered Gaul with his Swiſs, whoſe ſubjection he was already aſſured of, to ſettle each of them in a kingdom there by the aſſiſtance of his forces; whereupon they entered into a league, promiſing themſelves the entire poſſeſſion of Gaul, by the mutual aſſiſtance of three ſuch potent nations.

WAR in GAUL.

Æduus the brother of Divitiacus.

The Swiſs having notice of this deſign, according to their uſual cuſtom, arreſted ORGETORIX, in order to bring him to his trial; and had ſentence been paſſed upon him, he muſt have been burnt alive: but he took care by the day appointed to have all his relations, friends, clients and debtors, to the number of 10000 men, ready to reſcue him from the hands of juſtice; which ſo incenſed the people, that they agreed the magiſtrates ſhould raiſe the power of the country, and execute the laws by force: but before they could do it, ORGETORIX was found dead, not without ſtrong ſuſpicion of having laid violent hands on himſelf.

Orgetorix to avoid judgment kills himſelf.

The Swiſs, not altering their reſolution for his death, purſued their intended journey; and to take away all hopes of return, before they ſet forward, put fire to their twelve cities, four hundred villages, ſeveral private houſes, and conſumed all the corn, except what each man was allowed to carry out of the country, which was only enough for three months proviſion.

The people of Baſil, Stulingen, and Lauſane reſolved to follow their neighbours examples, and ſet fire to their houſes, intending to ſhare the ſame fortune, carrying along with them the Boij, who having paſſed the Rhine, had taken the capital of Bavier, and ſeated themſelves there.

Rauraci. Stulingi. Latobrigi.

Norica.

They had only two ways to go out of their country, one through Franchecomte, between the mountain Jura and the river Rhoſne, which was ſo very narrow and difficult, that in ſome places a cart could hardly paſs; where their journey might eaſily have been ſtopped by an in-

WAR in GAUL.

Allobrogi.

conſiderable force, poſted on the top of the impending mountains; the other lay through our province, which was much the eaſier and ſhorter cut; for the river Rhoſne, which runs between the Swiſs and Savoyards, a people lately conquered by the Romans, was fordable in ſeveral places; beſides the bridge at Geneva (which is the fartheſt town the Savoyards have on that ſide) was theirs; and they doubted not but their neighbours, who ſeemed to ſubmit with reluctance to the Roman yoke, would readily grant them the liberty of paſſing through their country; which, if denied, they could obtain by force: wherefore having prepared all things for their journey, they appointed the eight and twentieth day of March, in the conſulat of L. PISO and A. GABINUS, for their general rendezvous on the banks of the river Rhoſne.

CHAP. III.

Cæſar takes poſt for Gaul.

SO ſoon as CÆSAR had notice of their deſign to paſs through his government, he immediately left Rome, took poſt for the further Gaul; and being arrived at Geneva, ordered the bridge to be cut down, and raiſed a conſiderable number of freſh forces in all parts of the province, for he had but one legion there. The Swiſs being informed of his arrival, ſent NUMEIUS and VERDOCTIUS with ſome other noblemen of the firſt rank, their embaſſadors, to deſire he would permit them to paſs peaceably through his province, for they had no other way to proſecute their journey: but CÆSAR remembring how the conſul L. CASSIUS loſt his life, how his army was put to the rout, and his ſoldiers forced to paſs under the yoke, held it not conſiſtent with the honour of the empire to grant their requeſt; nor did he think it poſſible for ſo barbarous a people to paſs through the country without committing ſome outrages. However, to gain further time 'till his new levies were compleated, he told the embaſſadors he would conſider of their demand, and if they returned on the thirtieth of April following, they ſhould have his anſwer.

The Swiſs demand a paſſage through his government,

In the mean time CÆSAR, with the veteran legion, and the new levies that came in from all parts of the province, caſt up an intrenchment, raiſed a wall ſixteen foot high, and nineteen miles in length, between the Lake of Geneva (which diſcharges itſelf into the Rhoſne) and the Mountains of Jura, which divide the people of

Franchecomte

Franchecomte from the Swiſs, and built little forts all along the work in the moſt commodious places, to prevent their paſſage in caſe they ſhould attempt it by ſtorm. At the day appointed, when the deputies returned for their anſwer, he poſitively denied their requeſt, ſaying, "He knew no precedent of the like nature amongſt the Romans which could juſtify his conduct; and therefore ſhould they endeavour to force their way, he was obliged to oppoſe them."

WAR in GAUL.

but are denied.

CHAP. IV.

MEETING ſo unexpected a denial, ſome endeavoured to ford the river where it was ſhalloweſt, whilſt others attempted to make a bridge of boats, at which they laboured with great application in the night, and ſometimes by day; but being warmly received by the ſoldiers on the other ſide, and repulſed with darts from the fortifications, finding their deſign impracticable, they at laſt deſiſted.

They endeavour to get over the river, but are diſappointed.

They had now no other way left but that through Franchecomte, which was ſo narrow they could not paſs without the peoples leave, which they could not obtain; wherefore they ſent embaſſadors to DUMNORIX of Autun, to beg his interceſſion in their behalf. DUMNORIX, whoſe obliging carriage and generoſity had gained him the affection of the Franchecomtois, was inclinable enough to ſerve the Swiſs on the ſcore of his marriage with the daughter of ORGETORIX; beſides, intending to make himſelf abſolute, he was glad of an opportunity to oblige ſo potent a nation, who might hereafter be ſerviceable to him in his deſigns: he undertook the buſineſs, and ſucceeded to their ſatisfaction, for the * Franchecomtois agreed to let the Swiſs paſs through their country, upon delivery of mutual hoſtages, theſe for their peaceable behaviour, and the other not to interrupt their paſſage.

* Dumnorix gets the Swiſs leave to paſs through Franchecomte.

CÆSAR hearing the Swiſs deſigned to march through Franchecomte and the territories of Autun to the confines of Xantonge, which join to Tholouſe, part of the Roman province, foreſaw what would be the conſequence, if ſo troubleſome neighbours, mortal enemies to the people of Rome, once poſſeſſed themſelves of ſo open and plentiful a country: wherefore committing the charge of his new works to his lieutenant T. LABIENUS, he made the beſt of his way to Italy, where he raiſed two legions, and drew three more out of their winter-quar-

Santonum. Toloſatium.

WAR in GAUL.

ters about Aquileia; with which forces he repaſſed the Alps. In his way to the further Gaul, the inhabitants of * Tarantaiſe, of the valley of Morienne and Ambrun, poſſeſſed themſelves of the paſſes, deſigning to oppoſe his march; but having often repulſed them, he at laſt arrived in ſeven days time from Ocello to Vocontium, the two extream confines of the province.

* Centrones, Garocellia, Caturiges.

The Swiſs lay waſte the country of Autun.

In the mean time the Swiſs, having paſſed the ſtreights of Franchecomte, and entered the province of Autun, began to ravage the country, which obliged the people, who were not in a capacity to reſiſt them, to ſend to CÆSAR for aſſiſtance, alledging they had never merited ſo ill from Rome, that ſhe ſhould ſuffer their fields to be burnt, their children to be made captives, and their towns taken, even in the view of her army: at the ſame time arrived meſſengers from the people of Charolais, allies and friends to thoſe of Autun, to complain, that their country was laid waſte, and that they were ſcarce able to defend their towns againſt the Swiſs; and thoſe of Dauphine likewiſe, who dwelt on the other ſide of the Rhoſne, fled to CÆSAR for protection, aſſuring him that all their cities were laid even with the ground; which moved his compaſſion ſo much, that he reſolved not to wait for the enemy 'till his allies ſhould be ruined, and the Swiſs arrived at Xantonge.

Ambarri.

Allobroges trans Rhodanum.

Arar.

The waters of the river Soane, which, waſhing the confines of Franchecomte and Autun, diſembogue themſelves into the Rhoſne, move ſo very ſlowly, that 'tis difficult to diſtinguiſh which way they glide. This river the Swiſs paſſed on a bridge of boats, and CÆSAR's ſpies bringing him intelligence when all their forces, except a fourth part, had croſſed the river, about midnight he left his camp, and fell upon the remainder with three legions, whilſt they were unprepared and encumbered with their baggage, put a great number of them to the ſword, and routed the reſt, who fled for ſhelter to the neighbouring woods. The Swiſs were divided into four cantons, and the defeated were the natives of Zurich, who alone, leaving their country, in the memory of our fathers, ſlew L. CASSIUS the conſul, and made his army paſs under the yoke: ſo whether it were by chance, or the peculiar providence of heaven, that very canton which formerly gave the Romans ſo fatal a ſtroke, was the firſt that felt the weight of vengeance: nor did CÆSAR leſs gratify his private than the publick revenge in this affair, for L. PISO, grandfather to L. PISO, whoſe daughter he had

Cæſar falls upon the Swiſs when three fourths had paſſed the river.

Pagus Tigurinus.

had married, fell in the battle fought with thoſe of Zurich, when CASSIUS loſt his life.

CHAP. V.

AFTER this defeat CÆSAR caſt a bridge croſs the Soane, that he might purſue the reſt of the enemy; who underſtanding he had croſſed the river in one day, which they could hardly do in twenty, were ſo ſurpriſed and daunted at his approach, that they immediately ſent embaſſadors to his camp; their ſpeaker was DIVICUS, who commanded in chief at the battle where CASSIUS was ſlain; and being brought to CÆSAR, he ſpoke to this effect: "That if the Romans concluded a peace with the Swiſs, they would ſubmit to march to any place which CÆSAR ſhould think fit to aſſign them; but if he intended to carry on the war, he would do well to remember the overthrow which the people of Rome formerly received from their valour, and not to be puffed up with ſucceſs, for having ſurpriſed a ſmall party, whilſt the reſt of the army could not come to their aſſiſtance: for their parts, they had learnt from their anceſtors to contend by force, but ſcorn'd deceit; and therefore it imported the Romans to beware, leſt the place where they pitched their camp ſhould obtain, to their infinite ſorrow, a memorable name from the deſtruction of their army."

The Swiſs ſent embaſſadors to deſire a peace.

Their ſpeech.

To this CÆSAR anſwered, "That he had leſs reaſon to doubt of ſucceſs, becauſe he well remembred thoſe actions the embaſſadors mentioned; which he more heinouſly reſented, becauſe they injured the Romans without the leaſt pretence to juſtify their actions; for had his countrymen been conſcious they had given occaſion, they might eaſily have been prepared to receive them; but knowing their innocence, they had no appehenſions of that nature, and therefore were ſurpriſed. That whilſt he found himſelf inclinable to forget former injuries, freſh inſolences recurr'd to his mind, their attempting to force their paſſage through his province, their ſacking Autun, Charolais and Dauphine, and boaſting of that victory which he wondered the immortal Gods had ſo long ſuffered to go unrevenged; but they ſometimes permitted mankind to glory in impunity for a while, that vengeance, being leſs expected, might fall the heavier: However, if they would deliver hoſtages for the performance of ſuch articles as ſhould be agreed on, if they would make the provinces of Autun and Dauphine, with their allies, reſtitution for the

Cæſar's anſwer.

WAR in GAUL.

damage they had done them, he was contented there ſhould be a peace." But DIVICUS replied, "The Romans knew very well, 'twas not the cuſtom of the Swiſs to deliver, but receive hoſtages"; and ſo departed.

The next day they decamped, and ſo did CÆSAR, ſending all his horſe before (which he had levied in the province and the country of Autun, to the number of 4000) to obſerve the enemies motions, who following too cloſe, fell in with their rear, and being obliged to engage them at a diſadvantage, loſt a few men: the Swiſs, encouraged by their ſucceſs in this rencounter, where they had maintained their ground with five hundred horſe againſt ſo conſiderable a number, were ſo bold ſometimes to ſally from their rear, and ſkirmiſh with our van-guard; but CÆSAR reſtrained his men from fighting, being contented, for the preſent, to prevent the enemies plundering the country, and ſo continued his march fifteen days ſucceſſively, keeping his van-guard conſtantly within five or ſix miles of the enemies rear.

CHAP. VI.

CÆSAR in the mean time preſſed the people of Autun for the ſupplies of corn which they had promiſed; for Gaul lying northward in a very cold climate, their corn was not ripe, and their paſtures ſcarce afforded forage enough for the horſes; nor could the Romans receive any more proviſions by the way of the Soane, for the enemy had marched directly from the river, and they were reſolved not to leave them. The Autunois ſtill putting CÆSAR off from time to time, on pretence the corn was coming, 'till the day for delivering out proviſions to the army was juſt arrived, he ordered DIVITIACUS and LISCUS, the chief magiſtrates (whom they ſtile Vergobret, and create yearly with power of life and death) with the reſt of the noblemen of that country, for he had many of them in his camp, to attend him: theſe he ſeverely reprimanded, for diſappointing him of their contributions at ſo important a conjuncture, whilſt the enemy was ſo near, when there was no corn in the country, nor any to be procured for money; adding, he had reaſon to take it very ill that they ſhould deſert him, when, at their requeſt, he engaged in that war for their defence.

Whereupon LISCUS, being moved by CÆSAR's ſpeech, ingenuouſly declared what he had ſo long kept ſecret;

"* That

WAR in GAUL.

* Liſcus's ſpeech; he diſcovers the treachery of Dumnorix.

* "That there were ſome private perſons of greater authority amongſt the people than they who bore the title of magiſtrates; that theſe had ſeditiouſly diſſwaded them from bringing in their corn, inſinuating, that ſince they could not obtain the empire of Gaul themſelves, 'twas better to be ſubject to the Gauls than the Romans, for they might depend upon it, ſo ſoon as the Romans had ſubdued the Swiſs, they and their neighbours would be bereft of their liberty: that from theſe the enemy received conſtant intelligence of all that paſſed in the camp; and that he endangered the loſs of his life by ſpeaking ſo freely, which was the reaſon he had not informed him of it ſooner, for the perſons he meant were grown too big to be reſtrained by the laws."

CÆSAR perceived by LISCUS's ſpeech, that DUMNORIX, DIVITIACUS's brother, was pointed at; but thinking it improper to hold further diſcourſe about an affair of that nature in publick, he immediately diſmiſſed the council, and retaining only LISCUS, aſked him ſeveral queſtions about the matter, which he anſwered with an honeſt freedom; and enquiring further, he found it confirm'd from other hands, "That DUMNORIX was a man of ſpirit and enterprize, a mighty favourite of the common people, becauſe of his liberality; that he had for many years farmed the publick taxes of Autun at an under-rate, no man daring to interfere with his intereſt; by which means he had conſiderably enriched his private patrimony, found the means to be liberal, and was ſo rich, that he conſtantly maintained a great number of horſemen, who waited on him wherever he went: that he was not only powerful at home, but had a conſiderable intereſt abroad amongſt the neighbouring ſtates, for he had married his mother to the richeſt nobleman in Berry, had taken a wife for himſelf from amongſt the Swiſs, and matched his ſiſter by the mother's ſide, with the reſt of his kindred, into other countries: that for the ſake of affinity he was a well-wiſher to the Swiſs, and hated the Romans, eſpecially CÆSAR, becauſe by their arrival in Gaul his authority was eclipſed, and his brother reſtored to his ancient dignity: that he hoped to obtain ſovereignty by the aſſiſtance of the Swiſs, in caſe the Romans ſhould be defeated; whereas their ſucceſs made him deſpair not only of a crown, but of keeping the authority he had left." And CÆSAR was further inform'd, "That when his cavalry was routed, DUMNORIX and his party were the firſt that fled, for to his charge were committed the horſe which the people

Dumnorix's character.

WAR in GAUL.

people of Autun had ſent to CÆSAR's aſſiſtance, whoſe bad example ſtruck a terror into the reſt of the ſoldiers."

Theſe ſuſpicions were backed by certain proofs; for DUMNORIX was accuſed by the magiſtrates, for having procured the Swiſs a paſſage through Franchecomte, on delivery of mutual hoſtages between them and the people of that country, without the privity or conſent either of CÆSAR or thoſe of his own nation; wherefore he thought he had ſufficient reaſon either to puniſh him himſelf, or cauſe him to be tried according to the laws of his own country; which he had immediately done but for his brother DIVITIACUS's ſake, a man of ſingular loyalty, temperance and juſtice, who had given conſtant proofs of his affection to CÆSAR and the people of Rome; for which reaſon, before he made any progreſs in the matter, he ſent for DIVITIACUS, and making uſe of no other interpreter but C. VALERIUS PROCILLUS, a prince of Gaul, his particular acquaintance, in whom he repoſed great confidence, acquainted him what he had heard of his brother, at the general council of the Gauls, and what private confirmation he had of the matter afterwards, deſiring that he would either cauſe him to be tried according to the laws of Autun, or not take it ill, if he himſelf ſhould inflict that puniſhment on his crime which he deſerved.

Cæſar is intreated by Divitiacus to pardon his brother,

Whereupon DIVITIACUS embracing CÆSAR with tears in his eyes, "intreated him that he would not uſe his brother ſeverely; for though he knew him to be guilty of all that was laid to his charge, and had more reaſon to be afflicted at it than any man, becauſe he had employ'd that fortune which he was indebted to him for, in ruining his credit both at home and abroad, yet he could not baniſh natural affection: beſides, the people knowing what a favourite he was with CÆSAR, would attribute DUMNORIX's ruin to his advice; which would make him be deteſted throughout the whole province." CÆSAR ſeeing DIVITIACUS in ſo great a concern, took him by the hand, and ordered him to dry up his tears, for he had ſo particular an eſteem for him, that for his ſake he would forgive the injury his brother had done the commonwealth, and the affront he himſelf had received: whereupon ſending for DUMNORIX, he reprimanded him for his crimes, telling him how well he was acquainted with his practices, and what complaints his countrymen had made of him, which, for once, at the requeſt of DIVITIACUS, he pardoned; but bid him take care how he behaved himſelf

which he does;

but reprimands him ſeverely.

ſelf for the future, for he had ſuch ſpies upon him as would take notice of his carriage, and whom he converſed with.

The ſame day, having intelligence that the enemy had lodged themſelves under a hill, about eight miles diſtant from his camp, CÆSAR ſent out a party to take a view of the aſcent, which they reported to be very eaſy; whereupon he detached his lieutenant T. LABIENUS about midnight with two legions and able guides, ordering him to gain the top of the hill, and he himſelf about three hours after, ſending the cavalry before, followed the ſame way with the reſt of the army. P. CAUSIDIUS, an experienced ſoldier, who had ſerved firſt under L. SYLLA, and afterwards under M. CRASSUS, had the command of a ſmall party, who were ſent to diſcover what poſture the Swiſs were in; but about the dawning of the day, when CAUSIDIUS was arrived within a mile and a half of the enemies camp, when LABIENUS had actually poſted himſelf on the top of the hill, unknown to the enemy, who neither dreamt of his nor CAUSIDIUS's approach (as we were informed afterwards by the priſoners) CAUSIDIUS came riding back again, in poſthaſte, to acquaint CÆSAR, that the enemy were maſters of the place which he ordered LABIENUS to poſſeſs himſelf of, as he plainly diſcovered by the Swiſs colours; whereupon CÆSAR retiring to the next hill, drew his army up into order of battle: LABIENUS in the mean time having gained the riſing ground, according to his orders, was not to engage the enemy 'till he ſaw our forces near their camp, that they might be attacked from all ſides at once; wherefore keeping his men within their ranks, he ſtaid to expect the reſt of the army. But afterwards, when the day was far ſpent, CÆSAR was informed by his ſpies, that our ſoldiers poſſeſſed the hill, that the enemy had decamped, and that CAUSIDIUS's fear made him report what he never ſaw; ſo he followed the enemy at the uſual diſtance the reſt of that day, and encamped within three miles of them at night.

Cauſidius's fear, and falſe report

CHAP. VII.

THE next day being within eighteen miles of Autun, the capital of that province, becauſe CÆSAR was obliged to deliver out proviſions to the army within two days after, he left following the enemy, and marched directly to the city; which the Swiſs having notice of from ſome deſerters in L. EMILIUS's troop; whether they

Bibracte.

WAR in GAUL.

they imagined the Romans retreated for fear (becauſe they did not engage them the day before, whilſt they had the advantage of the ground) or whether they deſigned to cut off all convoys of proviſion, altering their reſolution, they immediately faced about, and attacked our army in the rear; which CÆSAR perceiving, ſent the horſe to cover the foot, and drew up his forces on the next hill: his four veteran legions he diſpoſed into three lines; on the ſummit of the hill he ranged the two legions of new levies lately arrived from the hither Gaul, with the reſt of his auxiliary troops, ſtretching out his wings ſo as to cover the whole front of the mountain; and diſpoſed the carriages, which were committed to the charge of the battalions on the top of the mount, into a particular place by themſelves: the Swiſs did the like by their baggage, and having repulſed the Roman cavalry with a numerous ſquadron, caſt themſelves into a phalanx, and attacked our foremoſt ranks.

The Swiſs attack the Roman rear.

CHAP. VIII.

The armies ranged in order of battel, engage.

WHEREUPON CÆSAR, to take away all hopes of a retreat, cauſed all the led-horſes to be ſent away, ſetting the firſt example by his own; then, encouraging his men, began the charge; the Romans, caſting their darts from the riſing ground, ſoon broke the enemies ranks, and then entered with ſword in hand.

CHAP. IX.

THE Swiſs, in the mean time, were mightily incumbered with their targets that were pierced through, and pinned together by the darts, which, being forked, they could neither draw them out, nor make uſe of their left arms to defend themſelves; wherefore, after a long fatigue, they flung them away, and fought unarmed, till fainting with loſs of blood, they began to give way, and retreated to a riſing ground about a mile diſtant from the place where the fight commenced. Our legions purſued them to the hill, intending to force them from their poſt, but 15000 Boij and Stulingens, the rear and reſerve of their army, attacked the Romans in the flank, and began to incloſe them as they were in purſuit of the enemy, which the Swiſs, who had retired to the hill, perceiving, renewed the fight; whereupon the Romans were obliged to face about, and whilſt two legions engaged

gaged the Swiſs, the third maintained their ground againſt the Boij and Stulingens; whereupon the battel was hot and dubious for a while, 'till the enemy no longer able to ſuſtain the furious charge of the Roman legions, one part of them retired again to the top of the hill, whilſt the reſt retreated to their baggage; for during the whole battel, which continued from one o'clock 'till the evening, no man hitherto ſaw the back of his enemy. WAR in GAUL.

CHAP. X.

THE enemy maintained the fight very obſtinately at their carriages till the night was far ſpent, and, making uſe of their carts for a fortification, gauled our forces with their javelins from the riſing ground, and with their pikes and halberds through the wheels of their waggons; but after a warm diſpute, our ſoldiers took their baggage, and forced their camp, where a ſon and daughter of ORGETORIX were taken priſoners. About an hundred and thirty thouſand of the enemy made their eſcape, and marching day and night without intermiſſion, arrived the fourth day at the confines of Langres; for the Romans being much wounded and fatigued, and three days being ſpent in burying the dead, there was no purſuit. The Swiſs entirely routed. Lingones.

But CÆSAR took care to acquaint the people of Langres, that if they offered to aſſiſt the Swiſs with any kind of proviſions, he ſhould eſteem them his enemies, and treat them as ſuch within three days, for by that time he deſigned to be there with all his forces.

CHAP. XI.

THE Swiſs being thus reduced to the utmoſt extremity, for want of all kind of proviſion, ſent embaſſadors to CÆSAR, who, meeting him on the road, proſtrated themſelves at his feet, and with tears in their eyes, moſt humbly beſought him that he would vouchſafe to grant them peace: he commanded them to bid their countrymen expect his arrival at the place where they had taken up their quarters; and ſo ſoon as he came to Langres, he demanded they ſhould give hoſtages for their behaviour, deliver up their arms, and return the deſerters. They ſend ſecond embaſſage for peace.

Whilſt this treaty was in agitation, about ſix thouſand of the canton of Verbigen, either fearing to be executed Verbigeni.

WAR in GAUL.

ecuted when they had parted with their arms, or hoping to eſcape (thinking ſo ſmall a number could hardly be miſſed out of ſo vaſt a multitude, or at leaſt that their countrymen would conceal their flight) in the beginning of the night left the Swiſs camp, making the beſt of their way to the river Rhine and Germany: But CÆSAR being informed what road they had taken, commanded their companions to fetch them back again, unleſs they deſigned to be accounted parties to their crime; and upon their return he uſed them like enemies: but all the reſt, after delivery of their arms, hoſtages and deſerters, he received into mercy, commanding the Swiſs, Stulingens, and people of Lauſane, to return again to their country; and becauſe they wanted corn, he ordered the Savoyards to furniſh them with what proviſions they had occaſion for, deſiring the Swiſs to rebuild the cities they had burnt, leſt the Germans beyond the Rhine, ſhould be tempted by the richneſs of the ſoil, to invade their country, and make themſelves neighbours to the Roman territories in Gaul and Savoy. But the Boij, upon the interceſſion of the people of Autun, who knew them to be a warlike nation, were permitted to dwell in their country, where they gave them lands, and naturalized them.

The Swiſs war ended.

In the enemy's camp was found a Greek liſt, containing an exact account of the age and ſex of all that had left their country, how many were able to bear arms, how many boys, how many old men and women, each in a ſeparate roll by themſelves; by which it appeared the whole number of the Swiſs amounted to 263000, of the Stulingens to 36000, of the people of Lauſane to 14000, of Baſil to 23000, and of the Boij to 32000, amounting in the whole to 368000, whereof 192000 bore arms; and a review being made, by CÆSAR's command, of thoſe that returned to ther country, there were but 11000 that had eſcaped the ſlaughter.

CHAP. XII.

THE war with the Swiſs being thus happily concluded, all the ſtates and princes of Gaul ſent deputies to congratulate CÆSAR's ſucceſs, being ſenſible that the Romans had not only quitted former ſcores with the Swiſs by this victory, but obtained a glorious peace, no leſs advantageous to Gaul than their own empire, becauſe the Swiſs had left their country, where they want-

ed

ed nothing neceſſary for the ſupport of life, with a deſign to poſſeſs themſelves of ſome plentiful part of the continent, whence they might have an opportunity of making the other ſtates of Gaul their tributaries.

They likewiſe deſired that CÆSAR would permit them, at a certain day prefixed, to ſummon a general aſſembly of all the ſtates, for they had matters of the higheſt importance to diſcuſs, which they would unanimouſly ſubmit to his deciſion. Having obtained their deſire, and the day appointed being come, they all obliged themſelves by oath, not to reveal the cauſe of their meeting to any perſons but ſuch as ſhould be deputed by the general vote of the whole diet.

A general aſſembly of the princes of Gaul.

The aſſembly breaking up, the ſame deputies returned to CÆSAR, and demanded a private audience, that they might diſcourſe him about an affair that concerned their common ſafety, which he readily granted; whereupon, caſting themſelves at his feet, "They beſought him with tears, as much to conceal what they communicated, as to grant their petition; for ſhould the affair be divulged, which they laid before him, it would certainly plunge them into the laſt degree of miſery and affliction."

Their addreſs to Cæſar.

DIVITIACUS, who carried the addreſs, acquainted him, "That Gaul was divided into two potent factions, one headed by the Autunois, the other by thoſe of Auverne. Theſe having long contended for the ſuperiority, at laſt the people of Auverne and Franchecomte prayed aſſiſtance of the Germans, and received about 15000 of their troops into pay, who paſſed the Rhine at their deſire, and having taſted the plenty of the ſoil, and civility of the Gauls, invited more of their countrymen over, till they were increaſed to the number of 120000. With theſe the Autunois had more than once diſputed, to their infinite damage, for they had loſt their cavalry, nobility and ſenate; by which misfortunes they were reduced ſo low, that whereas in former days by their own intereſt, and the favour of the Romans, they bore a conſiderable ſway in moſt parts of Gaul, they were now forced to deliver the perſons of beſt quality in their country, as hoſtages for their peaceable behaviour to thoſe of Franchecomte, to oblige themſelves by oath never to demand their reſtitution, nor to pray aſſiſtance from the Romans to deliver them from the ſubjection to theſe tyrants, himſelf the only man of the whole province excepted, who could never be perſwaded either to take the oath, or deliver his children for hoſtages, and for that reaſon had been obliged

Arverni.

to

WAR in GAUL.

to abandon his country, and implore assistance from the Roman senate. Yet the conquerors were in a worse condition than the conquered, for ARIOVISTUS, king of the Germans, had seated himself in their country, and already possessed a full third of the choicest land in Gaul; yet not content with that, demanded of the Franchecomtois that they should deliver him up another third, to be distributed amongst 24000 natives of Constance, arrived some few months before; wherefore, if speedy remedies were not applied, all the Germans would in a few years cross the Rhine, and drive the Gauls out of their country, allured by the richness of their soil, and manner of living, which so far excelled that of Germany.

Harudi.

Amagitobria.

That their king ARIOVISTUS was so elevated with his success at the battle of Magstat, that he behaved himself with unheard of insolence and tyranny, demanding the children of the nobility for hostages, whom he used very barbarously, if the Gauls did not readily submit to whatever he commanded them; and, in fine, that he was a man of a most passionate and inhumane temper, whose yoke they could no longer endure; therefore, unless CÆSAR and the Romans would assist them, they must of necessity be obliged to follow the example of the Swiss, leave their country, that they might be free from the Germans, and seek their fortune in another land; but should their design come to the knowledge of ARIOVISTUS, he would infallibly revenge himself severely on the hostages in his custody: yet they hoped, if CÆSAR would please to interpose in the matter, his credit, the fame of his army, the reputation acquired by his late victory, and the name of the Romans, might prevent the Germans transporting any more colonies into Gaul, and defend them from the tyranny of ARIOVISTUS."

DIVITIACUS having ended his speech, CÆSAR observed that all who were present, except the Franchecomtois, with weeping eyes besought his assistance; but these only fixed their eyes upon the ground, with mournful countenances, which made him enquire their reason; but they continuing silent in the same posture, made him no answer: this he wondered at extreamly, 'till DIVITIACUS informed him, "That the people of Franchecomte were infinitely more wretched than their neighbours, for they neither durst desire assistance, nor even whisper their grievances, standing as much in awe of ARIOVISTUS's cruelty when absent as present; for whereas the rest might hope to escape by forsaking their country,

country, theſe having admitted the tyrant into the heart of their province, having delivered the keys of all their cities into his hands, were obliged to ſubmit to whatever hardſhips he ſhould pleaſe to impoſe upon them." WAR in GAUL.

CHAP. XIII.

CÆSAR, having heard their complaints, bid them ſhake hands with diſpair, for he would do them what ſervice he could, and hoped his authority and interceſſion with ARIOVISTUS might oblige him to uſe them better for the future, ſo diſmiſſed the council. Many were the inducements which moved CÆSAR to undertake this affair; firſt, becauſe the Autunois, who had often been honoured by the ſenate of Rome with the titles of brethren, couſins, and allies, were enſlaved by the Germans, and obliged to deliver hoſtages to ARIOVISTUS, at a time when the Roman empire was in a flouriſhing condition, which he thought much to the diſcredit of the commonwealth: ſecondly, he foreſaw it might be of dangerous conſequence hereafter to the Romans, if the Germans, tranſporting themſelves by degrees croſs the Rhine, ſhould make themſelves maſters of the whole continent of Gaul; for he doubted ſo fierce and barbarous a people would hardly be content with that only, but as the Cimbri and Teutons had done formerly, forcing their way through the province, make an inroad into Italy, eſpecially ſince Franchecomte was only divided from the Roman territories by the river Rhoſne. Wherefore thinking it high time to provide ſpeedy methods for obviating theſe evils (becauſe ARIOVISTUS was grown ſo inſufferably proud and arrogant) he ſent embaſſadors to him, deſiring he would appoint a place for an interview, that they might diſcourſe about ſome publick affairs of equal importance to them both. Cæſar promiſes to aſſiſt them. Cæſar ſends an embaſſage Arioviſtus.

CHAP. XIV.

TO this embaſſage ARIOVISTUS reply'd, "That if he had occaſion for CÆSAR's aſſiſtance, he would have waited on him, and if CÆSAR had any buſineſs with ARIOVISTUS, he might give himſelf the ſame trouble: for his part he would not venture his perſon in the Roman dominions without an army, nor did he deſign to put himſelf to the trouble and expence of raiſing one for that purpoſe. And he wondered extreamly that CÆSAR or His anſwer.

WAR in GAUL.

the Romans ſhould concern themſelves with thoſe parts of Gaul, which the right of conqueſt had made his inheritance."

A ſecond embaſſage. Cæſar's demands.

CÆSAR, having received this anſwer, ſent a ſecond embaſſage to acquaint him, "That ſince he had ſo ill returned the honour the people of Rome had done him (who by their conſul CÆSAR, had vouchſafed him the title of king and ally) as to refuſe a parley for the publick good, he had ſent him his demands, which were, firſt, that he ſhould permit no more troops to be tranſported from Germany into Gaul. Secondly, that he ſhould return the hoſtages received from the people of Autun, that he ſhould permit the Franchecomtois to do the like, and ceaſe all further acts of injuſtice or hoſtility againſt both of them and their allies; which conditions once performed, CÆSAR would engage, in behalf of the Romans, that they ſhould receive him into favour, and maintain a perpetual friendſhip with him: but, if he would not comply with the terms propounded, CÆSAR was obliged, by a decree of the ſenate made during the conſulſhip of M. MESSALA and M. PISO, to revenge the injuries done to thoſe of Autun; for by that decree it was enacted, that all governors of the province ſhould, for the future, as far as might be conſiſtent with the intereſt of the commonwealth, endeavour to defend their friends and allies."

Arioviſtus's reply.

TO which ARIOVISTUS made anſwer, "That, according to the law of arms, the conqueror might govern thoſe he had ſubdued as he thought fit, that the Romans did the ſame, and if he had not taken upon him to preſcribe them methods for the government of their ſubjects, he knew no reaſon why they ſhould not allow him the ſame liberty; that the Autunois had paſſed the deciſion of war, were lawfully become his tributaries, and that the Romans had done him injuſtice, for ſince their arrival his tribute had been diminiſhed; that he would not return their hoſtages, but he neither deſigned to make war upon the Autunois nor their allies, provided they obſerved their agreement, and paid their yearly tribute, which if neglected, they ſhould find the friendſhip of the Romans ſhould ſtand them but in little ſtead: and as for CÆSAR, he would have him take notice, ſince he deſigned to eſpouſe their quarrel, no man ever yet contended with ARIOVISTUS, but to his own deſtruction; therefore, let him begin as ſoon as he pleaſed, the Germans were ready to receive him, and would let him ſee what it was to diſpute with a warlike nation, who had

not for fourteen years lain under any other canopy but that of heaven." WAR in GAUL.

CHAP. XV.

AT the ſame time CÆSAR received this anſwer, there arrived embaſſadors from Autun and Treves; the firſt to complain, that the new colony from Conſtance had entered their country with fire and ſword, and that they could not purchaſe their peace from ARIOVISTUS by delivery of hoſtages; the other to acquaint him, that an hundred cantons of the Suabians were arrived at the river Rhine, in order to paſs into Gaul, under the command of two brothers, NASUA and CIMBER. CÆSAR was much concerned at this news, and thinking it the wiſeſt way to engage ARIOVISTUS before the Suabians had joined him, he provided his army with corn, and followed the Germans with all expedition; but after three days march had intelligence that ARIOVISTUS was gone about three days before to inveſt Beſançon, the capital of Franchecomte. Treviri. Suevi. Veſontio.

Beſançon was well ſtored with all ſorts of proviſions, and ſo conveniently ſituated, that he who commanded it might prolong the war at his pleaſure; for it was encompaſſed by the river Doux, except about ſix hundred foot of land, which nature had fortified with a mighty ſteep mountain, whoſe roots on both ſides were waſhed by the river. This mountain was ſurrounded by a wall, which forming a cittadel, joined it to the town. CÆSAR therefore conſidering how nearly it concerned him to prevent a place of that importance from falling into the hands of the enemy, marched with great diligence directly to the city, and placed a ſtrong garriſon in it: here he reſolved to take up his quarters a few days, till the army was refreſhed, and furniſhed with neceſſary proviſions; during which time the Romans enquiring of the natives and merchants of the country what ſort of people the Germans were, they reported them to be men of prodigious ſtature, invincible courage, and extraordinary knowledge in the art of war, which the Gauls had often experienced to their ſorrow; for whenever they engaged them, they had ſcarce the courage to withſtand their looks, ſo dreadful and ſtern were their countenances. * The whole army were ſtrangely ſurprized and frighted at this report, but eſpecially the tribunes, the chief officers, and ſuch raw ſoldiers as had followed CÆSAR from Rome Beſançon deſcribed. *The Roman army frighted at the report of the Germans ſtature and courage.

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to make a campaign out of a compliment. These were the first that began to deplore their danger, and some of them pretending extraordinary business, desired he would please to give them their discharge; even those whom shame restrained, betrayed their fear by their countenances, sometimes by their tears, and retiring to their tents, bewailed their destiny alone, whilst others did the like with their comrades; nay, so far did these terrible apprehensions prevail, that the whole army made their wills. The cowardice of these men by degrees began to infect the veteran soldiers, the centurions and horse-commanders, and they who scorned to discover their apprehensions, declared they were not afraid of the enemy, but of the narrow passes and thick woods which lay between our camp and ARIOVISTUS, whilst others pretended to despair of the possibility of receiving provisions; and some were so free to declare, that whenever CÆSAR should command the soldiers to handle their arms and march, they would certainly disobey his orders.

CHAP. XVI.

Cæsar calls a council of war; his speech.

CÆSAR, observing so great a consternation, called a council of war, to which he summoned even the centurions of the lowest rank; and so soon as the assembly was met, having first severely reprimanded them, "For presuming to enquire or conjecture whither, and upon what expedition they were going, he told them, that ARIOVISTUS, during his consulate, earnestly courted the friendship of the Roman people, and he knew no reason any man had to suspect that he should, in so short a time, have forgot his duty; as for his particular, he was persuaded, that if ARIOVISTUS did but know what reasonable proposals he designed to offer him, he would not refuse his friendship, and the favour of the commonwealth: but supposing he should be so much his own enemy as to make war upon the Romans, what occasion had they to be afraid of him? what reason had they to suspect their own virtue, or their general's diligence? for, should it come to a battle, the enemy they were to engage with, had twice been tried before, first, in the memory of their fathers, when the Teutons and Cimbres were defeated by C. MARIUS, in which battle the army obtained as much honour as their general: and since that, in Italy, during the rebellion of the slaves, who had the advantage of being skilled in the Roman discipline; from whence might be inferred

ferred what noble actions reſolution could accompliſh; for that very enemy they were afraid of whilſt unarmed, they afterwards ſubdued when fluſhed with victory. In fine, that theſe Germans were the ſame the Swiſs had worſted in ſeveral rencounters, as well in Germany as Swiſſerland, and yet the Swiſs were not able to maintain their ground againſt the Romans. WAR in GAUL.

But if any man drew concluſions from the defeat of the Gauls, upon farther enquiry he might be ſatisfied, that theſe for many months beſieged ARIOVISTUS in his camp, pitched in a fenny-country; but at length deſpairing of a general battle, and being wearied with a tedious war, diſperſed themſelves, ſo ARIOVISTUS laying hold of that opportunity, ſubdued them more by policy than courage: but he would find himſelf in a great error, if he expected to trap the Romans, as he had a barbarous and unſkilful people. As for thoſe who pretended the cauſe of their fear was the difficulty of being ſupply'd with proviſions, and the danger of the paſſes; they betray'd extraordinary inſolence, in aſſuming the liberty to direct their general, as if he himſelf was ignorant of his duty; but they might lay aſide their apprehenſions, for he had taken care Lorrain and Franchecomte ſhould furniſh them with what they wanted; beſides, the corn was almoſt ripe in all the fields they were to paſs through; and as for the ways, themſelves ſhould quickly be judges of their error.

Nor did the report, that the ſoldiers would refuſe to march, diſturb him in the leaſt, for he was ſatisfied no army ever ſlighted their general's commands, but on the ſcore of his bad ſucceſs, or notorious avarice; and neither of theſe could affect him, witneſs his conſtant integrity, and his late victory over the Swiſs: wherefore he was reſolved immediately to execute that, which he once deſigned to have deferred to a longer time; for the next morning early he would decamp, and try whether ſhame and duty, or cowardice ſhould get the victory: that he would make the tenth legion his life-guard, whoſe readineſs he did not doubt of; and if no body elſe would follow him, with them alone he would go in ſearch of the enemy." For CÆSAR had a particular eſteem for this legion, in whoſe courage he placed a mighty confidence.

This ſpeech wrought ſo wonderful an alteration on the minds of the whole army, that every man ſeemed briſk, and deſirous to engage the enemy: nor did the tenth legion forget to return him thanks, by their tribunes, for the good opinion he had of them, aſſuring him how induſtrious Cæſar begins his march.

WAR in GAUL.

duſtrious they would be to deſerve it: the reſt following their example, by their tribunes and centurions took care to inform him, that they never doubted or pretended to form a judgment of the ſucceſs of that expedition; for they always ſubmitted thoſe things to his wiſdom: whereupon CÆSAR, having learned from DIVITIACUS (whom he confided more in than in any of the Gauls, and whom he had ſent out to diſcover the way) that, taking a circuit of forty miles, he might lead his army through an open champaign country, according to his former reſolution, early in the morning he began his march.

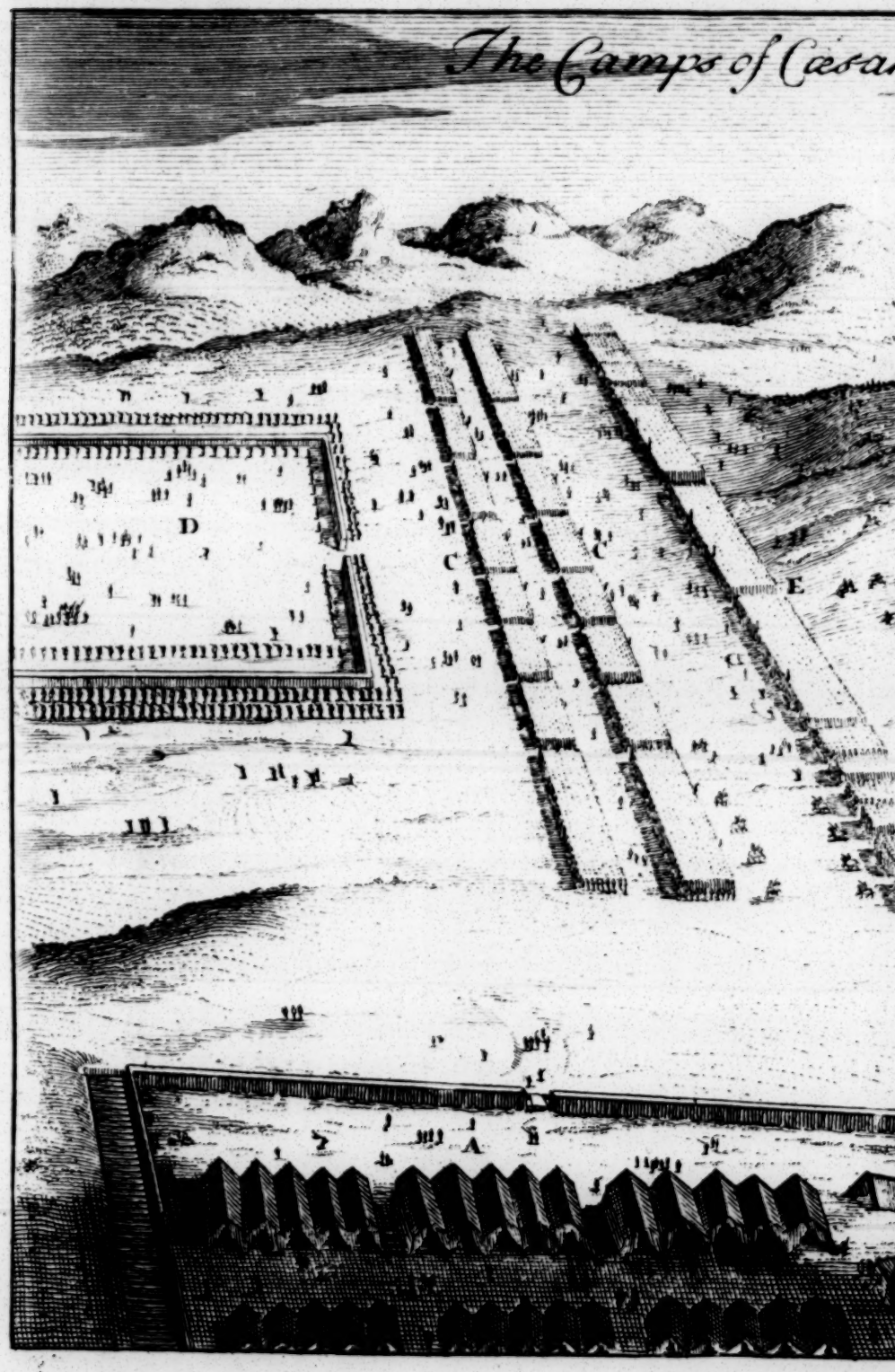
CHAP. XVII.

THE ſeventh day after his departure from Beſançon, he had intelligence that ARIOVISTUS was about four miles off; who being informed of CÆSAR's arrival, ſent embaſſadors to let him know, ſince fortune had brought them ſo near, provided it might be done without danger, he was willing to accept of an interview. CÆSAR readily complied with the offer, hoping ARIOVISTUS was at laſt returned to himſelf, ſince he now deſired that of his own accord which he refuſed before; and that, conſidering the propoſals he deſigned to make him, he would at length reflect on the many favours he had received from CÆSAR and the people of Rome, and no longer ſo obſtinately oppoſe an accommodation.

The fifth day was appointed for the interview, and in the mean time there paſſed ſeveral meſſages between them. ARIOVISTUS deſired CÆSAR would bring no infantry along with him to the treaty, and that each of them ſhould come attended only by their cavalry, to avoid ſurprize, for otherwiſe he would not agree to a meeting. CÆSAR being unwilling the interview ſhould be put off, and at the ſame time not daring to confide in the French cavalry, diſmounted the Gauls, and gave their horſes to his faithful tenth legion, that he might have a guard, if occaſion were, on which he could rely: whereupon one of the ſoldiers of that legion wittily ſaid, "That CÆSAR had been better than his word, for he only promiſed they ſhould be his guard, but now he had made them horſe."

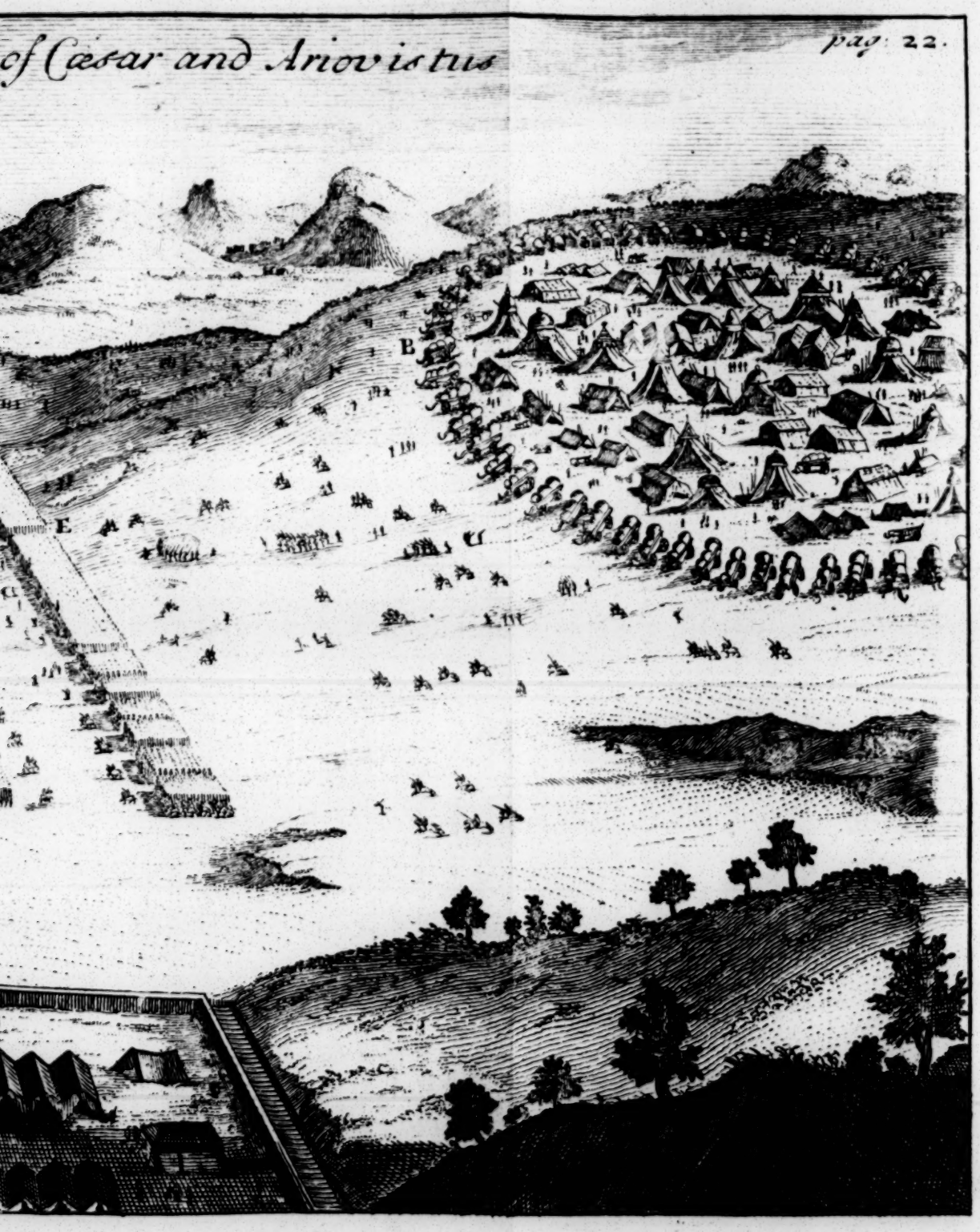
The interview between Cæſar and Arioviſtus.

In the midſt of a ſpacious and open plain, between the two armies, there was a riſing ground, and there, according to agreement, was the enterview held: the legion which CÆSAR had brought with him he poſted two hundred paces ſhort of the mount, the like did ARIOVISTUS by



A. Cæsar's Camp
B. Ariovistus's Camp.
C. The first &
Cæsars forces
D. The 3. making

of Cæsar and Ariovistus



he first & second line of
ars forces in Arms.
e 3. making ij lesser Camp.

E. All Ariovistus's
army.

by his cavalry, deſiring they might diſcourſe on horſeback, each bringing only ten perſons to the conference. So ſoon as they met, CÆSAR began to remind him of "the favours and advantages he had formerly received from him and the ſenate of Rome, who had given him the title of king and friend, ſending him at the ſame time conſiderable preſents; honours the Romans conferred but on few, and upon thoſe for ſignal deſert, which had notwithſtanding been beſtowed on him by the ſole favour of CÆSAR, and bounty of the ſenate." He alſo laid before him "the ancient and juſt alliance which had been ſo ſacred between the Romans and people of Autun, and the frequent and honourable decrees which had been made by the ſenate in their favour, ; that they had from all antiquity held the principality of Gaul, even before their alliance with Rome, nor was it uſual with the Romans to ſuffer the authority of their friends to be diminiſhed; but on the contrary to endeavour the increaſe of their honour and reputation. In fine, he demanded the ſame conditions which he had formerly offered him by his ambaſſadors; that he ſhould never make war on the Autunois nor their allies; that he ſhould return the hoſtages, and if he could not oblige ſome of his Germans to repaſs the Rhine, at leaſt he ſhould not permit any more to come into Gaul."

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Cæſar's ſpeech.

ARIOVISTUS made little anſwer to CÆSAR's demands, but enlarged extravagantly on his own virtues; ſaying, "That he had not croſſed the Rhine of his own accord, but on the invitation of the Gauls; nor deſerted his country and relations, but in hopes of a conſiderable reward for his trouble: that the natives had voluntarily allotted him a portion of land, delivered hoſtages, and that tribute was his due by the right of conqueſt; nor did he make war upon the Gauls before they had given the firſt occaſion, whoſe confederate force he defeated in one ſingle battle; and if they deſired a ſecond trial, he was ready to engage them again; but if they expected peace, it was unreaſonable they ſhould refuſe the payment of that tribute which they had ſo long willingly ſubmitted to: that he expected the friendſhip of the Romans would have proved both honourable and advantageous to him, for which reaſon he courted it; but if he muſt purchaſe it at ſo dear a rate as the loſs of his tribute, he ſhould as readily renounce as ever he accepted it.

Arioviſtus's anſwer.

That as he had not tranſported ſo many Germans into Gaul with a deſign to ſubdue the country, but only for his own protection, for he came thither at their requeſt, ſo

WAR in GAUL.

neither had he engaged in any war with the natives, but in his own defence: that he was ſeated in Gaul before the Romans came there; nor had they ever marched their armies beyond the bounds of their province before that time, and he did not underſtand what they meant by invading his territories; for he had as good a title to that part of Gaul as the Romans had to their province, who ought not to encroach upon his dominions any more than he upon theirs. As for the pretence that the Autunois were by the ſenate decreed the allies of Rome, he would have CÆSAR know, he was not ſo barbarous and ignorant of the affairs of the world, but he could remark that during the laſt war with the Savoyards, the Autunois aſſiſted the Romans, who in return helped them againſt the Franche-comtois; and he had too ſufficient reaſon to ſuſpect, that, under the pretence of an alliance with theſe, the Romans maintained an army in Gaul, with a deſign to ruin him; therefore if they did not immediately quit his dominions, he ſhould no longer eſteem them his friends, but his enemies: that he was well aſſured by letters from Rome, if he had the good fortune to kill CÆSAR, he ſhould do ſeveral noblemen there a very acceptable piece of ſervice, which they would think themſelves infinitely obliged to him for: however, if he would depart without diſturbing his peaceable poſſeſſion, he would not only gratefully reward him for it, but be obliged at his own proper hazard and expence, to undertake any war which CÆSAR ſhould deſire."

Cæſar's reply.

CÆSAR on the other hand, "urged ſeveral reaſons why he could not deſiſt from his former reſolution; firſt, his own honour, then the cuſtom of the republick, which never deſerted her well-deſerving allies; nor could he be perſuaded that ARIOVISTUS had a better title to Gaul than the Romans; for FABIUS MAXIMUS fairly conquered the people of Auvergne and Roüerge, whom he might have reduced into a province, and made tributaries to the empire, but he forgave them; nor did he doubt but it might eaſily be proved, upon farther ſearch into antiquity, that the Romans had a very good title to that country; but ſince it was the pleaſure of the ſenate they ſhould remain a free people, they were permitted the uſe of their own laws, government and cuſtoms, notwithſtanding the right of conqueſt."

Ruteni.

The Germans treachery.

During this diſpute, CÆSAR was informed that ARIOVISTUS's cavalry came nearer the mount, and had aſſaulted our men with a volley of ſtones and darts; whereupon he

he immediately broke off the treaty, and retiring to his party, commanded them not to return the enemy's treachery; for, though he might ſafely have engaged them with that ſelect legion, he waved it, becauſe the Germans ſhould not pretend he had drawn them into an ambuſh on pretence of a treaty, contrary to his oath and agreement. So ſoon as the common ſoldiers were informed how inſolently ARIOVISTUS had behaved himſelf at the interview; how he had commanded the Romans to be gone out of Gaul; how his cavalry had aſſaulted the tenth legion, and that thereupon the treaty broke off, rage and contempt inſpired every man with a greater deſire to fight than ever.

WAR in GAUL.

About two days after, ARIOVISTUS ſent deputies again to CÆSAR to deſire a ſecond interview, that they might finiſh their imperfect treaty; or if he did not approve of that, to ſend plenipotentiaries to conclude ſuch agreement as they ſhould think fit to conſent to: but CÆSAR was not inclinable to grant a ſecond meeting, becauſe the Germans had not obſerved their agreement the time before; nor did he think it convenient to expoſe the perſons of any of his followers to the infidelity of ſo inhumane and barbarous a people: wherefore he ſent M. VALERIUS PROCILLUS (the ſon of C. VALERIUS CABURIUS, whom C. VALERIUS FLACCUS had made a freeman of Rome) a polite and honourable youth, whom he pitched upon for his extraordinary integrity, and expertneſs in the language of the Gauls, which ARIOVISTUS had learned by living ſo long amongſt them, thinking him a perſon againſt whom the Germans could take no exception; and joined M. METIUS, who was particularly well acquainted with ARIOVISTUS, in commiſſion with him, giving them orders to hear what propoſals the Germans would offer, and then make their report to CÆSAR: but ſo ſoon as ARIOVISTUS ſaw them arrived at his camp, in the preſence of his army, he demanded their buſineſs, whether they came thither as ſpies? and, before they could anſwer him, commanded them to be clapt in irons.

Arioviſtus deſires a ſecond interview, which Cæſar denies.

Arioviſtus puts the Roman plenipotentiaries in irons.

The ſame day he decamped, and lodged himſelf under a hill, about ſix miles from CÆSAR; the day after marching by our army, he encamped about two miles beyond us; deſigning to cut off our convoys from Autun and Franchecomte: five days ſucceſſively, after this, CÆSAR drew his army out of their trenches, in order to give the enemy battle, which ARIOVISTUS declined, keeping

WAR in GAUL.

ing within his camp; but we had frequent ſkirmiſhes with parties of the enemy's horſe.

The German way of fighting.

Now the Germans way of fighting was this; they had 6000 horſe, and as many foot, choſen out of the whole army by the horſe, for their extraordinary ſtrength and activity, each horſeman had one for his guard; theſe perpetually attended them in the battle, and aſſiſted them in time of neceſſity, for if a horſeman was not a ſufficient match for his enemy, if he was wounded or unhorſed, one of theſe immediately came in to his relief; and if there was occaſion either for a quick purſuit or retreat, continual exerciſe had made them ſo nimble, that, holding by the main, they could run as ſwift as the horſes.

CHAP. XVIII.

Cæſar's two camps.

CÆSAR perceiving that ARIOVISTUS ſtill kept within his camp, not daring to give him battle, leſt the Germans ſhould intercept his convoys from Franchecomte, he choſe a convenient place for a new camp, about 600 paces beyond that of the enemy; and marching thither in three battalions, he commanded two of them to defend the reſt, whilſt they intrenched themſelves. ARIOVISTUS ſent 6000 foot and all his cavalry to interrupt this deſign; but CÆSAR commanded the two battalions, according to his former orders, to oppoſe the enemy, and the third to go forward with their works; which being compleated, he left two legions there, with part of the auxiliary forces, and retired with the other four to the larger camp.

According to his cuſtom, the next day CÆSAR drawing his whole army out of both their camps, proffered the enemy battle, and perceiving they did not ſtir out of their trenches, about noon he returned again: but at length ARIOVISTUS ſent a detachment to attack the leſſer camp; whereupon there began a hot diſpute on both ſides, which continued till ſun-ſet, when ARIOVISTUS, after many wounds given and received, ſounded a retreat. CÆSAR, enquiring of the priſoners why the Germans declined fighting, was informed, that, according to the cuſtom of their country, the women were always to decide by lot and augury the proper times for fighting, and that they declared the Germans ſhould not be victorious, if they engaged before the new moon.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

THE next day after, CÆSAR, leaving ſufficient parties to ſecure his camps, ranged all his auxiliary troops to make a ſhew, before the leſſer camp, becauſe the number of his legionary ſoldiers was very inconſiderable in reſpect of the enemy; and, diſpoſing theſe into three lines, marched directly towards ARIOVISTUS's camp; whereupon the Germans being compelled, at laſt drew out their forces, ranging each different canton at an equal diſtance, in the ſame order of battle; viz. thoſe of Conſtance Maihern, Straſburg, Worms, Spires, Franconia and Suabia; and then ſurrounded the army with their carriages, to take away all hopes of ſecurity by flight: in theſe they placed their women, who weeping and tearing their hair, beſought their huſbands, as they went to the battel, to fight like men of courage, to preſerve them from falling into the hands of the Romans.

WAR in GAUL.

Harudes, Mareomani, Tribocci, Vengiones, Nemetes, Seducii, Suevi.

CHAP. XX.

CÆSAR having aſſigned each legion a lieutenant and a queſtor, that every man might have a witneſs of his courage, began the fight himſelf at the head of the right wing, becauſe he perceived the enemy to be weakeſt in that part. So ſoon as the ſign of battle was given, our ſoldiers charged the enemy very briſkly, and they received them ſo warmly, that they did not allow our legions time to caſt their darts, which obliged them to have immediate recourſe to their ſwords; but the Germans caſting themſelves into a phalanx, according to the cuſtom of their country, received the charge with little loſs, which ſeveral of the legionary ſoldiers perceiving, leaped upon the phalanx, pulled away the targets with their hands, and ſlew thoſe that lurked under them; by which means the enemy's left wing was routed. In the mean time young P. CRASSUS, general of the horſe, perceiving that our left began to give way, being over-powered by unequal numbers of the Germans (which he could eaſilier obſerve than thoſe who were already engaged in the fight) immediately diſpatched the third line of battle to ſuſtain them; whereupon the fight was renewed with freſh vigour, and the enemy's army entirely put to the rout; nor did they ever look back till they were arrived at the Rhine, about fifty miles diſtance from the place where the fight began:

The armies engage.

WAR in GAUL.

began: here ſome few eſcaped by ſwimming the river, whilſt others got over in little boats, and ARIOVISTUS embarking in a ſmall veſſel, recovered the other ſide; but his two wives had not the ſame fortune, for neither of them ſurvived the battle; one of theſe was a Suabian, whom he brought with him from his own country, the other a Bavarian, ſiſter to king VOCION, ſent him by her brother into Gaul, and married there; nor did his two daughters eſcape, for one was ſlain, and the other taken priſoner.

The Germans routed, Procillus retaken.

CÆSAR purſuing the German cavalry, by chance overtook VALERIUS PROCILLUS, as his keepers, who had bound him with three chains, were dragging him along: this accident was as grateful to him as the victory it ſelf, that he ſhould be ſo fortunate to reſcue his particular friend; a perſon mightily beloved throughout the whole province, whom the barbarous Germans had, contrary to the law of nations, deprived of his liberty: fortune ſeemed to have taken unuſual care, to prevent any allay of CÆSAR's joy by the loſs of a man, whom he eſteemed ſo much as PROCILLUS, for ſhe had three ſeveral times preſerved his life, as often reprieving him by a favourable lot from being burnt alive; and at the ſame time M. METIUS likewiſe recovered his liberty. The fame of this victory ſpreading beyond the Rhine, put a ſtop to the Suabians journey, who were arrived there, deſigning to paſs into Gaul; and the inhabitants on the banks of that river, taking the opportunity, purſued them whilſt confuſed, and ſlew conſiderable numbers of them in their retreat.

CÆSAR having thus ſucceſſively ended two ſuch important wars in one campaign, put his troops into winter-quarters in Franchecomte, ſomething ſooner than the ſeaſon of the year required; and, committing them to the care of LABIENUS, returned into Lombardy, to preſide at the general diet.

Gallia Citerior.



C. J. CÆSAR'S COMMENTARY OF HIS WAR in GAUL.

The SECOND BOOK.

His war with the confederate Belgæ: his ſucceſs in Picardy and Hainault.

CHAP. I.

WAR in GAUL.

The Belgæ enter into a confederacy againſt the Romans.

IN the winter-time, whilſt CÆSAR was in Lombardy, he had ſeveral reports, which were afterwards confirmed by letters, from LABIENUS, that all the ſtates of the Belgæ, who, as we have already ſaid, poſſeſſed a third part of Gaul, had given hoſtages to each other, and entered into a mutual league againſt the Romans: the occaſion of this confederacy, was their apprehenſion, that when CÆSAR had ſubdued their neighbours, he would turn his forces upon them; beſides, they were ſollicited to it by ſuch Gauls as began to think the Roman army, which had taken winter-quarters in their country, as troubleſome gueſts as the Germans, by ſuch as were of an unconſtant temper, who loved fiſhing in troubled waters; and laſtly, by thoſe who perceived it was an eaſy matter for him, who had moſt money and men at command, to make himſelf maſter of all the provinces of Gaul, provided the Romans were once expelled.

Whereupon CÆSAR levied two new legions in Lombardy, and ſent them under the command of his lieutenant Q. PEDIUS into the farther Gaul, himſelf following after

WAR in GAUL.

after early in the ſpring, ſo ſoon as there was forage for his horſes. Upon his arrival at the army, he wrote to the inhabitants of Sens, and the other Gauls that bordered on the Belgæ, to obſerve the enemy's motions, and ſend him daily intelligence what they were doing: from theſe he had notice that the Belgæ were very buſy in raiſing an army, and drawing their forces to a general rendezvous: wherefore thinking it convenient to loſe no further time, he immediately drew the army out of their winter-quarters, and reſolved to begin his march within twelve days; which he did, and arrived within fifteen more, on the confines of the Belgæ. His coming was ſo ſudden and unexpected, that the people of Rheims, whoſe country lay neareſt the Gauls, being ſurprized at it, diſpatched away ICCIUS and ANTEBROGIUS, perſons of the greateſt quality in their province, as embaſſadors, to aſſure CÆSAR they had not concerned themſelves in the confederacy with the reſt of the Belgæ againſt the Romans, but were ready to ſubmit to the empire; and, as a proof of their innocence, offered to deliver hoſtages, to receive him into their towns, and furniſh the army with what proviſions they had occaſion for. They owned that the reſt of the Belgæ were all in arms; that the Germans on the other ſide the river Rhine had promiſed them aſſiſtance; and that their countrymen were ſo hotly bent upon the expedition, that all they could do to reſtrain them, was not ſufficient to prevent thoſe of Soiſſons from entering into the ſame alliance, though they were their brethren, and obſerved ſo ſtrict a friendſhip on all other occaſions, that they were governed by the ſame laws, cuſtoms, and magiſtrates, being almoſt incorporated under one government.

Senones.

Rhemi.

Sueſſones.

CHAP. II.

Cæſar having received the people of Rheims into protection, they give him intelligence.

CÆSAR inquiring of the embaſſadors what people, and how powerful they were that had taken up arms, was informed that the Belgæ were originally deſcended from the Germans, who, tempted by the plenty of the land, had croſſed the Rhine, expelled the natives, and taken poſſeſſion of their country: that theſe were the only people who, during the dreadful inundation of the Teutons and Cimbers, had maintained their ground, whilſt the other provinces of Gaul were over-run by thoſe Barbarians; the memory of which ſucceſs inſpired them with extraordinary courage. They likewiſe told him, that by reaſon of their alliance and neighbourhood to them, they had opportunities

tunities of informing themſelves what quota of men each particular province had promiſed in the general aſſembly, to provide for carrying on the war: that thoſe of Beauvois, who were more numerous, warlike and potent than the reſt of the Belgæ, were able to raiſe 100000 men, out of which number they obliged themſelves to bring 60000 into the field, in conſideration whereof they expected to have the management of the war committed to their charge: that next to theſe, in a ſpacious and fertile country, lay the people of Soiſſons, lately ſubject to DIVITIACUS, once the moſt potent man in Gaul, who was not only maſter of a conſiderable part of that country, but had ſome footing likewiſe in Britain; but GALBA was their preſent king, who, by the general conſent of the confederates, was, for the ſake of his ſingular conduct and juſtice, made Generaliſſimo; theſe had twelve fortified towns, and promiſed to furniſh 50000 men: next thoſe of Hainault, who are the moſt barbarous people in all that country, were to provide the like number; thoſe of Arras 15000, Amiens and Caux each 10000, Vexen and Vermandois together the like number, Toroüenne 25000, Guelders 9000, Douay 29000, Cologn, Liege, Namur, Luxemburg, and the reſt of the Germans together, 40000; in all 308000.

Bellovaci.

Nervii.

Atrebates, Ambiani, Caletes, Velocaſſes, Veromandui, Morini, Menapii, Aduatici, Condruſi, Eburones, Cæræſi, Pæmani.

CÆSAR, to encourage the people of Rheims to continue faithful to the Romans, promiſed to reward them liberally, if they obſerved their alliance, commanding them to deliver him their ſenate and the beſt of their noblemen for hoſtages, which they readily performed by the day prefixed; then ſending for DIVITIACUS, he informed him how neceſſary it was, for the publick ſafety, to make a diverſion, that the enemy might be obliged to ſeparate their forces; and therefore commanded him to return to Autun, and enter the territories of the Belgæ on that ſide with fire and ſword.

CHAP. III.

BEING informed afterwards by his ſcouts and the people of Rheims, that the confederate armies of the Belgæ, being joined, marched directly towards him, and were already within a few miles of his camp, he immediately paſſed the Aſne, which divides Rheims from the reſt of the Belgæ, and encamped on the banks of the river, whereby he prevented any ſurprize from the enemy, and ſecured a communication with Rheims and thoſe other cities whence he expected proviſions; to ſecure his retreat

Axona.

croſs

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croſs the river, he poſted a ſtrong party on the bridge, leaving TITURIUS SABRICUS, one of his lieutenants, on the other ſide with ſix cohorts, who had orders to fortify their camp with a trench eighteen foot broad, and a rampart twelve foot high.

CHAP. IV.

Bibrax.

THE Belgæ were in hopes to have ſurprized Brienne, a town about eight miles diſtance from CÆSAR's camp; and ſtorm'd it ſo furiouſly, that it was ſcarce able to hold out one day. The Celtæ and Belgæ uſe the ſame method in aſſaults; for having ſurrounded the walls, they never ceaſe ſlinging of ſtones 'till they have ſwept the beſieged off the battlements; then caſting themſelves into a teſtudo, they approach the gate, and undermine the walls; which they might do with great eaſe at Brienne; for ſo numerous were the ſlingers and thoſe that caſt darts, that it was impoſſible for the garriſon to ſtand their ſhot. So ſoon as night had ended the aſſault, ICCIUS, a man of the greateſt quality and intereſt in Rheims, who had not long before been ſent embaſſador to CÆSAR, diſpatched away a courier to our camp, to inform us, unleſs he was quickly relieved, he muſt be obliged to ſurrender the town: CÆSAR ſoon anſwered his demands; for, making uſe of the courier for a guide, he detached a party of Candian and Numidian archers, with a number of Belearian ſlingers, whom he immediately ſent to their aſſiſtance; which infuſed freſh courage into the beſieged, and put the enemy out of hopes; who having laid the country waſte, and burnt the villages round about, left the ſiege, and marching in one body towards us, lodged themſelves within two miles of our army, encloſing above eight miles for their camp, as near as could be computed by their fires in the night, and ſmoak in the day.

Their manner of aſſaulting a town.

The ſiege of Brienne raiſed by the Romans.

CHAP. V.

The two armies drawn up.

CÆSAR at firſt did not deſign to give them battle, becauſe they were reported to be as valiant as numerous; but having tried their courage in ſmall ſkirmiſhes, he perceived his ſoldiers were able to cope with them; ſo making choice of a convenient place before his camp, he drew up his army in order of battle. The little hill whereon we had entrenched ourſelves, riſing with an eaſy aſcent from the plain below, was but juſt of a ſufficient breadth

breadth to contain the front of our army, where the legions were drawn up, deſcending ſomewhat ſteeper on both ſides: here, to prevent the enemy's ſurrounding our men, or charging them in the flank, CÆSAR took care to make a trench from one ſide of the hill to the other, containing ſix hundred paces in length, and built little bulwarks at each end, which were well provided with engines to repulſe the enemy. So leaving the two legions, lately liſted in Lombardy, in his camp for a reſerve, he drew up the other ſix on the front of the hill before his camp; the Belgæ did the like, and faced our army. Between us and the enemy there lay a marſh, which they believed we would have paſſed; and we on the other hand expected the like from them, deſigning to attack them whilſt they were endeavouring to get over ſo troubleſome a place: in the mean time the cavalry on both ſides engaged; but neither army attempting to croſs the marſh, CÆSAR, who had got the better of the ſkirmiſh, thought he had done enough at preſent to encourage his men, and brave ſo numerous an army, for which reaſon he returned to his camp.

But a marſh prevents the engagement.

Not long after, the enemy decamped, marching towards the river Aiſne, which lay behind us, and attempted to croſs the water where it was fordable, deſigning to make themſelves maſters of the fort which Q. TITURIUS commanded, to break down the bridge, or at leaſt to harraſs the country of Rheims, and intercept our convoys; which CÆSAR having notice of from TITURIUS, croſſed the bridge, and marched to his relief at the head of his cavalry, light-armed Numidians, ſlingers, and archers; where he had a ſharp diſpute with the Belgæ. The Romans, charging the enemy as they were croſſing the river, ſlew great numbers of them; and thoſe who were ſo deſperate to endeavour to make a bridge of the carcaſſes of their dead countrymen, ſpight of their utmoſt efforts, were repulſed by the ſoldiers from the ſhore, whilſt they who had ſafely arrived on the other ſide were encompaſſed by our cavalry, and every man of them put to the ſword.

The Belgæ endeavour to paſs the Aiſne, but are repulſed with great ſlaughter.

The Belgæ finding themſelves thus diſappointed of their hopes, that they could neither gain Brienne, paſs the river, nor draw the Romans out of their camp to ſome diſadvantageous poſt, and conſidering their proviſions were almoſt ſpent, called a council of war, wherein they reſolved to break up, and return each man to his

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own country; obliging themſelves, in caſe the Romans invaded any of their confines, that all the reſt ſhould immediately come thither to give them battle; for they judged it much ſafer to fight at home, where they might always be ſecure of proviſions, than to diſpute the matter in a foreign country; nor was it the ſmalleſt inducement to this reſolution, that they were informed DIVITIACUS, with a ſtrong party of Autunois, was already on his march to the confines of Beauvois, which obliged them to make a ſpeedy retreat, to defend their country.

CHAP. VI.

The Belgæ decamp, and return home.

THIS reſolution being agreed to by the whole army, about the ſecond watch of the night they began to leave their camp with extraordinary noiſe and confuſion, each man contending for the foremoſt rank, that he might be ſooneſt at home, marching in as diſorderly a manner, as if they had been put to the rout. CÆSAR, who had notice of this from his ſcouts, being jealous of ſome deſign, becauſe he could not conceive the reaſon of their departure, did not ſtir out of his trenches; but the next morning early, upon further intelligence, he firſt detached QUINTUS PEDIUS and L. ARUNCULEIUS COTTA, two of his lieutenants, with the cavalry; and after them T. LABIENUS at the head of three legions, with command to attack the enemy's rear: theſe overtaking the Belgæ, purſued them ſeveral miles, and put great numbers to the ſword; whilſt their rear faced about to receive our charge, the van-guard, who were out of danger, paying no manner of obedience to their officers, broke their ranks, ran away, and deſerted their companions, of whom the Romans made a dreadful ſlaughter, 'till night and their general's commands obliged them to return to their camp.

The Romans attack their rear.

CHAP. VII.

THE next day, before the enemy were recovered from their conſternation, CÆSAR marched his army to Soiſſons, which joins to the country of Rheims, and after a tedious journey arrived at Noïon, which he hoped to have ſurprized, becauſe he was informed it wanted proviſions, and a garriſon to defend it; but he was diſappointed by the breadth of the ditch, and extraordinary height

Noviodunum.

height of the wall that ſurrounded it; wherefore, having fortified his camp, he began to prepare for a formal ſiege.

Noïon beſieged and taken.

The night after, all the Soiſſonois who had eſcaped the ſlaughter, threw themſelves into the town; but being ſurprized at the mounts and batteries he had raiſed in ſo ſhort a time, works which the Gauls had never ſeen before nor heard of, beat a parley, ſent deputies to treat about a ſurrender; and, by the interceſſion of their neighbours of Rheims, obtained their conditions; for, having delivered their arms, and the chief perſons of their country as hoſtages, amongſt whom were GALBA's two ſons, CÆSAR received them into favour.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæſar marches to Beauvois, which ſubmits.

FROM thence he marched againſt thoſe of Beauvois, who having retired with all their moveables into the capital of the ſame name, had intelligence that CÆSAR was arrived within five miles of the town; whereupon they ſent all the reverend old men to meet him, who in a ſubmiſſive poſture ſaid, that they came to ſurrender themſelves to his diſcretion, and would no longer preſume to bear arms againſt the people of Rome; ſo when he had encamped his army nearer the town, the boys and women from the walls, with ſtretched out arms, according to the cuſtom of their country, humbly beſought him that he would vouchſafe to grant them peace.

For theſe DIVITIACUS (who had diſmiſſed his army in Autun, and returned to CÆSAR, ſo ſoon as he heard the enemy had broken up) interceded, alledging that the people of Beauvois had always been faithful friends to thoſe of Autun, and were ready to aſſiſt them upon all occaſions; nor had they entered into this confederacy againſt the Romans, forſaking their old allies, unleſs they had been perſuaded to it by their nobility, who made them believe that the Autunois were enſlaved by the Romans, and laboured under the vileſt oppreſſions: that the authors of this conſpiracy, finding into how miſerable a condition they had plunged their country, were fled into England; wherefore they joined with the petitioners in their requeſt, and hoped CÆSAR would pleaſe to be merciful to them; for by granting their deſire, he would raiſe the credit and authority of the Autunois amongſt the Belgæ, to whom they had formerly been obliged for aſſi-

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ſtance in their neceſſity. CÆSAR being moved by the mediation of DIVITIACUS and the Autunois, promiſed to forgive them; but, becauſe their dominions were larger, more populous, and powerful than the reſt of the Belgæ, he demanded 600 hoſtages; which being delivered, together with their arms, he left their city, and marched directly to Amiens, which ſurrendered at diſcretion, without any trouble.

Amiens ſurrenders.

The cuſtoms of the Hainaultois.

Next to Amiens lived the people of Hainault; "who, as CÆSAR was informed, held no commerce with other countries, never ſuffered wine, or any other luxurious merchandize, as might enervate their bodies, or debaſe their minds, to be imported amongſt them; a warlike, ſavage people, who always condemned the reſt of the Belgæ for ſubmitting to the Roman yoke; declaring they would neither ſend embaſſadors, nor accept of peace on any terms."

Sabis.

CÆSAR, having made three days march in their country, received information from ſome priſoners, that the enemy were poſted on the other ſide the Sambre, a river about ten miles diſtant from his camp, where they waited for the Romans: that they were already joined by thoſe of Arras and Vermandois, whom they had perſuaded to ſhare their fortune, and daily expected a further ſupply from Liege: that they had diſpoſed of their women, and ſuch whoſe age made them unfit for war, in a place by themſelves, rendered inacceſſible by the marſhes that ſurrounded it: whereupon CÆSAR diſpatched his ſcouts and centurions, to provide a convenient place to encamp in.

Deſerters carry intelligence to the enemy.

Some of the Belgæ, who had ſurrendered themſelves, and were in CÆSAR's camp (as we afterwards learned from the priſoners) obſerving the particular order of the Romans march, deſerted in the night to the enemy, and informed them, that between each legion marched a part of the heavy baggage; and that they might eaſily defeat the firſt legion, ſo ſoon as they were arrived in the camp, whilſt they were incumbered by their carriages, and the reſt at ſo great a diſtance, that they could not readily come to their relief; which ſucceſs would put the other legions into ſuch a conſternation, that they would not have the courage to maintain their ground. This advice made the greater impreſſion, becauſe the people of Hainault (who were always more expert at fighting on foot than horſeback) uſed formerly to prevent their neighbours from

from making inroads into their country, by a fortification of young trees, which they ſplit in the middle, and bending down the boughs on either ſide, filled up the vacancies ſo cloſe with thorns, that it ſerved them inſtead of a wall, which could neither be paſſed nor ſeen through: whilſt therefore the progreſs of our army was ſtopped by this bulwark, they thought it convenient to put the advice in practice.

The place which the Romans made choice of to encamp in, was a hill, from whence there was an even deſcent to the Sambre; and on the farther ſide of the river, directly oppoſite to us, about two hundred paces diſtance, was another hill, plain and open at the foot, but ſo thick and woody in the upper part, that it concluded our proſpect. The enemy had covered themſelves in theſe woods: and in the open ground, by the river-ſide, which was but three foot deep thereabouts, appeared only ſome few troops of horſe.

CÆSAR, ſending his cavalry before, followed cloſe after with the reſt of the army, but had altered the diſpoſition of his march, ſince the intelligence conveyed to the enemy; for, knowing he was near the Hainaultois, according to his uſual cuſtom, he had placed ſix legions in the front, who had nothing to carry but their arms; leaving the charge of the whole baggage to the two new legions, who marched in the rear.

CHAP. IX.

THE Roman cavalry, with the ſlingers and archers, having paſſed the river, engaged the enemy's horſe, who at firſt retired to their companions in the wood, then ſally'd out again; but the Romans did not think fit to purſue them further than the open ground. The ſix legions in the front, according to the general's orders, had already began to intrench themſelves, when the enemy ſeeing our foremoſt carriages arrived, which was the ſign appointed for making their ſally, ruſhed from behind the thickets in order of battle with all their forces; and having eaſily broke their way through our cavalry, run with ſuch incredible ſwiftneſs down the banks of the Sambre, that they ſeem'd at the ſame inſtant to be in the woods, at the river, and charging our legions on the other ſide; for mounting the hill with the ſame fury they had deſcended from the banks, they fell upon our ſoldiers in

The battle with the Hainaultois.

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in the works, before they had time to perceive their danger. Now had CÆSAR, at the ſame inſtant, all theſe ſeveral things upon his hands, hanging out the flag to give the ſoldiers warning to repair to their arms, proclaiming the fight by ſound of trumpet, drawing off the ſoldiers from the works, recalling thoſe who were gone to fetch materials for the rampart, ranging the army in order of battle, encouraging the men, and giving the ſign to engage; moſt of which the unexpected attack of the enemy prevented, by not allowing us time.

CHAP. X.

The experience of the Roman ſoldiers.

IN the midſt of theſe difficulties, two things fell out to the advantage of the Romans; one was, each private ſoldier had ſo much experience, that he knew his duty, and what was proper to be done upon ſuch an emergency, as well as his officer; the other, that the legions who were employ'd about the works, and had been commanded by CÆSAR not to leave off 'till his further orders, reſpecting more the neceſſity of aſſiſting their fellows, than their general's commands, followed the dictates of their own diſcretion.

CÆSAR having diſtributed the neceſſary orders, made haſte to encourage the firſt body of his ſoldiers he could meet, which happened to be the tenth legion, to whom he ſaid no more, but that he hoped they would remember their ancient virtue, and, notwithſtanding the ſurprize, manfully ſuſtain the aſſault; and being at no further diſtance from the enemy, than was juſt ſufficient for caſting their darts, he gave them the ſign of battle; then going to another part of the army, he found it already engaged. So ſhort was the time which the fury of the enemy allowed us, that our men had not leiſure to repair to their reſpective enſigns, to put on their head-pieces, or lay hold of their targets; but each ſoldier joined himſelf to the firſt ſtandard he met with there, ſtood to his arms, that he might not throw away that time in ſeeking for his own company, which was to be ſpent in fighting.

The army being drawn up, rather according to the nature of the place, the declivity of the hill, and particular neceſſity of the time, than as art-military and order requir'd, the legions engaged with the enemy in ſeveral places at once; but the perfect view of the fight was hindered by the thickets that we ſpoke of before, which made it impoſſible for the general to diſpatch away ſuccours

where

where neceſſity required them; an inconvenience that rendered the battle dubious, and occaſioned various events. WAR in GAUL.

The ſoldiers of the ninth and tenth legions, who were poſted in the left, having caſt their darts, ſoon forced thoſe of Arras, who were weary and wounded, to retire from the hill into the water, and put great numbers of them to the ſword, as they endeavour'd to paſs the river; purſuing the reſt to the other ſide, 'till they had drawn them into a diſadvantageous place, where the enemy again faced about and renewed the fight, but were oblig'd a ſecond time to fly. So likewiſe, in another part of the battle, the eighth and eleventh legions, having broken the Vermandois, whom they were engaged with, had forc'd them from the top of the hill to the banks of the river. But in the mean time the front and left ſide of our camp were left almoſt naked (for in the right wing were plac'd the twelfth, and not far from that the ſeventh legion) which the Hainaultois perceiving, attack'd us there with their entire force, under the command of BODUOGNATUS; one party of them endeavouring to flank the legions where they lay moſt open, and the other to lodge themſelves in the higheſt part of the camp.

The enemy's right wing broken.

The Hainaultois force the Roman camp.

About the ſame time the cavalry and light-arm'd footmen, who at the beginning of the battle had been broken, juſt as they were retiring into the camp, met the enemy in the front, which obliged them to fly again: whilſt the ſervants of the army, who from the the top of the mountain, through the Decuman port, had ſeen our men purſue the enemy croſs the river, were going to follow them for the ſake of plunder; but ſeeing the Hainaultois had entered our camp, ran away. This confuſion was encreaſed by the clamour of thoſe that attended the carriages, who being frighted, endeavoured to provide for their ſafety by flight, each man taking a different way; which ſo terrified the cavalry of Treves, reputed men of great courage amongſt the Gauls, who had been ſent by their country to our aſſiſtance, that perceiving the enemy were poſſeſſed of our camp, that the legions were over-charged and almoſt ſurrounded, that our horſe, ſlingers, and Numidians were broken and routed, not ſtaying to expect the event of the battle, they immediately returned home, reporting that the Romans were entirely defeated, and their baggage taken.

CÆSAR, having encouraged the tenth legion, went up to the right wing of the army, and found them over-

The Romans giv ground

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charged by the enemy; the ſtandards of the twelfth legion all crowded up in a place together; their ranks ſo cloſe, the ſoldiers had not room to fight; all the centurions of the fourth cohort killed, a ſtandard-bearer deprived of his life and colours together; all the reſt of the centurions either killed or dangerouſly wounded, amongſt which number was P. SEXTUS BACULUS, the primiple, a man of extraordinary courage, who had received ſo many wounds, he was not able to ſtand, the front beginning to give ground, whilſt ſome in the rear were running away; the enemy on the other hand puſhing on briſkly in the front, notwithſtanding the diſadvantage of the riſing-ground, and flanking our men with equal fury at the ſame time on either ſide. Finding things in this deſperate condition, and knowing it impoſſible to ſend them relief, CÆSAR ſnatch'd a ſhield from one of the new levies, for 'till that inſtant he had been without one, and, putting himſelf in the front of the battle, encouraged the ſoldiers; then calling the centurions by their names, commanded them to advance the enſigns, and widen the ranks of the Maniples, that they might have more liberty to uſe their ſwords; his preſence inſuſed freſh courage into the ſoldiers, and each of them ſtrove, even in the greateſt extremity, to give proofs of his valour, whilſt the emperor was there to be a witneſs of it, which put a ſtop to the career of the enemy.

Cæſar ſnatches a ſhield, and places himſelf in the front of the battle, to encourage them.

CHAP. XI.

PERCEIVING likewiſe that the ſeventh legion, which ſtood next him, was over-powered by the enemy, he commanded the tribunes to cloſe the two legions together by degrees, and joining back to back, face about to the right and left, whereby having made a double front, they were ſecure from being ſurrounded; whereupon they began to defend themſelves, and attack the enemy with freſh vigour. In the mean time, the two legions which had been left behind to guard the baggage, hearing the armies were engag'd, made what haſte they could to our aſſiſtance, and were diſcerned by the Hainaultois from the top of the hill. TITUS LABIENUS, who by this time had made himſelf maſter of the enemy's camp, perceiving from the riſing-ground how matters went on our ſide the river, detach'd the tenth legion to our relief, who having intelligence from the cavalry and ſervants that fled away, what

Labienus gains the enemy's camp; and ſends aſſiſtance to Cæſar.

what danger the general, his legions, and the camp were in, redoubled their pace. WAR in GAUL.

Their arrival made ſo ſtrange an alteration for the better on our ſide, that they who before were faint with bleeding, and forced to reſt themſelves upon their ſhields, began the fight afreſh; nay, the ſervants ſeeing how great a conſternation the enemy were in, fell upon them unarmed; whereupon the horſe, to wipe away the ignominy of their former flight, by giving freſh proofs of their courage, where-e'er there was a vacancy between the legionary ſoldiers, ruſhed boldly into the fight. But the enemy, even in their laſt extremity, ſhewed themſelves to be men; for no ſooner were their foremoſt ranks ſwept off, but the next ſucceeding in their place, fought upon their bodies, and when death had raiſed a mountain of their carcaſes, the ſmall remainder, aſcending to the top of it, caſt their darts from thence, and taking up ours, returned them back again: fame therefore did them juſtice, in reporting them to be men of ſuch prodigious courage; ſince they durſt attempt to croſs a broad river, and aſcend the ſteep banks on the other ſide, to engage an enemy at ſo great a diſadvantage, which dangers their grandeur of mind had taught them to deſpiſe. The enemy entirely defeated.

The battle being thus decided, and almoſt the name and people of Hainault extinguiſhed, the old men, women, and children, who, as we have already ſaid, before the fight had been convey'd into bogs and marſhes, hearing of the defeat, and ſeeing no way left to put a ſtop to the conqueror's ſucceſs, nor any hopes of ſafety for the vanquiſh'd, unanimouſly reſolv'd to ſend embaſſadors to CÆSAR, and ſurrender themſelves. When theſe were arrived at the camp, they laid before him the deplorable condition of their country; that out of ſix hundred ſenators, only three remained alive; and that out of 60000 ſoldiers, they had not now 500 that were able to bear arms; whom CÆSAR, to give a proof of his compaſſion to the afflicted, carefully preſerved, allowing them the free poſſeſſion of their towns and country, and commanded their neighbours round about to do them no injury. The mighty ſlaughter of the Hainaultois.

CHAP. XII.

THE people of Douay, who, as we ſaid before, were marching to the aſſiſtance of the Hainaultois, having intelligence of their defeat, returned home again; and, deſerting Atuatici. The people of Douay return home, and fortify their principal town.

WAR in GAUL.

ſerting all the reſt of their towns and caſtles, convey'd themſelves and their riches into a well fortified place, which was ſurrounded by inacceſſible rocks and ſteep precipices, except in one place about 200 foot broad, where there was an eaſy aſcent to the town, which they had fortify'd with a double wall of a prodigious height; whereon they laid ſtones and ſharp pieces of timber, ready to caſt down upon occaſion.

The deſcent of the people of Douay.

Theſe people were deſcended from the Cimbri and Teutons, who, when they took their journey to Italy, had left ſix thouſand men on the other ſide the Rhine, with ſuch carriages as they could not conveniently get over: theſe, after the defeat of their countrymen, having been long perſecuted by their neighbours, one while invading others, and at another defending themſelves, at laſt obtained a peace, and ſettled in that country.

Cæſar beſieges them.

On the firſt arrival of our army they made ſeveral ſallies out of the town, and encountred our men in ſmall ſkirmiſhes; but after we had drawn our line of circumvallation, twelve foot high, and fifteen miles in length, and fortified it with little turrets, the beſieged kept themſelves within their walls. At firſt when they ſaw us raiſing a mount, fitting up the vines, and building a large turret at ſome diſtance from the town, making a jeſt of us, by way of ridicule they demanded, with what hands or ſtrength ſuch little men as we (for the Romans are but of ſmall ſtature in reſpect of the Gauls) ſhould be able to bring a tower of that prodigious weight to their walls? but when they ſaw it removed, and approaching near the town, aſtoniſhed at ſo ſtrange a ſight, they immediately

They ſend a deceitful embaſſage to Cæſar.

ſent deputies to CÆSAR to deſire a peace; ſaying, "They believed the Romans made war by the peculiar aſſiſtance of the gods, who were able in ſo minute a ſpace of time to convey engines of that prodigious bulk to their walls; wherefore they willingly ſubmitted themſelves, and all they had to CÆSAR's mercy, only intreating him, for the ſake of his wonted goodneſs and compaſſion (that if he thought fitting not to take away their lives) as they had always been envy'd and hated by their neighbours for their valour, that he would not deprive them of their arms, and leave them without the means to defend themſelves; for they would rather ſubmit to any puniſhment from the Romans, than be inhumanly murdered by thoſe whom they had formerly commanded."

To this CÆSAR anſwered, "That provided they ſurrendered themſelves before his battering-ram touched their walls, he would ſave the city, more for his own compaſſion ſake than their merit: nor would he accept of a ſurrender on any other terms but the delivery of their arms; but he would give the ſame orders to their neighbours not to injure them, as he had done for thoſe of Hainault." Cæſar's anſwer.

The deputies returned with this anſwer, which the beſieged ſeemed readily to ſubmit to, by caſting ſuch plenty of arms over the walls, as almoſt filled the ditch up to the top of the rampart (but, as we afterwards found, reſerved a third part, which they hid) then opening their gates, enjoy'd a peace for the reſt of that day. The beſieged ſurrender.

In the evening CÆSAR cauſed the ſoldiers to return to their camp, and the gates of the town to be ſhut, that the citizens might not be plundered. But the beſieged, who had already concerted their deſign, believing that after their ſurrender the Romans would ſet no guard upon them, or at leaſt an inconſiderable one, arm'd with ſuch weapons as they had reſerved, and targets made of wicker, cover'd o'er with hides, about three o'clock in the morning made a furious ſally with all their force upon our fortifications, where the aſcent was eaſieſt; which the Romans having immediate intelligence of, by the beacons (as CÆSAR had before commanded) made haſte to relieve the place, where the enemy, emboldened by deſpair, fought bravely, though the Romans had the advantage of the ground; but 4000 being ſlain on the ſpot, the reſt retreated into the town. The next day, without the leaſt oppoſition, CÆSAR forced the gates, and having cauſed his army to enter, he plunder'd the town, and ſold the people, whoſe number amounted to 53000, for bond-ſlaves. They ſally out of the town early in the morning, but are repulſed.

CHAP. XIII.

ABOUT the ſame time P. CRASSUS (whom CÆSAR had ſent with a legion to take in Vennes, Coutances, Landreguet, Cornoüalle, Bretagne, Eureux, and Renes, their maritime towns) ſent him word that thoſe places had all ſubmitted to the Roman empire. Veneti, Unelli, Oſiſmij, Curioſolitæ, Seſuvij, Aulerici, Rhedones.

The wars being thus ſucceſſively ended, and all the provinces of Gaul in peace, ſo great a terror did CÆSAR's victories ſtrike into the barbarians round about, that the nations

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nations beyond the Rhine, ſent embaſſadors to offer him hoſtages, and obedience to whatever he pleaſed to command them; but he being in haſte to return to Lombardy, commanded them to come again the next ſpring. Having diſpoſed his army into winter-quarters in Chartrain, Anjou and Tours, which lay neareſt the country he had laſt ſubdued, he took his journey to Italy; and having ſent the ſenate an account of his ſucceſs, they cauſed a general thankſgiving to be proclaimed, which laſted fifteen days, an honour which no man, before that time, had ever obtained.

Carnutes, Andes, Turones.

C. J. CÆ-

C. J. CÆSAR'S COMMENTARY OF HIS WAR in GAUL.

The THIRD BOOK.

The war with the people of Valais, Vannes, Eureux, Coutances, Gaſcoigne, Teroüenne, and Guelders.

CHAP. I.

WAR in GAUL.

WHEN CÆSAR returned to Italy, he ſent SERGIUS GALBA, with the twelfth legion, and a party of horſe, againſt the people of Elen, Valais, and Sion (whoſe territories, beginning at the confines of Savoy, the lake of Geneva, and the river Rhoſne, extend themſelves to the top of the Alps) his buſineſs was to clear the Alps of high-way-men, that lived by robbing the merchants and paſſengers, who travelled between Italy and Gaul; with orders, if he ſhould think convenient, to take up his winter-quarters there.

Mantuates, Veragri, Seduni.

GALBA, after ſome ſucceſsful rencounters, having made himſelf maſter of ſeveral forts, received embaſſadors from all the country round, who came to offer him hoſtages; whereupon he concluded a peace, reſolving to quarter two cohorts of his legion in the country of Elen, and to lodge himſelf with the reſt in Martenac, the capital of Valais.

Octodurus.

This town is ſituated in a little valley, divided by the river, and ſurrounded by ſteep mountains on every ſide;

of

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of which having given one half to the Gauls, he took poſſeſſion of the other with his cohorts, which they fortified with a ditch and a rampier.

Galba beſieged by the Valais.

After he had continued at this place ſeveral days, and given orders to the country to bring in what corn he had occaſion for, he received very unexpected news, that the Gauls had forſaken their part of the city, and that the hills around were covered with multitudes of the people of Valais and Sion. The occaſion of this revolt was the ſmall number of the Roman troops, which did not amount to one legion; for two cohorts had been quartered in Elen; beſides, ſeveral of thoſe who ſtaid with GALBA, were gone out a foraging. To the contempt of their number may be added the ſituation of the place, which was ſo advantageous to the beſiegers, that they perſuaded themſelves the Romans would not ſtand the firſt aſſault. The natives thought it a great hardſhip to be robbed of their children under the name of hoſtages; and that the Romans, not contented with a thorough paſſage, ſhould deprive them of the poſſeſſion of the higheſt Alps for ever, and unite them to their province.

Upon this intelligence GALBA, who had neither finiſhed his fortifications, nor ſtored himſelf with ſufficient proviſions (becauſe he little dreamt of an inſurrection, after the people had ſurrendered themſelves, and delivered hoſtages) immediately ſummoned a council of war, to conſult what was proper to be done: all the officers were ſtrangely ſurprized at ſo unexpected a revolution; and ſome of them ſeeing the mountains round about poſſeſſed with ſoldiers (who had ſo poſted themſelves, that there was no hopes of receiving proviſion or relief) could find out no other expedient for their ſafety, but leaving the heavy baggage behind, and ſallying out, to force their paſſage through the enemy at the ſame place where they entered; but the majority were of a different opinion, holding it more convenient to reſerve that as their laſt refuge, and in the mean time, fortifying their camp, to attend the deciſion of fortune.

CHAP. II.

The Romans aſſaulted in their camp.

BUT, before the Romans had time to execute ſuch orders as were reſolved on for their defence, the enemy, upon a ſign given, furiouſly aſſaulted our camp on all ſides with ſtones and darts; which our men at firſt courageouſly

ragiouſly returned, not caſting one dart from the ramparts in vain; and wherever they ſaw the enemy make the ſtrongeſt efforts, thither they flock'd to oppoſe them. But we laboured under a mighty diſadvantage; for the rebels being ſo much ſuperior to us in number, whenever their foremoſt ranks began to faint, freſh men ſupplied their places; which we, having ſo ſmall a body of troops, were not able to do; ſo that, with us, neither the weary nor the wounded were permitted to quit their poſts.

After the conflict had endured for the ſpace of ſix hours, our men being weak, and wanting weapons, whilſt the enemy's vigour encreaſed as we grew faint, finding things reduced to the laſt extremity (for they had already filled great part of our ditch, and began to demoliſh our rampart) P. SEXTUS BACULUS, the primiple, who received many wounds in the war with the Hainaultois, and CAIUS VOLUSENUS, a tribune of the ſoldiers, a man of great courage and conduct, came to GALBA, and informed him, that there was no expedient left, but ſallying out, and putting their fortune upon one briſk attempt; wherefore GALBA, having ſummoned all the centurions, cauſed them to give the ſoldiers immediate orders to retire a while from the rampart, and only receiving the enemy's ſhot, to refreſh themſelves, 'till a ſign ſhould be given for ſallying out of the camp, when they muſt rely only on their courage for the preſervation of their lives.

Galba and his Romans ſally out of their camp, put the enemy to flight, and entirely defeat them.

Theſe orders were ſo well executed by the ſoldiers, that iſſuing out of the camp from all ſides at the ſame inſtant, they neither allowed the enemy time to rally their forces, nor to know what was the matter: which gave ſo ſudden a turn of fortune, that they, who but the moment before promiſed themſelves the poſſeſſion of our camp and baggage, were now ſurrounded on all ſides, and out of 30000, for ſo many came to attack us, one third loſt their lives, whilſt the remainder were obliged to procure their ſafety by flight, being driven off the mountains round about. Thus having entirely defeated the enemy, and taken their arms, we returned again to our quarters.

Galba returns into Savoy.

But GALBA was not willing, after this battle, to try fortune's good-nature a ſecond time; for conſidering he had met with ſuch a troubleſome buſineſs, as he little expected when firſt he came thither, and finding proviſions began to grow ſcarce, having ſet fire to the town, he returned

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turned the next day towards the province, marched his legion without oppoſition through the country of Elen, and from thence arrived ſafe in Savoy, where he took up his quarters the reſt of the winter.

CHAP. III.

Cæſar goes to Illyricum. The Gauls revolt.

CÆSAR, having many reaſons to believe that all things in Gaul were quiet, that there was no probability of new inſurrections (becauſe the Belgæ had been defeated, the Germans expelled, and the people of Valais ſubdued) at the beginning of the winter took a progreſs to Illyricum, being deſirous to ſee that country: but moſt unexpectedly there aroſe new troubles in Gaul upon this occaſion: young P. CRASSUS, who was quartered with the ſeventh legion near the ſea-ſide in Anjou, finding proviſions very ſcarce in that country, ſent out the horſe-officers and tribunes to demand corn for his legion in the cities round about. T. TERRASIDIUS he ſent to the Enſubij, TREBIUS GALLIUS to Cornoüalle, QUINTUS VELANIUS and TITUS SILIUS to Vannes, one of the moſt potent diſtricts on the ſea-coaſt of thoſe nations; for being well ſtored with ſhipping, with which they trade to England, they are better mariners than any of their neighbours, are maſters of thoſe few ſea-ports which lie on the coaſt of ſo tempeſtuous a ſea as theirs, and exact tribute from moſt merchants that ſail on that ocean.

Andes. Curioſolitæ. Veneti.

The Gauls impriſon the Roman commiſſaries.

Theſe ſet the firſt example, by detaining SILIUS and VELANIUS; by which means they hoped to recover the hoſtages they had delivered CRASSUS: the next country imitating them, did the like by TREBIUS and TERRASIDIUS; and ſending immediate embaſſadors to each other (for the Gauls are very ſpeedy in their reſolves) they obliged themſelves by their noblemen to enter into a ſtrict alliance, not to make the leaſt motion without the publick and mutual conſent, to expect and ſhare the ſame fortune. Nor did they leave any thing uneſſayed, to incite the reſt of the provinces thereabout, to aſſert that liberty which they had received from their anceſtors, not to ſtoop to the dominion of a ſtranger; and having drawn all the ſea-port towns into the ſame conſpiracy with themſelves, ſent deputies to CRASSUS to let him know, "If he expected his officers liberty, he muſt return their hoſtages."

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Cæsar builds a navy, and marches into Gaul.

CÆSAR, having intelligence from CRASSUS how affairs went, being then at a great distance from the army, commanded several gallies and ships to be built on the river Loire, which runs into the ocean, and listed great numbers of pilots and mariners in the province; which being accomplished with wondrous expedition, so soon as the season permitted, he arrived in Gaul. The people of Vannes in the mean time, and the rest of their confederates, who had intelligence of CÆSAR's arrival (considering how horrid a crime they had been guilty of, in violating the law of nations, by putting the embassadors in chains) were not idle, but prepared all things necessary to defend them from the impending danger, especially a considerable navy.

CHAP. V.

THEY flattered themselves with success in this enterprize, by reason of their strong situation; for there was no coming at them by land, because the passes were stopped up by several arms of the ocean; nor were they worse fortify'd on the other side, the entrance by way of the sea being very difficult and dangerous; for they had but few ports, and the Romans were altogether strangers to their coast. Besides, they were in hopes the Roman army would not be able to subsist there long without provisions, which were not to be had in the country: but the event decided affairs much contrary to their expectations, notwithstanding they were more powerful at sea than the Romans, who were not acquainted with the flats, shallows, ports, and islands of the place where they were to engage, and found the practice of navigation in those narrow seas far different from that on the wider ocean.

The Gauls preparations and alliances.

Big with these expectations they began to fortify their towns, to carry all the corn out of the fields into their arsenals, and convey their shipping to Vannes, the place they were informed CÆSAR designed first to attack, having before-hand engaged the people of Landreguet, Leisieux, Nants, Lendoul, Teroüenne and Guelders in their interest, and sent embassadors to England, which lies over against them, to pray assistance from thence.

Osismij, Lexobij, Nannetes, Diablintres, Morini, Menapij.

WAR in GAUL.

Cæſar ſends ſeveral parties to different places in Gaul, to cut off all ſuccours from the enemy.

All theſe difficulties concurr'd to diſſwade CÆSAR from engaging in the war; but on the other hand, many reaſons made it abſolutely neceſſary, firſt the detainer of the Roman knights, then their rebellion after they had ſurrendered themſelves, and given hoſtages for their good behaviour; and laſtly, the revolt of ſo many cities, which being neglected, might prove of bad example to the reſt. Conſidering therefore that all the Gauls were prone to novelty, eaſily induced to undertake a war, that it was natural to all mankind to love liberty and deteſt ſervitude, he thought it the moſt convenient way to divide his army, and diſtribute it into ſeveral places: TITUS LABIENUS he ſent with the cavalry to Treves, that borders on the Rhine, commanding him to have an eye over the people of Rheims, to keep the reſt of the Belgæ thereabouts in obedience, and to prevent the Germans from tranſporting any troops over the Rhine to foment and aſſiſt this rebellion: PUBLIUS CRASSUS, with twelve legionary cohorts and a party of horſe, he detach'd to Gaſcoigne, to cut off all aſſiſtance from thoſe parts: Q. TITURIUS SABINUS, with three legions he order'd to Leiſeux, Landreguet, and Coutances, to diſappoint the rebels hopes in thoſe countries; and having made D. BRUTUS admiral of the navy, and of the French veſſels he had received from thoſe of Poictou, Xantonge, and the other provinces which continued firm in their obedience, he ordered him to ſail with all expedition to Vannes, himſelf following after by land with the foot.

Unelli.

Pictones.

CHAP. VI.

Cæſar takes ſeveral towns, but the beſieged always eſcape.

THE confederate cities, being moſt of them ſituated upon promontories, could not be attacked by land at high-water, which always happened once in ſix hours; nor yet by ſea, for upon the ebb of the tide the ſhips were left upon the ſands as a prey to the enemy; and whenever the Romans endeavoured to exclude the ocean by artificial mounts, which they raiſed to an equal height with the walls of the town, the enemy, ſo ſoon as we were prepared to enter, having plenty of ſhipping, quickly convey'd themſelves and their effects away by ſea to the next port, where they enjoy'd the ſame advantages as before. Thus they diſappointed us for moſt part of the ſummer; for the Roman fleet durſt not venture out of the Loire into ſo vaſt and tempeſtuous an ocean, where the tides were

were ſtrong, the roads and havens but few, and at a conſiderable diſtance from one another.

Deſcription of the Gauls ſhipping.

The enemy had a great advantage over us in their ſhipping, which was thus built and rigg'd: "Their keels were flatter than ours, conſequently more convenient for the ſhallows and low tides; their fore-caſtles were very high, their poops contrived to endure the roughneſs of the ſea; the body of their veſſels built of impenetrable oak: the banks for the oars were beams a foot ſquare, faſtened at each end with iron pins an inch thick: inſtead of cables for their anchors they made uſe of iron chains, and had hides for their ſails, either becauſe they wanted linnen, and were ignorant of its uſe, or what's more likely, thought linnen ſails not ſtrong enough to endure their boiſterous ſeas, their impetuous winds, and carry veſſels of ſo conſiderable burthen: ſo that whenever our ſhips encounter'd them, we only had the advantage in tacking about by the management of our oars; but in all other things they had much the better of us, being built more convenient for the nature of the place, and more able to endure a ſtorm; their ſhells were ſo extraordinary hard, our beaks could not enter them, and their decks ſo high, we could do but little execution with our darts; beſides, whenever a ſtorm aroſe, which obliged them to ſubmit to the pleaſure of the winds, being ſtrong built, they were better able to weather it out, and could ſhelter themſelves with ſafety amongſt the flats, without fear of the rocks, or thoſe other inconveniencies which the Romans were ſubject to."

CHAP. VII.

CÆSAR having taken in one town after another, the enemy ſtill convey'd themſelves to the next; wherefore perceiving he ſpent his time to no purpoſe, for he could neither prevent their eſcape, nor do them any conſiderable damage, he reſolved to attend the arrival of his navy; which was no ſooner come, but the enemy immediately, having rigged out 220 ſail of tall veſſels, and equipp'd them with all things neceſſary, ſtood out to ſea juſt over againſt us. The admiral BRUTUS, the tribunes and centurions who commanded the Roman fleet, were ſo ſurprized at this unexpected ſight, that they knew not what methods to take, or in what order to draw up their gallies; for the enemy's ſhipping was ſo ſtrong,

The Roman navy arrives; the two fleets drawn up; they engage.

WAR in GAUL.

our beaks could do them no prejudice; and had we built turrets on the decks, as uſual, yet we could not have mounted them to a ſufficient height to equal that of their poops; in which particular they had a mighty advantage over us; for as we could not do them much prejudice by our weapons, becauſe we lay ſo much lower than they, ſo on the contrary their darts deſcended on us with a much greater force: but we happened to have one ſort of inſtrument amongſt our ſtores, which proved extreamly to our advantage; we had provided a great number of ſharp crooked ſythes, like thoſe that are uſed in ſieges, which we affixed to the end of long poles, and laying hold of their tackle, towed the veſſels away by the help of our oars; then, cutting their cables, the main-yard fell down, whereby the enemy, who rely'd on their ſails and rigging, were at once deprived of their ſails and the uſe of their veſſels: and now the diſpute depending entirely upon courage, the Romans eaſily got the better, becauſe fighting in the view of CÆSAR, and all the Romans, they were aſſured of ſo many witneſſes of their valour; for all the hills and riſing grounds, which look'd upon the ſea, were covered with our ſoldiers.

The Romans take and ſink almoſt all their ſhips.

The enemy's main-yards being thus cut down, the Romans endeavoured to board them, though each veſſel of ours was ſurrounded by two or three of theirs; which the Gauls perceiving, after they had loſt ſeveral of their ſhips, finding no other way for ſafety, began to tack about before the wind, but were of a ſudden ſo becalmed, that their flight was prevented; which fell out very opportunely for the Romans, who grappling with them, boarded ſo many, that after the battle had continued from between eight and nine in the morning 'till ſun-ſet, few of their number had the fortune to ſave themſelves, and get to land by the aſſiſtance of the night.

The end of the war.

This battle put an end to the war with Vannes and the reſt of the maratime towns; for at this diſpute were preſent not only all the youth of their country, but even thoſe of maturer years, who might aſſiſt the labouring fate of their country, either by authority or advice; and hither had they brought all the veſſels they were able to rig out; which being loſt, they who eſcaped the ſlaughter, not knowing whither to fly, nor how to defend their towns againſt CÆSAR, delivered themſelves up to his mercy; who treated them with unuſual ſeverity, to teach ſuch barbarians for the future to obſerve the law of nations, whereby

whereby the perſons of embaſſadors are protected; for he put all their ſenators to the ſword, and ſold the people for ſlaves. WAR in GAUL.

CHAP. VIII.

IN the mean time L. TITURIUS SABINUS was marching with his forces to the confines of Coutances, a people ſubject to VIRIDOVIX, then generaliſſimo for the revolted towns, who had furniſhed him with a numerous and potent army: the ſenators of Eureux, Rhoan and Leiſieux, could not be drawn into this confederacy; but the common people, having murdered them, ſhut up their city gates, and joined with VIRIDOVIX; to whom likewiſe flocked great numbers from Gaul, men of deſperate fortunes, and thieves, whom the hopes of plunder induced to prefer the ſtudy of war before that of huſbandry and daily labour. Sabinus's expedition to Coutances. Eburovices, Aulerici.

SABINUS, having encamped himſelf in a convenient place, permitted not his men to ſtir out of their trenches; whilſt VIRIDOVIX, who lodged within two miles of him, drew his forces out every day to offer him battle; which the other ſo often refuſed, that at laſt he was not only ſuſpected by the enemy, but even by his own ſoldiers, of cowardice; and ſo craftily did he act his part, that the enemy had the aſſurance to come even to our very trenches: the reaſon he gave for his conduct, was, that he did not think it juſtifiable for a lieutenant to engage an army ſo much more numerous than his own, during the abſence of the general, but upon advantage of time or place.

Thus having confirmed the enemy in their opinion, he made choice of a ſubtle Gaul amongſt the auxiliary troops, whom he perſuaded, by conſiderable preſents and greater promiſes, to go over to the enemy, and there act according to ſuch inſtructions as he ſhould give him. This inſtrument being arrived at their camp, and received as a deſerter, informed them how much the Romans were afraid of them, what extremities CÆSAR was driven to by the people of Vannes, and that SABINUS deſigned the next night privately to decamp, and make what haſte he could to his aſſiſtance. No ſooner had they heard this news, but they unanimouſly cried out, that ſo lucky an opportunity was not to be ſlipped, and that they would attack the Romans in their intrenchments. Many circumſtances con- Sabinus's ſtratagem and ſucceſs.

WAR in GAUL.

curr'd, which induced the Gauls to embrace this reſolution, SABINUS's declining battle ſo often, the intelligence from the deſerter, want of proviſions, which they had not taken ſufficient care for, their hopes in their confederates of Vannes, and that credulous humour which always inclines men to believe what they wiſh: ſpurr'd on by theſe motives, the ſoldiers would not permit VIRIDOVIX and the reſt of the general officers to break up the council, before they had reſolved upon forcing the Roman camp; which being agreed on, they went as chearfully to work, as if they had already obtained the victory; and having provided plenty of faſcines, to fill up the ditches, made the beſt of their way to attack us.

The Gauls come to attack the Roman camp,

but are repulſed and routed.

The Romans were incamped on the top of a riſing ground, which mounted with an eaſy aſcent from the level; and the enemy made ſo much haſte to prevent our having notice of their deſign, that they ran themſelves out of breath before they came at us. SABINUS, who was better prepared to receive them than they imagined, having encouraged his ſoldiers, gave them the ſign of battle; then ſallying out of two ſeveral gates of the camp at once upon the enemy (whilſt they were loaden with thoſe materials they deſigned to fill up our trenches with) the advantage of the ground, their faintneſs and want of experience, our courage and conduct, ſoon decided the matter in favour of the Romans; for the enemy, not being able to ſtand the firſt onſet, choſe rather to depend on their heels than their hands, whilſt our troops being freſh and vigorous, purſued and ſlew great numbers of them; nor were their horſe able to preſerve themſelves from the ſame fate, for our cavalry followed them ſo cloſe, that few eſcaped: ſo at the ſame time SABINUS heard of the defeat at ſea, CÆSAR was informed of SABINUS's ſucceſs at land.

Upon the news of theſe victories all the provinces which TITURIUS was ſent againſt, ſurrendered themſelves; for as the Gauls readily entered into a war, ſo upon the ſmalleſt turn they relent, being impatient of afflictions.

CHAP. IX.

Craſſus's expedition againſt the Gaſcoignes.

MUCH about the ſame time P. CRASSUS arrived at Gaſcoigne, which, as we have already taken notice, as well for the number of its inhabitants as its extent of land,

land, deſerves to be eſteemed a third part of Gaul; and conſidering he was to manage a war in the ſame country where lieutenant-general L. VALERIUS PRECONIUS formerly was defeated, and loſt his life, where LUCIUS MANILIUS was glad to purchaſe his eſcape at the expence of his baggage, he thought it behoved him to take more than ordinary care: wherefore having provided his army with corn, having raiſed ſome cavalry, levied troops in the auxiliary countries, and ſent for ſeveral brave volunteers from Tholouſe and Narbonne, cities next adjoining to the Roman province, he marched his army into the confines of Sots. The natives were no ſooner acquainted with his arrival, but they immediately levied a conſiderable army of horſe and foot, and with their cavalry (whom they moſt relied on) engaged the Romans whilſt they were upon their march: we eaſily put them to the rout; but when we were purſuing them, their infantry appeared in a valley where they had watched for us in ambuſcade, and ſetting upon our men whilſt they were diſordered with the purſuit, began the fight afreſh.

WAR in GAUL.

Toloſa, Narbona, Sotiates.

The Gauls in ambuſcade.

The diſpute was long and doubtful; for the enemy, grown proud with the memory of their former victories, thought the fate of Gaſcoigne depended on their ſingle virtue; whilſt the Romans, on the other hand, were glad of an opportunity to ſhew what they were able to do under the command of ſo young a ſoldier, without the directions of their general: but at laſt, having received many wounds, the Gauls began to fly, and CRASSUS having ſlain great numbers of them, marched directly to their capital, which he inveſted. The beſieged maintained their poſſeſſion with great bravery, notwithſtanding we approached their walls with vines, mounts and turrets, ſometimes ſallying, and ſometimes undermining our works; but at laſt perceiving the induſtry of the Romans fruſtrated their endeavours, they ſent deputies to CRASSUS, to deſire he would pleaſe to accept of a ſurrender; which they obtained, on delivery of their arms. But whilſt the whole army expected the performance of this article, ADCANTUANUS, who commanded the town, endeavoured to make his eſcape out of one of the poſtern gates, "with ſix hundred ſworn friends, whom the natives call Soldierij, whoſe cuſtom is, to enjoy all things in common with thoſe to whom they have vowed a friendſhip, to ſhare the ſame fortune, and kill themſelves

The Gauls routed; they retire to their capital.

Craſſus inveſts it, and they agree to ſurrender.

Adcantuanus and his Soldierij or ſworn friends.

WAR in GAUL.

rather than ſurvive the death of their comrades." But the alarm from that part of the works ſoon ſummoned our men thither, where after a warm conflict the enemy were drove back again into the town; but notwithſtanding, obtained the favour of being comprehended within the ſame treaty: and CRASSUS, having received hoſtages from them, left their country, to march againſt the Vocates and Taruſates.

CHAP. X.

The Gauls rally again, ſend for foreign ſuccours and captains from Spain.

THE Gauls being much diſturbed that a place ſo well fortified both by art and nature ſhould fall in ſo ſmall a time into the Romans hands, began to enter into mutual alliances with one another in all parts, ſending embaſſadors, and exchanging hoſtages for that purpoſe; and having firſt levied what forces they could in their own country, ſent deputies to Spain, and the other countries that bordered on Gaſcoigne, whence they received ſupplies, with ſeveral experienced officers; upon whoſe arrival they began the war very briſkly with a numerous army, having made choice of ſuch for their commanders, who, having ſerved under SERTORIUS, were reputed to be men of conduct and experience in the military art: theſe, according to the cuſtom of the Romans, began to pitch upon convenient places to encamp in, to intrench themſelves and intercept our convoys; which CRASSUS perceiving, thought it the ſafeſt way to give the enemy battle immediately, becauſe his army was ſo ſmall, he could not detach parties like the Gauls, to poſſeſs themſelves of particular paſſes, and yet leave a ſufficient number to ſecure his camp; which would of neceſſity, in time, make proviſions grow ſcarce with the Romans, whilſt the enemy's power encreaſed: wherefore, having ſummoned a council of war, finding all the officers of his opinion, he appointed the day after to give them battle.

The Romans offer them battle,

Accordingly the next morning, by dawn of day, he drew out all his forces, and having ranged them in a double line, diſpoſed the auxiliaries in the midſt, expecting what motions the enemy would make: but the Gauls, though they fancied they might ſafely venture an engagement, as well on the ſcore of their number, as of their ancient proweſs, yet thought it the better way to block up all the paſſes, intercept the Roman convoys, and obtain

a

a victory without the expence of blood; reſolving when the Romans ſhould be reduced to quit their camp for want of proviſions, to attack their rear, whilſt they were faint with hunger, weary with travel, and incumbered with their baggage: this advice ſeemed moſt agreeable to the whole council of the Gauls; and therefore when the Romans proffered them battle, they kept within their camp and declined it.

but the Gauls refuſe it.

CHAP. XI.

CRASSUS perceiving their deſign, and finding his men more eager for the engagement, becauſe they thought the enemy were afraid of them, whilſt they all exclaimed againſt delay, deſiring they might immediately attack the Gauls in their camp, he incouraged their deſire, and to their infinite ſatisfaction, led them to the place where the enemy was lodged. Whilſt ſome were buſy in filling the ditch, and others endeavouring to force the Gauls from their trenches with their darts, the auxiliaries, on whom CRASSUS had no great dependance, were employed in bringing ſtones and darts to the ſoldiers, and turf to the mount, that they might appear to be engaged as well as the reſt. The Gauls in the mean time maintained their ground obſtinately, doing great execution with their darts from the higher ground; which the horſemen perceiving, took a compaſs about to view their camp, and brought CRASSUS word, that the rampart of the Decuman port was not ſo ſtrongly fortified as other places, and they believed it might eaſily be forced; whereupon CRASSUS, having deſired the horſe-officers to encourage their men by conſiderable rewards and promiſes, gave them inſtructions what he thought fit to have done. According to their orders, marching with four freſh cohorts that had been left in the camp, and no ways concerned in the fatigue of the day, they took a circuit to prevent being obſerved; and, whilſt the Gauls were intent on the engagement, arrived at the place appointed, which they eaſily forced, and entered the enemy's camp before the Gauls could perceive who they were, or what they were doing; then giving us notice by a loud acclamation, our ſoldiers in the front, as they always do, when there is hope of victory, renewed the battle with freſh vigour. The enemy being thus ſurrounded, jumped over the rampier

The Romans attack their camp.

The Roman cavalry enter the Decuman port of the Gauls camp.

WAR in GAUL.

rampier in deſpair, endeavouring to ſave themſelves by flight; but being an open country, our cavalry purſued and killed ſuch numbers of them, that out of 50000 which came from Spain and Gaſcoigne, there hardly eſcaped a fourth part.

The Gauls entirely routed.

Upon the news of this victory, the greateſt part of Gaſcoigne voluntarily ſubmitted to CÆSAR, and ſent him hoſtages; viz. the people of Pais de Labard, Bigorre, Precins, de Buch, Turſan, Euſe, Paio de Gavre, Auch, Garonne, Sibutz, and Bazadois; only ſome few diſtricts that lay at a greater diſtance, depending on the approach of winter, held out.

All Gaſcoigne ſubmits: Tarbelli, Bigerriones, Preciani, Vocates, Taruſates, Eluſates, Garites, Auſci, Garumni, Sibulzates, Cocoſates.

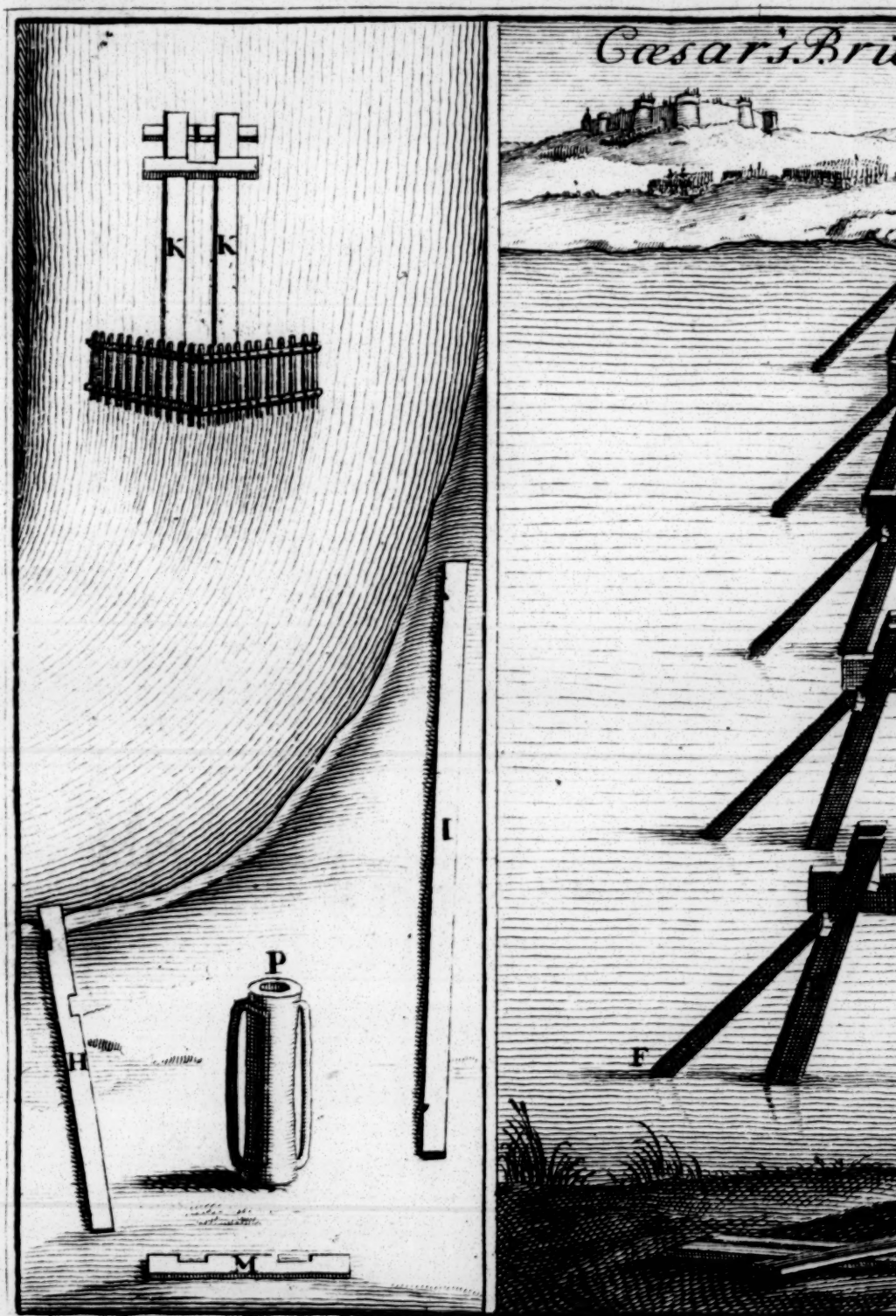
CHAP. XII.

MUCH about the ſame time, CÆSAR, though the ſummer was almoſt ſpent, made an expedition againſt Teroüenne and Guelders, becauſe they were the only provinces that had not laid down their arms, nor ſent embaſſadors to treat of peace, whilſt all the other countries of Gaul had ſubmitted to the Roman empire. Thinking he might diſpatch this expedition in a very ſhort time, he marched his army into their country; but, contrary to his expectation, found they had a method of making war much different from the reſt of the Gauls; for, underſtanding that the moſt potent provinces in their continent that had engaged with the Romans were defeated, they thought it the wiſeſt way to convey themſelves and their effects into the woods and bogs, whereof they had plenty in their country.

Cæſar's expedition to Teroüenne and Guelders.

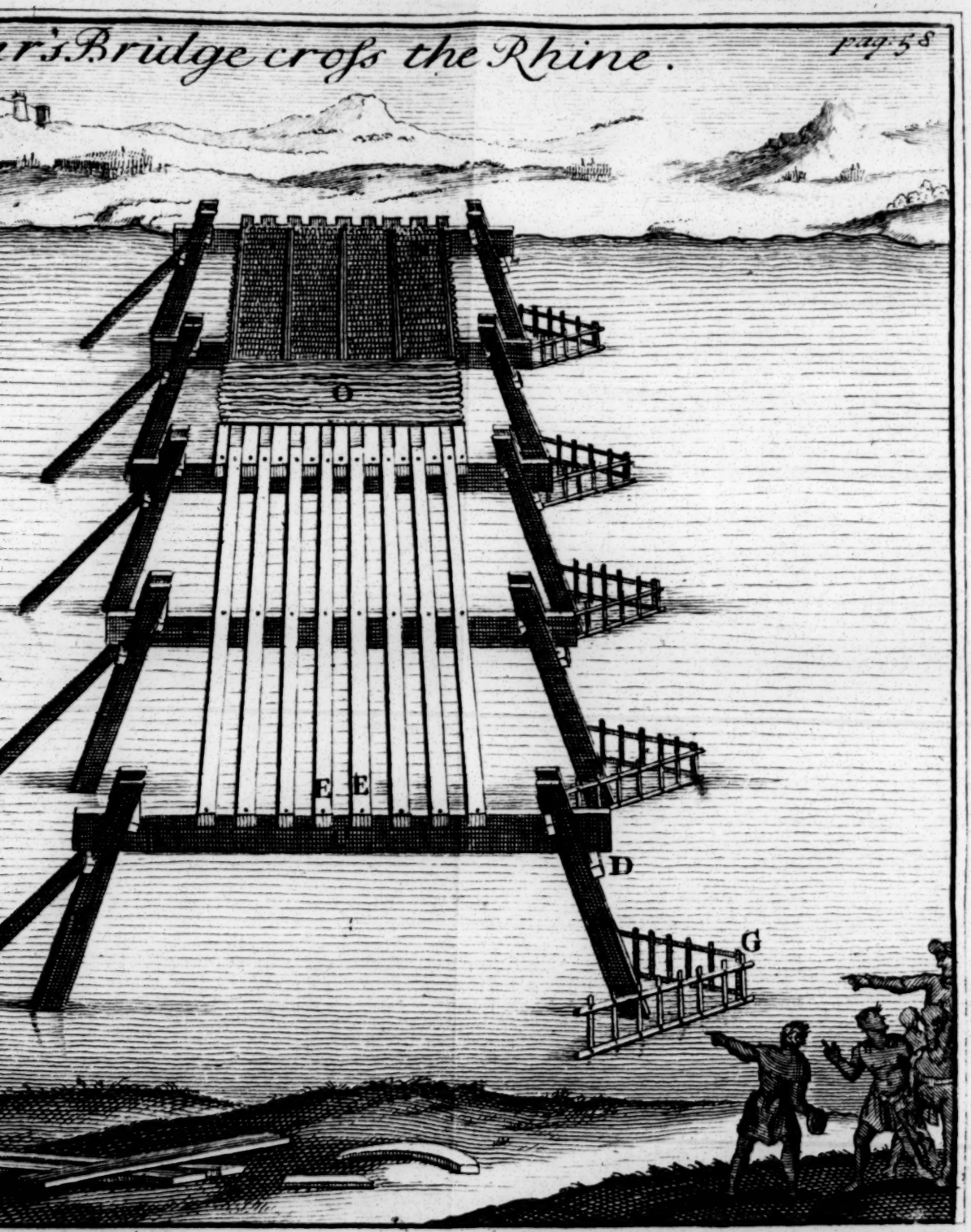
CÆSAR, ſo ſoon as he was come near the woods, began to entrench himſelf; but on a ſudden the enemy, whom he could not diſcover to be there, ſallied out of the thickets, whilſt his men were diſperſed, and employed about different charges; but they were eaſily repulſed to the woods, where the Romans following them unadviſedly, loſt ſome of their men; whereupon CÆSAR reſolved to ſpend the remainder of the ſummer in clearing the ground; and that his army might be no more ſurprized whilſt they were at work, he cauſed all the timber they cut down to be laid on each ſide for a fortification, and in a few days made ſo extraordinary a progreſs, that all the enemy's cattle were taken, though they themſelves had the good fortune to eſcape into the thicker woods.

The



A. Two Peices of timber a foot & half square joynid to each other at two foot distance. B
Beams two foot square laid over em. D. The Peices of wood that joynted the Pil
Posts against y strength of the Stream. G. The Piles for defending y Brid
of the Cross beams. K. Two Pillars joynid togather. L. The little cross peices
Hurdles or fascines that floord y bridge. O. The Cross Planks for layi

r's Bridge cross the Rhine. pag: 58



foot distance. B. Twe others opposit to them at forty foot distance inclining at the Top. C. The ynted the Pillars. E. The joyces for laying ye floorron. F. The Butterices to support ye main nding ye Bridge ag.st Ships and logs. H. The forme of a single Pillar. I. The forme of one h cross peices of wood that joynid em twofoot long. M. One of ye same kind single. N. The nks for laying the hurdles on. P. The forme of one of ye wooden Mallets or drivers.

The continual rains which fell ſoon after, put a ſtop to the undertaking; for the ſoldiers could no longer endure to lie in their tents: wherefore CÆSAR, having laid their country waſte, burnt their towns and houſes, returned back again, and quartered his army at Eureux, Leiſieux, and thoſe other places which he had laſt ſubdued.

WAR in GAUL.

The rains put a ſtop to Cæſar's progreſs.

C. J. CÆSAR'S COMMENTARY OF HIS WAR in GAUL.

The FOURTH BOOK.

The inhabitants of Zutphen and Heſſe drive thoſe of Guelders out of their country; but are defeated by CÆSAR. *His expeditions into Germany and England.*

CHAP. I.

WAR in GAUL.

The Germans croſs the Rhine. Uſipetes, Tenchtheri.

THE next winter, during the conſulate of CN. POMPEIUS and M. CRASSUS, the inhabitants of Heſſe and Zutphen, two German nations, croſſed the Rhine in great numbers towards that end where it diſcharges itſelf into the ſea: the reaſon why they left their country was, becauſe they had been ſo long oppreſſed by the Suabians, the moſt potent and warlike nation amongſt the Germans.

The cuſtoms of the Suabians.

" The Suabians are divided into an hundred cantons; each of theſe yearly bring a thouſand men into the field, ſtill retaining the ſame number at home, to provide for themſelves and the army; who the year following go abroad, and relieve their countrymen; by which means they all obtain experience in huſbandry and military affairs at once: they have no incloſure, no man has an acre of land which he can properly term his own; nor are they ſuffered to continue above

above one year in the ſame part of the country: their chief diet is milk and fleſh-meat, and their diverſion hunting. The quality of their food, their perpetual exerciſe, and way of living (being educated to no callings, obliged to no diſcipline, nor reſtrained from any thing their inclinations prompt them to) make them very robuſt and of an extraordinary ſtature: cuſtom has rendered them ſo hardy, that they waſh themſelves in their rivers, and wear no cloaths even in the coldeſt weather, except ſmall ſkins, which hardly cover one half of their bodies, whilſt the reſt is expoſed to the weather. Merchants frequent their coaſts, not to import foreign goods, but to purchaſe the booties they obtain in war; for ſo averſe are they to any thing which is not the natural product of their country, that they make uſe of their own ugly diſtorted cattle, which by daily exerciſe they inure to all kinds of ſervice, whilſt the Gauls take ſo much delight in cattle, they never think they can pay too dear for a beautiful ox. Their horſemen frequently forſake their horſes in the battle, to fight on foot, having managed them ſo well, that they ſtand ſtill to expect their riders in the ſame place where they left them; nor do they eſteem any thing more uſeleſs and ignominious than furniture for horſes, and therefore often venture to charge an equal number of ſuch as they ſee make uſe of it. They allow no wine to be imported into their country, leſt it ſhould make them lazy and effeminate; and the greateſt honour to their nation, in their opinion, is to have their territories round about lie deſolate; from whence they would have you infer, that the united force of ſeveral kingdoms is not ſufficient to oppoſe their ſingle valour; for which reaſon the country on one ſide lies waſte for the ſpace of 600 miles together. The other part is bounded by the Ubij, who enjoy a large and flouriſhing country, a people much politer than their German neighbours, becauſe, lying nearer the Rhine, they have more commerce with merchants, and converſation with the Gauls." With theſe, the Suabians had many diſputes; and though they were ſo experienced ſoldiers, ſo potent and numerous a people, that they could not expel them the country, yet they made them their tributaries, and reduced them to a very low condition.

WAR in GAUL.

CHAP.

WAR in GAUL.

CHAP. II.

The Germans invade Guelders.

THE inhabitants of Heſſe and Zutphen, whom we mentioned before, were engaged in the ſame quarrel, and having long maintained their ground againſt the Suabians, were at laſt obliged to quit their country: being thus compelled to ſeek their fortune, after three years wandring through the continent of Germany, they arrived at the territories of the people of Guelders, who inhabit the banks on both ſides the river Rhine. The natives being frighted at the unexpected arrival of ſo many foreigners, deſerting their houſes on the other ſide, croſſed the Rhine, and planted themſelves ſo as to prevent the Germans further progreſs; who having try'd all ways, finding they had not ſhipping enough to force their paſſage, and that they could not get over by ſtealth, becauſe the natives kept ſo ſtrict a watch, at laſt feigned a retreat into their own country; but after three days journey, returned again to the ſame place with their cavalry, in one night's march, and ſurpriſed the natives, who being aſſured by their ſcouts of the enemy's retreat, had forgot their fears, and tranſported themſelves to their former habitations: having put theſe to the ſword, and ſeized their veſſels, before the people on the other ſide knew any thing of the matter, they croſſed the Rhine, poſſeſſed themſelves of their towns and houſes, and took up their quarters there for the reſt of the winter.

Though Scaliger ſeems rather to think the Menapij are thoſe that now inhabit the ſea-coaſts of Brabant.

The temper of the Gauls.

CÆSAR having intelligence of this matter, was jealous of the levity of the Gauls, "who are ſo fickle in their counſels, and ſuch paſſionate lovers of novelty, that they ſtop paſſengers upon the road, and oblige them to declare all the news they have heard, before they let them proceed on their journey: the mob likewiſe flock about foreign merchants, to enquire what country they came from, and how affairs went when they came from home: by which reports they often govern themſelves in the management of their moſt important affairs; and conſequently being ſwayed by ſuch uncertain accounts, calculated for the moſt part by the traveller for their ſatisfaction, they muſt often repent of the reſolutions they have taken."

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

CÆSAR therefore being ſo well acquainted with their temper, made more haſte than uſual to put himſelf at the head of his army, where he was no ſooner arrived, but he found his ſuſpicions true, that ſome provinces of Gaul had already ſent embaſſadors to invite the Germans from the banks of the Rhine farther into the continent, where they ſhould meet with friendly entertainment; whereupon the Germans had began to make inroads, and lay the country waſte, as far as the confines of Liege, Cologne, and Treves: for which reaſon CÆSAR, having ſummoned all the princes of Gaul, took no notice of the revolt he had been informed of, but confirming them in their allegiance by a ſeeming approbation of their loyalty, commanded them to furniſh him with a certain number of cavalry; for he was reſolved to make war on the Germans. WAR in GAUL.

So ſoon as he had provided his army with corn, having ſent his cavalry before, he marched after them to the place where he underſtood the Germans were; who, when he was arrived within a few days journey of them, ſent embaſſadors to acquaint him, "That as the Germans were not deſirous of giving the Romans the firſt occaſion for a war, ſo neither ſhould they avoid engaging with them, if provoked to it; for it had always been the cuſtom of the Germans to anſwer an enemy at his own weapons, not by treaty; though they muſt confeſs they came thither againſt their wills, being expelled their own country: and if the Romans would accept of their friendſhip, if they would either allot them land to live in, or permit them to keep that which they had obtained by the law of arms, they might find them neceſſary allies; for they only ſubmitted to the Suabians, to whom even the immortal gods were not a ſufficient match, but there was not another people under the ſun they were not able to conquer." Cæſar marches to find out the Germans. The German embaſſage.

To this CÆSAR anſwered what he thought moſt convenient, and the ſubſtance of his ſpeech was to this effect; "That he could not enter into an alliance with them whilſt they continued in Gaul; nor did he think it probable that they, who were not able to maintain their own, ſhould gain countries by force from others; that there was not ſufficient waſte ground in Gaul to contain ſo numerous a people; but, if they pleaſed, they might find a welcome Cæſar's anſwer.

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welcome amongſt the Ubij, who would receive them into their country upon his interceſſion, for they had deputies at that inſtant in his camp, that came to complain of the injuries they had received from the Suabians, and intreat his aſſiſtance againſt them."

The embaſſadors returned with this anſwer to their countrymen, promiſing to wait upon CÆSAR again in three days time; deſiring that in the mean while he would not approach with his army nearer their confines: which he refuſed, being informed that a conſiderable party of their cavalry but two days before had paſſed the Moſe, in order to forage the country of the AMBIVARITI, and he ſuſpected their deſign was only to gain time till their party returned.

Deſcription of the Moſe.

Mons Vogeſus.

"The Moſe riſes from the mountains of Vauſe in the country of Langres; and after a long courſe, receiving the river Vahal, a ſmall branch of the Rhine; within its banks, it forms the iſle of Holland, and about eighteen miles below that, diſcharges itſelf into the ſea. But the

Deſcription of the Rhine.

Rhine has its riſe in the territories of the Lepontij, who inhabit the Alps, and after a long journey through Coutances, Switzerland, Franchecomte, the country of Metz,

Mediomatrici, Triboci.

Straſburg and Treves, coming near the ſea, is divided into ſeveral branches, which form as many conſiderable iſlands, moſt of them inhabited by a barbarous and ſavage people, who are reported to feed only on fiſh, and wild fowls eggs; from whence by divers channels it diſcharges itſelf into the occean."

A ſecond embaſſage from the Germans.

By the time the embaſſadors had appointed for their return, CÆSAR was arrived within twelve miles of the enemy; they preſſed him very earneſtly to march no farther, or at leaſt to ſend his cavalry orders, who were gone before the reſt of the army, not to engage the Germans; and that he would agree to a truce, till they could ſend deputies to the Ubij, whoſe entertainment they would gladly accept of, provided their noblemen and ſenators would oblige themſelves by oath, to let them live peaceably amongſt them; nor would they deſire above three days time to compleat the negotiation in.

CÆSAR believed this was only an artifice to procraſtinate the matter for three days longer, till the return of their cavalry; however, he promiſed not to come nearer than within four miles of their camp, to a convenient place for water, and ordered a conſiderable number of them to attend him the day after, that he might know

their

their demands; in the mean time he ſent orders to the officers of the horſe not to provoke the enemy; and in caſe they ſhould be attacked themſelves, only to maintain their ground 'till he came up to their aſſiſtance.

CHAP. IV.

The Germans after a truce attack the Roman cavalry.

SO ſoon as the Germans ſaw our horſe, though we had 5000, and they had not above 800 (the party which had croſſed the Moſe to forage not being yet returned) they fell upon our men, who expected no acts of hoſtility from them, becauſe the embaſſadors who agreed on a truce for a day, had not long before left our camp: their attack was ſo violent, that they put our troops in diſorder; and when they perceived we began to rally, diſmounting according to the cuſtom of the Germans, they wounded our horſes in the belly, threw down ſeveral of the riders, and put the reſt to flight; who were ſo dreadfully frighted, that they never looked behind them 'till they were come within view of our army. In this ſkirmiſh we loſt 74 men, amongſt which number fell PISO the Gaſcoigne, "a man of courage equal to his noble birth, whoſe grandfather had formerly been a king in his own country, and honoured by the ſenate and people of Rome with the title of friend; endeavouring to reſcue his brother, he loſt his horſe, and defended himſelf bravely on foot, 'till being ſurrounded by the enemy, and ſpent with many wounds, he at laſt expired; which his brother perceiving, who was then out of danger, returned to the fight, ſpurred his horſe in amongſt the Germans, and followed him to the other world, without being able to revenge his death."

The death of Piſo and his brother.

After this battle, CÆSAR judged it not convenient either to give their embaſſadors audience, or accept of any conditions from a people who had demanded a truce with a deſign to break it; and thinking it madneſs to be delayed 'till their cavalry returned (eſpecially ſince the Gauls were of ſo fickle a temper, that the Germans had already gained a conſiderable reputation amongſt them by this ſmall ſucceſs) he reſolved not to allow them time to reflect on it; and therefore having ſent for the general officers, acquainted them that he deſigned to engage the enemy without further delay.

CHAP. V.

WAR in GAUL.

THE next day there fell out a very lucky accident for the Romans; all the German princes and nobility, making uſe of their former diſſimulation, came to our camp, under pretence of excuſing themſelves for what had happened the day before, in relation to the engagement with our cavalry, contrary to the truce granted at their requeſt, and withal to deſire the ſame might be continued: CÆSAR, being mightily pleaſed with this opportunity, gave orders they ſhould all be ſecured, and at the ſame time reſolved to march directly to their camp; he commanded the cavalry, who were daunted with the defeat they received the day before, to follow after the legions; then having drawn the army up into three lines, he quickly paſſed the eight miles which were betwixt us and the Germans, and fell upon them before they dream'd of his coming. The enemy were ſo ſurprized at our ſudden arrival, ſo confuſed for want of their officers, that they knew not whether they had better draw out their forces, defend their camp, or endeavour to ſave themſelves by flight. Their fear and diſorder was no ſooner perceived by the Roman ſoldiers, but remembring their former treachery, they forced their camp, where at firſt they met with ſome ſmall reſiſtance from ſuch as had time to repair to their arms, who engaged them at their carriages, whilſt the women and children from all ſides (for the Germans had brought their whole families and effects croſs the Rhine with them) endeavoured to make their eſcape, but CÆSAR ſent the horſe to purſue them.

Cæſar attacks the German camp.

The Germans routed.

The Germans, hearing a noiſe behind them, turned about, and ſaw their wives and children put to the ſword; whereupon throwing down their arms, and deſerting their colours, they ran away from their camp, and arriving at the river-ſide where the Moſe and Rhine begin to flow in one channel, they who had eſcaped the fury of the battle, flung themſelves into the water, where all of them were drowned either by their own fear, wearineſs, or the ſtrength of the ſtream. After this diſpute, the Romans returned to their camp without the loſs of a man, and with very few wounded, though the number of the Germans, computing their women and children, amounted to 430000. The battle being over, CÆSAR gave thoſe whom he had detained in his camp free leave to depart; but

but being apprehenſive of the natives revenge for the injuries they had done them, they deſired rather to ſtay in our army, than fall into the hands of the Gauls, which they did by CÆSAR's permiſſion.

CHAP. VI.

THE war with the natives of Zutphen and Heſſe being thus concluded, CÆSAR reſolved for ſeveral reaſons to croſs the Rhine: one of the chief motives that induced him to it was, his obſerving how ready the Germans were on every occaſion to come into Gaul; wherefore he hoped when they perceived the Romans were able to tranſport an army croſs that river as well as themſelves, they would be more cautious how they left their own country expoſed for the future; another thing was, the enemy's cavalry, who having croſſed the Moſe to forage, were abſent when their countrymen were defeated; and, upon intelligence of the victory, had retired into the confines of the Sicambri, where they found a reception; and when CÆSAR ſent to demand them, becauſe they had been in arms againſt him and the Gauls, the people made anſwer, "That the Rhine bounded the extent of the Roman empire, and if he thought it unjuſt for the Germans to paſs into Gaul, they knew no reaſon that he ſhould aſſume an authority on their ſide the river." Beſides, the Ubij, who were the only people croſs the Rhine that had ſent embaſſadors to CÆSAR, entered into an alliance, and delivered hoſtages, earneſtly deſired him to aſſiſt them againſt the oppreſſions of the Suabians; and if the publick affairs would not permit him to go in perſon, that he would only ſend his army into Germany, they would deſire no greater aſſiſtance or encouragement; for ſo conſiderable was the reputation which the Romans had acquired by defeating ARIOVISTUS, and their late ſucceſs, that if they appeared in defence of the Ubij, if they owned them for their allies, their name alone would be ſufficient to defend them from the inſults of the remoteſt Germans; and they obliged themſelves to furniſh him with a ſufficient quantity of tranſport-veſſels.

The anſwer of the Sicambri to Cæſar's demand.

For theſe reaſons CÆSAR reſolved to croſs the Rhine; but he thought it neither ſafe to tranſport his army in ſhips, nor agreeable to his character and the dignity of the Roman empire; wherefore though he found it very difficult to lay a bridge croſs ſo broad, ſo deep and rapid a river,

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yet he reſolved not to go into Germany any other way, and thus he contrived to do it.

The deſcription of Cæſar's bridge croſs the Rhine.

"Having joined two pieces of timber, a foot and a half ſquare, by mortices that kept them at two foot diſtance from each other, he cut them to a convenient length for that part of the river he deſigned them for; then making them ſharp at the end, cauſed them to be let down into the water by engines, and driven into the bottom with wooden mallets, not perpendicularly, but ſloping, in compliance with the ſtream: directly oppoſite to theſe he placed two other ſtakes, joined juſt after the ſame manner, and drove them into the ground forty foot diſtance from the other at the bottom, cauſing their tops to incline towards the ſtream, as the others had declined from it. Theſe double ſtakes, thus fix'd, he jointed at the top by a croſs beam of two foot ſquare, faſtened by two pegs, and tied with cords at either end, which prevented them from bending nearer one another, and made the work of ſo ſecure a nature, that the fierceneſs of the ſtream encreaſed the firmneſs of the bridge. Having obſerved the ſame method quite over the river, he covered the croſs beams with planks and hurdles; then, having ſupported the arches of his bridge below with buttreſſes driven obliquely into the water, and fix'd at top to the main pillars, ſo as to ſuſtain them againſt the force of the current: he likewiſe drove in other piles at a moderate diſtance above the bridge, to ſtave off trunks of trees, and ſuch veſſels as the enemy ſhould ſend down the river to deſtroy the work."

Cæſar croſſes the Rhine.

From the time that materials began to be brought for the work, 'till the entire bridge was finiſhed, was no more than ten days; when CÆSAR having left a ſtrong garriſon on both ſides of the river, marched into the confines of the Sicambri: during this expedition embaſſadors came to him from moſt places thereabouts, to deſire a peace, and court the alliance of the Romans, to whom he returned civil anſwers, demanding hoſtages for their fidelity.

CHAP. VII.

THE moment the Sicambri were informed that the Romans were building a bridge, by the advice of thoſe of Zutphen and Heſſe, who had taken ſhelter amongſt them, they prepared for flight, and forſaking their country, conveyed themſelves with their effects into the neighbouring woods:

woods: wherefore CÆSAR, having made a ſhort ſtay in their country, burnt their towns and buildings, and cut down their corn, marched to the territories of the Ubij, having promiſed to aſſiſt them againſt the Suabians: ſo ſoon as he arrived in their country, they informed him, that when the Suabians heard he was building a bridge, having called a council, according to the cuſtom of their country, they diſpatched orders to all parts of their nation, commanding the natives to forſake their towns, to convey their wives, children and effects into the woods, and that all who were able to bear arms ſhould meet at the general rendezvous in the midſt of their country, where they reſolved to expect the Romans, and give them battle; which CÆSAR underſtanding, after he had accompliſhed thoſe deſigns that led him into Germany, when he had aw'd the natives, taken vengeance on the Sicambri, and ſet the Ubij at liberty, having only ſpent eighteen days beyond the Rhine, performed enough for his own credit, and the ſervice of the republick, he returned again to Gaul, and broke down his bridge. WAR in GAUL. Cæſar returns to Gaul.

CHAP. VIII.

THOUGH the ſummer was now almoſt ſpent (for the whole continent of Gaul lying northward, winter begins there very early) yet CÆSAR reſolved to make a voyage to England, becauſe he had been informed, in all the wars of Gaul, the enemy had received conſiderable ſupplies from thence; not that he expected the time of year would permit him to finiſh the war, but he thought it would be worth his while to make an expedition thither only to view the iſland, to learn the nature of the inhabitants, to be acquainted with their coaſts, their ports and creeks, which the Gauls were almoſt entire ſtrangers to; for they were ſeldom viſited by any but merchants, who were unacquainted with all their country except their coaſts, and thoſe parts which were oppoſite to Gaul: wherefore he ſummoned a council of merchants from all parts, who could neither inform him what extent the iſland was of, what nations, and how powerful the inhabitants were, how well they underſtood the art of war, what cuſtoms they were governed by, nor how conſiderable a navy their ports were capable of receiving. Cæſar's expedition into England.

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CHAP. IX.

FOR this reaſon he thought it convenient to ſend out C. VOLUSENUS with a galley, to diſcover what he could, and immediately return with intelligence before he embarked himſelf: he in the mean time marched to Teroüenne, from whence lay the ſhorteſt cut to England; and there he ordered ſeveral veſſels from the neighbouring ports, together with the navy he had built the year before for his expedition againſt the Vannes, to attend him. Whilſt theſe preparations were going forward, ſeveral provinces in England, who had intelligence of the matter from merchants that frequented their coaſts, ſent embaſſadors to CÆSAR, to let him know how willing they were to ſubmit to the Roman empire, and deliver hoſtages for their fidelity: to theſe he gave a favourable audience; and, having encouraged them to adhere to their agreement by promiſes of conſiderable rewards, ſent them back again to their own country; ordering COMIUS to go along with them, a man of conſiderable intereſt in England, whom he formerly made king of Arras, for his extraordinary wiſdom, virtue and fidelity: to him he gave inſtructions to viſit as many ſtates as he could, and perſuade them to accept of an alliance with the Romans, for CÆSAR himſelf would in a ſhort time land in their their country.

Some of the Engliſh ſend embaſſadors to Cæſar in Gaul.

VOLUSENUS, in the mean time, having made what diſcoveries he could of the country, for he durſt not venture himſelf aſhore with ſo barbarous an enemy, after five days cruiſing, returned, and acquainted CÆSAR with all he had ſeen. CÆSAR ſtay'd in theſe parts till his navy was fitted out; during which time the Teroüennois ſent embaſſadors to him, deſiring he would pleaſe to pardon their former tranſgreſſions, for they were a ſavage unpoliſhed people, and wholly unacquainted with the Roman cuſtoms, otherwiſe they had not made war upon them; but for the future they would demonſtrate how ready they were to obey his commands. CÆSAR, being deſirous to leave no enemies behind him, to avoid entring into a new war ſo late in the ſeaſon, and unwilling to neglect his Engliſh expedition for ſuch trifles, having firſt received hoſtages from them, took them into his favour. He had prepared eighty tranſport-veſſels, which he thought ſufficient to carry over his legions, he diſtributed his gallies to the queſtor, lieutenant-generals, and commanders of the horſe,

horſe, and eighteen tranſports which were wind-bound at a certain port about eight miles off, he appointed for the ſervice of his cavalry; then committed thoſe forces which he left behind, to the care of Q. TITURIUS SABINUS, and L. ARUNCULEIUS COTTA, whom he ordered to viſit the confines of Guelders, and reduce thoſe parts of Teroüenne which had not yet ſubmitted; to lieutenant-general P. SULP. RUFUS he gave the charge of the port where he embarked, with a ſtrong garriſon to maintain it.

CHAP. X.

THUS having diſpatched the neceſſary orders, the wind offering fair, he hoiſted ſail about one in the morning, commanding the cavalry to embark at that port where the veſſels lay ready to receive them, and follow him; which orders were not executed ſo readily as they ought to have been; but he himſelf arrived on the Engliſh coaſts, with his ſquadron, by ten of the clock the ſame morning, where he ſaw all the cliffs covered by the enemy in arms: ſuch was the nature of the place, that the Engliſh might caſt their darts with great advantage from the impending hills; wherefore not thinking it convenient to land there, he caſt anchor, and waited for the coming up of the reſt of his fleet till three in the afternoon. In the mean time having called the lieutenants and tribunes to a council of war, he acquainted them with the intelligence he had received from VOLUSENUS, and gave them ſuch orders as he thought proper for the occaſion, putting them in mind how neceſſary it was in military diſcipline, that the army ſhould move at the general's nod to a minute, eſpecially in ſea affairs, which were ſo quick and unſtable: then breaking up the council, whilſt the wind and tide ſtood fair, he gave them the ſign for weighing anchor, and having ſail'd about eight miles farther, arrived at a plain and open ſhore.

Cæſar embarks for England.

The Engliſh being apprized of CÆSAR's deſign, ſent their cavalry and chariots before, which they frequently make uſe of on ſuch occaſions, and followed after with the reſt of their army, in order to oppoſe our landing: we found it very difficult to get to land for many reaſons, for our ſhips being tall, required a conſiderable depth of water; and our ſoldiers, whilſt their hands were employed and loaden with heavy armour, were at the ſame time to encounter the waves and the enemy, in a place

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they were not acquainted with: whereas the Engliſh, either ſtanding upon dry land, or wading a little way in the water in thoſe places they knew to be ſhallow, having the free uſe of all their limbs, could boldly caſt their darts, and ſpur their horſes forward, who were inur'd to that kind of combat; which diſadvantage ſo diſcouraged the Romans, who were ſtrangers to this way of fighting, that they did not appear ſo chearful, ſo eager to engage the enemy, as in their former conflicts on dry land.

Which CÆSAR perceiving, gave orders the gallies (a nimble ſort of ſhipping the enemy had never ſeen) ſhould advance a little before the reſt of the navy, and row along with their broad-ſides towards the ſhore, that they might more conveniently force the Engliſh to retire from the water-ſide, by their ſlings, engines and arrows, which did the Romans conſiderable ſervice; for the Engliſh being ſurpriſed at the make of our gallies, the motion of our oars and engines, began to give ground. But the ſtandard-bearer of the tenth legion, perceiving our men were unwilling to venture into the ſea, having firſt invoked the gods for ſucceſs, cry'd out aloud, "My fellow-ſoldiers, unleſs you will forſake your eagle, and ſuffer it to fall into the hands of the enemy, advance; for my part, I am reſolved to perform my duty to the common-wealth and my emperor:" Which being ſaid, he immediately leaped over-board, and advanced the eagle towards the Engliſh; whereupon, the ſoldiers encouraging each other, to prevent ſo ſignal a diſgrace, follow'd his example; which thoſe in the next ſhips perceiving, did the like, and preſſed forward to engage the enemy.

The ſtandard bearer of the tenth legion leaps into the water, the reſt follow his example.

The conflict was ſharply maintained on both ſides, though the Romans, not being able either to keep their ranks, obtain firm footing, or follow their particular ſtandards, leaping out of ſeveral ſhips, and joining the firſt enſign they met with, were in mighty confuſion: but the Engliſh, who were well acquainted with the ſhallows, when they ſaw us deſcend in ſmall numbers from our ſhips, ſpurring their horſes into the water, ſet upon our men incumbered and unprepared to receive them; and ſome ſurrounded us with their numbers in one place, whilſt others flanked us where we lay moſt open in another. Which CÆSAR obſerving, he cauſed the long-boats and ſmaller veſſels to be mann'd, and, where occaſion required, ſent them to aſſiſt their fellows. Thus our foremoſt ranks, having gained dry *footing, were followed by the reſt of the

The Romans at firſt beaten back from the ſhore.

* The Romans gain the ſhore, and rout the Engliſh.

the army, and charging the enemy briſkly, put them to flight, but were not able to purſue, or take the iſland that time, becauſe we had no cavalry, which was the only thing wanting to compleat CÆSAR's wonted ſucceſs

The enemy being defeated, ſo ſoon as they had eſcap'd beyond the reach of danger, ſent embaſſadors to CÆSAR to deſire a peace, promiſing to deliver hoſtages for their entire ſubmiſſion: and with theſe embaſſadors came COMIUS of Arras, whom CÆSAR formerly ſent into Britain, where he had been impriſoned ſo ſoon as he landed with the emperor's commands, but ſet at liberty again after the battle: they endeavour'd to excuſe what they had done, by laying the blame upon the mob; and entreating him to forgive a fault of ignorance, but not of malice. CÆSAR at firſt reprimanded them for their breach of faith, that after they had voluntarily ſent embaſſadors to him into Gaul, to deſire a peace, and deliver'd hoſtages of their own accord, they ſhould without any reaſon make war upon him; which they excuſed by their ignorance, and he forgave; then demanded hoſtages for their future carriage, part whereof they deliver'd immediately, and with the reſt, who liv'd at ſome diſtance, they promiſed to return in a few days after: in the mean time, having diſbanded their men, and diſperſed them into their ſeveral countries, the princes from all parts came to deliver up themſelves, and their eſtates to CÆSAR's diſpoſal.

The Engliſh ſend embaſſadors to deſire a peace,

which they obtained on delivery of hoſtages.

CHAP. XI.

A PEACE being thus concluded within four days after CÆSAR's arrival in England, the eighteen tranſports appointed for the cavalry, put out to ſea with a gentle gale; but when they were already arrived within view of the Roman camp, ſo ſudden a ſtorm aroſe, that they were all diſperſed; ſome returned to the port from whence they came, whilſt others were thrown upon the lower end of the iſland towards the weſt, where they endeavoured to caſt anchor, but ſo much water came into them, that they were obliged a ſecond time to commit themſelves to the mercy of the waves, and make the beſt of their way for Gaul.

A violent ſtorm diſperſes the ſhips that brought the cavalry and the other Roman veſſels on the coaſts of Britain.

The ſame night it being full moon, at which time the tides are higheſt, an obſervation our mariners were ſtrangers to, the gallies, that after the men were landed, had been haul'd up towards the ſhore, were fill'd with the waves,

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waves, and the veſſels of burthen which rid at anchor at the ſame inſtant, toſs'd by the tempeſt, nor was it poſſible for us to attempt their preſervation: thus ſeveral of our ſhips were deſtroyed, and the reſt having loſt their cables, anchors and tackle, were rendered wholly uſeleſs, which was a great affliction to the whole army; for they had no other veſſels to carry them back again, and no materials to mend their own with, and they knew very well they muſt of neceſſity take up their winter-quarters in Gaul, becauſe there was no corn nor proviſion to be had in England.

Upon this news the Engliſh break the peace.

The princes of England who were aſſembled to perform their agreement with CÆSAR, having notice of this, underſtanding the Romans had neither cavalry, ſhips nor proviſion, and computing the number of our men from the ſmallneſs of our camp, which was then narrower than uſual, becauſe CÆSAR had made the legions leave their heavy baggage behind them, reſolved to rebel, to intercept our convoys, and delay us 'till winter; then having either defeated us, or prevented our return, they hop'd to deter others, by our example, from invading England for the future: wherefore, having enter'd into a new conſpiracy, they began by degrees to quit our camp, and privately to liſt their diſbanded troops again.

CHAP. XII.

Cæſar refits his navy.

But CÆSAR, though he knew nothing of their deſign, yet ſuſpecting an alteration upon the loſs of his ſhipping, by their delay in the delivery of their hoſtages, prepared for all events; cauſing proviſions to be brought into his camp every day from the country round about, and giving order, that thoſe ſhips which had received the leaſt damage by the tempeſt, ſhould be refitted and mended with the beaks and timber, the remainder of thoſe that had been ſhatter'd to pieces; he ſent likewiſe to Gaul for ſuch materials as he had occaſion for, which were ſo well applied by the induſtry of his ſoldiers, that he only loſt twelve ſhips, and made the reſt fit for ſervice again.

In the mean time the ſeventh legion, whoſe turn it was, went out to forage; as part were employed in the field, and the reſt in carrying corn between them and the army; not in the leaſt ſuſpecting any acts of hoſtility, the outguards gave CÆSAR notice, that they obſerved a greater duſt than uſual that way which the legions went: whereupon,

upon, ſuſpecting the Engliſh had revolted, as he afterwards found they had, taking along with him the cohorts that were placed for an advanced guard, he commanded two others to ſupply their room; all the reſt to repair to their arms, and follow him as faſt as they could. He had not march'd many paces from his camp, before he ſaw his foragers over-charged by the enemy, drove into a ſmall compaſs, and expoſed to the Engliſh darts on every ſide: for the enemy, knowing there was only one field left which had not been foraged, concluded we muſt of neceſſity come thither; wherefore having hid themſelves the night before in the woods there, they ſtaid to expect us; and ſetting upon our men, whilſt they were buſy in reaping, and had laid down their arms, killed ſome of them, put the reſt in diſorder, and then ſurrounded them with their horſe and chariots.

The Engliſh ſet upon the Roman foragers.

This was the cuſtom the Engliſh uſed in fighting with their chariots; "Having driven to all parts of the enemy's army, and diſtributed their darts to the beſt advantage, they frequently put the foremoſt ranks in diſorder only with the noiſe of their wheels and horſes; then forcing their way into the midſt of the cavalry, forſook their chariots and fought on foot, performing at the ſame inſtant, the part of nimble horſemen, and that of ſtable foot: their drivers in the mean while, riding a little way out of the battle, placed themſelves ſo conveniently, that if their party were too much oppreſſed by the enemy, they might ſafely retreat to them again. So expert were they at this exerciſe by perpetual practice, that they could ſtay their horſes upon a full ſtretch, even in the midſt of a deſcent, ſtop ſhort and turn, run upon the pole, reſt on the harneſs, and throw themſelves with great dexterity into their chariots."

The Engliſh manner of fighting in their chariots

The Romans being diſorder'd by this new kind of fight, CÆSAR came very opportunely to their aid; for upon his arrival the Engliſh made a ſtand, and our men began to forget their fears; however, not thinking it convenient to engage the enemy at that time, he maintained his ground for a while, then retreated with the legions to his camp; and the enemy likewiſe, whilſt we were otherwiſe employed, made their eſcape. The continual rains and tempeſts, which follow'd after, ſeveral days ſucceſſively, kept the Romans in their camp, and the Engliſh from fighting.

Cæſar comes to the aſſiſtance of his foragers.

CHAP.

WAR in GAUL.

CHAP. XIII.

BUT the eneny were not idle in the mean while, for they diſpatched couriers to all parts of the iſland, to inform the people how ſmall an army the Romans had, how conſiderable a booty they might obtain, and how glorious an opportunity offer'd to make themſelves free for ever, if they would but force the Roman camp; by which means having immediately raiſed great numbers of horſe and foot, they came to force our trenches.

The Engliſh come to attack the Roman camp; a ſecond battle, are routed.

Now though CÆSAR foreſaw the enemy, in caſe they were routed, would eſcape the danger by flight; yet having got thirty horſe, part of COMIUS's retinue, he drew his legions up in order of battle before the camp; and having engaged the Engliſh, who were not able to ſuſtain the fury of our ſoldiers, he immediately put them to flight, purſued till his ſoldiers were out of breath, and having made a conſiderable ſlaughter, burnt their towns and buildings for many miles about; then returned to his camp again, where he received embaſſadors the ſame day from the enemy, to deſire a peace.

They ſue again for peace, which is granted.

Whereupon he commanded them to ſend him double the number of hoſtages he formerly required into Gaul; and becauſe the autumnal equinox approached, not thinking it ſafe to take a winter voyage in his crazy veſſels, ſo ſoon as the wind ſtood fair for Gaul, which was about mid-night, he weigh'd anchor, and arrived ſafe at the port where he embarked with all his fleet, except two tranſports, which could not keep up with the reſt, and were driven into a haven ſomething lower in the country.

Cæſar returns to Gaul.

In theſe two veſſels were about 300 ſoldiers, who ſo ſoon as they landed endeavoured to reach their camp; but the Teroüennois, whom CÆSAR had left in a peaceable condition before he ſailed for England, ſpurr'd on by the hopes of plunder, at firſt ſurrounded our men in ſmall numbers, and commanded them, on pain of death, to deliver their arms; but the Romans caſting themſelves into an orb, inſtead of ſurrendering, bravely maintained their ground; whereupon about 6000 of the enemy, hearing the noiſe, came in to the aſſiſtance of their country-men. CÆSAR, having intelligence of this, detached all the cavalry in his army to their aſſiſtance: in the mean time, the Romans manfully ſuſtained the enemy's charge, fought with their unequal numbers four hours

hours together, and having received but few wounds themſelves, had made a conſiderable ſlaughter amongſt the aſſailants: but the moment our horſe appeared in view, the Teroüennois threw down their arms, and betook themſelves to flight, yet, notwithſtanding, many of them loſt their lives. WAR in GAUL.

CHAP XIV.

THE next day CÆSAR diſpatched lieutenant T. LABIENUS, with the legions he brought back from England, againſt the rebels, who being deprived by the drought of the benefit of thoſe marches, where they had the year before abſconded, almoſt all of them fell into his power. But the lieutenants Q. TITURIUS and L. COTTA, who had been ſent into the country of Guelders, return'd without doing any other execution but cutting up their corn, laying their fields waſte, and burning their towns; for the enemy had ſecured their perſons in the woods. CÆSAR took up his quarters this winter in Belgium, where he received hoſtages only from two of the provinces in England, the reſt neglecting their promiſe. So ſoon as the ſenate were informed by CÆSAR's letters of his exploits, they decreed a general thankſgiving for twenty days ſucceſſively.

Labienus marches againſt the Teroüennois; lays their country waſte.

C. J. CÆSAR'S COMMENTARY OF HIS WAR in GAUL.

The FIFTH BOOK.

CÆSAR *builds a conſiderable navy; he goes to Illyricum; his ſecond expedition into England; the Gauls revolt;* SABINUS *and* COTTA *defeated;* CICERO *beſieged, but relieved.*

CHAP. I.

WAR in GAUL.

Cæſar gives orders for building a navy.

DURING the conſulate of L. DOMITIUS and AP. CLAUDIUS, CÆSAR leaving his winter-quarters to go into Italy, according to his uſual cuſtom, gave orders to his lieutenants, to whom he had committed the charge of his legions, that they ſhould build as many ſhips againſt his return as they could, and refit the old veſſels; commanding them to make the decks ſomething lower than uſual in the Mediterranean, that the ſoldiers might embark or get on ſhore with greater eaſe; becauſe he knew the ebbing of the tide in the Britiſh ſeas ſometimes left but a very inconſiderable depth of water near the land: that there might be convenience for his horſes, he order'd they ſhould build them broarder than ordinary, and contrive them all for oars, to which the lowneſs of the decks contributed: he ſent for ſuch materials as were neceſſary to equip them from Spain; and having held the diet of Lombardy, went immediately to Illyricum,

Illyricum, becauſe he had intelligence that the Piruſtæ had made ſeveral inroads into the frontiers. So ſoon as he arrived there, he began to levy an army, and appointed the ſoldiers a general rendezvous; which the Piruſtæ being informed of, immediately ſent embaſſadors to aſſure him what had been done was contrary to the publick conſent, and that they were ready to make him ſuch ſatisfaction as he ſhould require. CÆSAR having given them audience, demanded hoſtages to be deliver'd by a certain day, or war and ruin ſhould enſue: they obey'd his commands; whereupon, he appointed arbitrators to determine the differences between the two countries, and ſet a value on the damage.

He goes to Illyricum; the Piruſtæ ſubmit.

This affair being diſpatched, and an agreement made between the injured and the offenders, he returned again to Lombardy, and from thence to his army: he made a review of all their quarters, and, notwithſtanding the ſcarcity of materials, found the induſtry of his ſoldiers had already built about ſix hundred ſuch ſhips as he had order'd, and twenty-eight gallies, which were ready to launch within a few days: having applauded the application of his ſoldiers and their ſuperviſors, he gave them ſuch orders as he thought convenient, and commanded they ſhould all meet him at * Boloign; from whence he thought lay the ſhorteſt cut to England, it being but about thirty miles there from land to land.

* Portus Itius, according to LLOYD and ORTELIUS, is Calais; but SCALIGER and SANSON prove it to be Boloign, with whom agree CLUVER and BUNO.

CHAP II.

HE left as many ſoldiers as he thought neceſſary for this purpoſe; then took his march with four legions and 800 horſe into the country of Treves, becauſe they had neither appeared at the general convocation of the ſtates, nor ſubmitted to the common-wealth, and were reported to ſollicit aſſiſtance from the Germans beyond the Rhine.

Cæſar marches into the country of Treves, to prevent a rebellion.

This country is very powerful in infantry; but the beſt ſtored with cavalry of any in Gaul; and, as we have already ſhewn, joins to the river Rhine: it happened that INDUTIOMARUS and CINGETORIX were diſputing about this time for the ſuperiority; the latter being informed of CÆSAR's approach, came over to him, promiſing, that neither he nor any of his party would ever

Cingetorix and Indutiomarus.

WAR in GAUL.

ever be deficient in the performance of their duty or alliance with the people of Rome; and diſcover'd the practices of his country-men.

INDUTIOMARUS, on the other hand, began to levy what numbers of horſe and foot he could; and having ſecur'd ſuch perſons, whoſe age made them incapable of bearing arms, in the large foreſt of Arden (which, beginning at the river Rhine, extends through the midſt of the country of Treves, as far as the borders of Rheims) reſolved to engage in a war: but finding himſelf deſerted by ſeveral of the nobility, who out of affection to CINGETORIX, or fear of our approaching army, had come over to CÆSAR (each to ſollicit his own pardon, ſince they were not able to do it for their country) apprehending he ſhould ſhortly be forſaken by all, ſent an embaſſage to CÆSAR, to acquaint him, "That he had been one of the foremoſt to pay his duty, but that he thought himſelf obliged to ſtay at home, leſt the giddy mob, in the abſence of the nobility, ſhould have revolted from their duty; but the whole country was now at his command; and if CÆSAR pleaſed, he would wait upon him at his camp, to lay his own and country's fortune at his feet."

Indutiomarus's politick embaſſy.

Though CÆSAR knew the occaſion of this ſpeech, and what reaſons had induced him to change his former reſolution; yet, that he might not be obliged to ſpend the whole ſummer in Treves, after he had prepared all things for his Engliſh expedition, he commanded INDUTIOMARUS to bring 200 hoſtages along with him, which he performed, bringing his own ſon and neareſt relations, who had been demanded, amongſt the number: whereupon CÆSAR encouraged him to continue firm in his duty to the Romans; not forgetting to ſend for all the noblemen of Treves, and reconcile them one after another to CINGETORIX; which he did as well on the account of his deſerts, as for his own ſake, becauſe he knew the man, who had given ſuch ſignal proofs of his affection, would employ his intereſt at home to CÆSAR's advantage. INDUTIOMARUS was not a little diſturbed to find his authority thus diminiſhed among his countrymen, and if he was our enemy before, this occaſion increaſed his ancient malice.

Cæſar marches to Boloign, where he had ordered all the princes of Gaul to meet him.

Having ſettled affairs in Treves, he marched his legions to Boloign, where he was informed, that the forty ſhips which had been built amongſt the Meldæ, were driven back again by a ſtorm to the port from whence they ſet out;

Sabinus & Cotta





A *Sabinus & Cotta's forces in an Orb.* B. *The Gauls surrounding 'em.* C. *a Cohort Sallying out of the Orb.*

out; but all the reſt he found ready for ſailing, well rigg'd and fitted out. Thither likewiſe came all the cavalry of Gaul to meet him, about 4000, with the noblemen of every province; of theſe he deſigned to leave but few behind him, whoſe fidelity he could depend upon; and take the reſt as hoſtages along with him to England, apprehending ſome commotions in Gaul during his abſence. WAR in GAUL.

Amongſt the reſt was DUMNORIX of Autun, of whom we have formerly ſpoken; him of all mankind he reſolved to carry, becauſe he knew his fickle, proud, and aſpiring temper, which joined with the authority he had amongſt his country-men, might have proved of fatal conſequence; beſides, CÆSAR had been informed by ſome of the neighbouring province (for none of the Autunois durſt ſend embaſſadors to him, either to oppoſe or get his reſolution revoked) that he had conferred the government of Autun upon DUMNORIX. He was the firſt that deſired leave to ſtay at home, pretending that not being uſed to ſailing, he was afraid of the ſea, and that he had a religious vow to perform, which would oblige him not to leave the continent: but when he found himſelf poſitively denied, having no hopes of obtaining his demands, he began to ſollicit each nobleman of Gaul apart, not to leave the continent; inſtilling jealouſies into them, by inſinuating, that CÆSAR, no doubt, had ſome deep deſign in carrying all the nobility of Gaul beyond ſea with him; that becauſe he durſt not put them to death in the view of their country-men, he would do it when he had tranſported them to England: ſo far did his artifice prevail, that he perſuaded them to enter into a mutual alliance, and obliged themſelves by oath to conſult and act by the general conſent, what conduced to the good of their country. Dumnorix perſuades the noblemen of Gaul not to go with Cæſar into Britain.

CÆSAR was informed of this conſpiracy from ſeveral hands, yet having a particular reſpect for the country of Autun, he reſolved to try all methods to reſtrain and frighten DUMNORIX from proceeding in his deſigns; but finding his madneſs continued, he thought it high time to provide for the ſafety of his own perſon, and the republick; wherefore having ſtaid about five and twenty days in the ſame place, for ſo long did the north-weſt wind put a ſtop to his voyage, the wind coming fair about, he commanded his horſe and foot to embark: but whilſt all people were buſy in performing theſe orders, DUMNORIX, without CÆSAR's knowledge or conſent, Dumnorix deſerts.

WAR in GAUL.

left the camp with the Autun cavalry, and took his march homeward; which CÆSAR being informed of, immediately put a ſtop to his voyage: laying aſide all other affairs, he detached a ſtrong party of horſe to purſue and bring him back again, with orders to kill DUMNORIX, if he offered to make the leaſt oppoſition to his commands; for he had reaſon to think the man who durſt diſobey his orders when preſent, would not be very loyal in his abſence. The horſe having overtaken him, commanded him to return, which he refuſed, endeavouring to defend himſelf by force of arms, often imploring the aſſiſtance of his country-men, crying out that he was a free-man born in a free country; but the Romans performed their orders, ſurrounded and put him to the ſword, whereupon all his cavalry returned to CÆSAR.

Dumnorix's obſtinacy; he is kill'd.

CHAP. III.

Cæſar ſets ſail for England.

THIS affair determined, leaving LABIENUS in Gaul with three legions and 2000 horſe, to ſecure the port, to provide corn, and ſend him intelligence from time to time how affairs went in the continent, that he might know how to accommodate his counſels to the particular time and circumſtance; with five legions, and the ſame number of horſe he had left with LABIENUS, about ſunſet CÆSAR hoiſted ſail for England, with a gentle ſouth-wind: about mid-night he was becalmed, and being driven by the tide 'till morning, found the iſland on his left; then following the return of the tide, he row'd 'till he came to the landing-place, which he found ſo convenient the year before; and upon this occaſion the ſoldiers deſerved applauſe, who labouring without intermiſſion at the oar, made their heavy tranſports and tenders keep pace with the gallies: about noon we arrived without our whole fleet on the coaſts, where no enemy was to be ſeen, though, as CÆSAR afterwards underſtood from the priſoners, the iſlanders had been there in vaſt multitudes; but being frighted to behold ſo numerous a navy (which, together with the ſhips of that year's building, and private veſſels which ſeveral perſons had provided for their own uſe, amounted to above 800) they had left the ſhore, and hid themſelves in the mountains.

The Romans land.

CÆSAR, having landed his army, and choſe a convenient place to encamp in, enquired of the priſoners, where the enemy was lodged? and between three and four in the

the morning, having left ten cohorts and 300 horſe, under the command of Q. ATRIUS, to ſecure the navy, he marched towards the Engliſh; being the leſs uneaſy for his fleet, becauſe he left them at anchor on a ſmooth and open ſhore: he had not marched twelve miles, before he ſaw the enemy, who having poſted their horſe and chariots on the banks of the river, gave us battle, and endeavour'd to oppoſe our paſſage, but were repulſed by our cavalry, and obliged to retire to the woods, notwithſtanding the advantage of the ground. Here they had a poſt well fortify'd, where art and nature had equally play'd their parts, a barricado which they had formerly built during the times of their civil wars: all the paſſages to it were block'd up by heaps of trees, which were cut down for that purpoſe; they never ventured out of this place but in ſmall parties, and prevented the Romans from entring it: but the ſoldiers of the ſeventh legion having caſt themſelves into a Teſtudo, and thrown up a mount againſt their works, took the place, and expelled them the woods, without receiving many wounds: but CÆSAR would not permit them to follow the purſuit, becauſe he knew not the country; and the day being already far ſpent, he reſolved to beſtow the reſt of it in fortifying his camp.

They rout the Engliſh.

CHAP. IV.

THE next morning early, CÆSAR, having divided his army into three battalions, ſent both his horſe and foot to purſue the enemy: they had not travelled far before they came within ſight of the Engliſh rear; at which inſtant there arrived a party of horſe from Q. ATRIUS, to acquaint CÆSAR, that the night before there had happened a dreadful ſtorm, which ſhatter'd almoſt all the navy, and caſt the ſhips upon the ſhore, ſpight of their anchors and cables; nor was all the mariners and pilots were able to do, ſufficient to oppoſe the fury of the wind, which had done the fleet a conſiderable damage.

A ſtorm which ſhatters the Roman fleet.

Upon this intelligence, CÆSAR recalling his legions and cavalry from their intended journey, returned to his fleet, where he was an eye-witneſs of the misfortunes the couriers and packets had brought him an account of; for forty ſhips were entirely loſt, and he ſaw the reſt could not be refitted without infinite trouble: wherefore having choſen ſome carpenters from amongſt the legions, and writ for others to Gaul, he ſent LABIENUS orders to build

Cæſar refits his navy, and cauſes it to be haul'd up to dry land.

WAR in GAUL.

build as many ships as he could with those legions he had there. And though he found it would be a very troublesome business, yet he thought it most convenient to have the fleet haul'd up to land, and inclosed within the fortifications of his camp: to effect this design, the soldiers laboured ten days and nights without intermission; when having drawn his shipping to shore, and strongly fortify'd his camp, leaving the same guard as formerly, he returned to the place where he had desisted from pursuing the enemy.

CHAP. V.

HERE he found far greater numbers of the English assembled, than he left at his return to the fleet: by general consent the whole management of this war was committed to the care of CASSIVELLAUNUS, whose territories were divided by the river Thames from the sea-coasts, and extended fourscore miles into the island: for though he had formerly made war on the rest of his country-men, yet upon our arrival they all united, and pitched upon him as the fittest person to direct them at so important a conjuncture.

Cassivellaunus made generalissimo of the English.

Description of England, and the custom of the English.

"The inland parts of England are inhabited by those that call themselves natives of the country; but the sea-coast by the Belgic Gauls, that came thither, either to plunder or invade the island, who having ended their wars, settled there, began to cultivate the earth, and for the generality retain their ancient names: the country is well peopled, and has plenty of buildings, much after the same fashion with the Gauls; they have infinite store of cattle, and make use of brass money and iron rings, which pass by weight: the midland countries produce some tin; and those nearer the sea, iron, though not much of the latter; but their brass is imported: they have all kinds of wood to be met with in Gaul, except the fig and beach-tree: they are not allow'd to eat either hare, hen, or goose; yet they breed all these for their fancy and diversion: the climate is more temperate here than in Gaul, and the frosts less violent: the island is triangular, one side situate over-against Gaul, and at the east corner of this part, where the county of Kent lies, is the usual landing-place from thence; the other extends towards the south; and from one end to the other extends about 500 miles; the west angle lies towards Spain and Ireland, an island generally

Cantium.

esteemed

WAR in GAUL.

eſteemed to be half as large as the other, and about the ſame diſtance from England as England is from Gaul; in the middle between theſe two lies the Iſle of Man, beſides ſeveral other ſmaller iſlands ſcattered up and down, of which ſome affirm, that for thirty days ſucceſſively in winter they are deprived of light: but we received no ſuch information during our ſtay, only obſerved by the running of water out of our hour-pots, that the nights were ſhorter than in Gaul: the length of this ſide, according to their computation, is about 700 miles; the third angle lies northward, and fronts the open ſea, except in one corner, which points towards Germany, and the extent of this is generally computed to be 800 miles; ſo the circumference of the whole iſland is 2000 miles. The moſt civiliz'd people among them are the Kentiſh men, whoſe country lies altogether upon the ſea-coaſts; and their cuſtoms are much the ſame with thoſe of the Gauls: the inland people ſeldom trouble themſelves with agriculture, living on milk and fleſh-meat, and are clad with ſkins; but all of them paint themſelves blue with woad, that they may look the more dreadful to their enemies in battle: the hair of their heads they wear very long, but ſhave all the reſt of their bodies, except the upper lip: ten or a dozen have one wife in common amongſt them, eſpecially if they are brothers, and the parents often lie with their own iſſue; but he who firſt married the woman, whilſt ſhe was a maid, fathers all the children."

Mona.

CHAP. VI.

The Engliſh attack the Romans whilſt on their march, but are repulſed. They return again,

THE enemy's horſe and chariots had a ſharp ſkirmiſh with our men during their march; but the Romans repulſing them from all ſides, drove them into the woods, and having ſlain a great many, purſued the reſt ſo far, 'till they loſt ſome of their own party; the Engliſh not long after returning, whilſt the Romans, who little expected them, were fortifying their camp, made a ſudden ſally out of the woods, and fell upon our advanced guard; whereupon CÆSAR detach'd the two firſt cohorts of his legions to their aſſiſtance: theſe cohorts were drawn up very near each other; but the enemy, whilſt our men were ſurprized with their new way of fighting, boldly broke through the midſt of them, and returned again without receiving any loſs: Q. LABERIUS DURUS loſt his life in this action; but at laſt ſome freſh cohorts coming up to their relief, the Engliſh were repulſed.

and are again repulſed.

WAR in GAUL.

The advantages the Engliſh had over the Romans in their way of fighting.

"This engagement happening in the view of the whole army, every one perceived that the legionary ſoldiers were not a fit match for ſuch an enemy, becauſe the weight of their armour would not permit them to purſue, nor durſt they go too far from their colours; neither could the cavalry encounter them, becauſe the Engliſh often counterfeited a retreat, and having drawn them from the legions, would forſake their chariots, and fight on foot, to a vaſt advantage, though our cavalry on both ſides were equally match'd: beſides, they never fought in cloſe battalions, but in ſmall parties, at a great diſtance from one another, each of them having their particular poſt allotted, from whence they received ſupplies, and the weary were relieved by the freſh."

CHAP. VII.

The Engliſh attack the Roman foragers,

THE day after the enemy lodg'd themſelves in the hills, at a conſiderable diſtance from our camp, but ſeldom appear'd, not being ſo eager at ſkirmiſhing with our cavalry as formerly; but about noon, when CÆSAR had detach'd three legions and all the cavalry under the command of C. TREBONIUS to forage, on a ſudden they aſſaulted our forages from all ſides, falling in with the legions and their ſtandards; but the Romans returning their charge very briſkly, beat them back again, nor did our cavalry deſiſt from the purſuit 'till they had entirely routed them, depending on the legions, who follow'd cloſe after, to ſuſtain them in caſe of neceſſity: they put a great many of the enemy to the ſword, and purſued them ſo cloſe, that they neither allowed them time to rally, to make a ſtand, or forſake their chariots: upon this rout the auxiliary troops that had come from all parts deſerted them, nor were they ever able after this to make any conſiderable head againſt us.

but are routed with conſiderable loſs.

Cæſar fords the Thames.

CÆSAR, being apprized of their intention, march'd his army into the confines of CASSIVELLAUNUS, towards the Thames, which river is only formidable in one place, and that with great difficulty. So ſoon as he came thither, he ſaw the enemy's forces drawn up in a conſiderable body on the oppoſite bank, which was fortified with ſharp ſtakes; the Engliſh had likewiſe driven many piles of the ſame kind into the bottom of the river, whoſe tops were covered by the water. CÆSAR, having intelligence of this from the priſoners and deſerters, ſent his cavalry before, commanding the legions to follow cloſe after them; and

and with ſuch expedition did they perform his orders, though the water took them up to the neck, that the enemy, not being able to ſuſtain their aſſault, forſook the banks and fled.

And puts Caſſivellaunus again to flight;

CHAP. VIII.

THUS CASSIVELLAUNUS, having loſt all hopes of ſucceſs by a battle, diſbanded the greateſt part of his forces, and retaining only about 4000 chariots, obſerved our motions from time to time, keeping himſelf at ſome diſtance in the woods, or ſuch places where the Romans had no acceſs; from thoſe countries he knew we deſigned to march to, he took care to carry off the cattle and natives before-hand into the woods; and whenever our cavalry ventured a little too far to lay the country waſte, being well acquainted with all the roads and by-ways, he would detach a party of his chariots out of the woods to attack us; nor could our horſe engage them without great danger, which prevented our making ſuch excurſions as we would have done otherwiſe, and obliged CÆSAR not to permit his horſe to go further to burn and deſtroy the country than the legions were able to attend them; nor was there any execution done after this, but when the legionary ſoldiers were preſent.

who diſbands part of his army, and retires to the woods.

In the mean time the Trinobantes, who poſſeſs one of the moſt conſiderable provinces in the iſland, ſent embaſſadors to CÆSAR, promiſing to deliver themſelves up to his diſpoſal, and ſubmit to his commands, deſiring withal that he would pleaſe to defend MAUDUBRATIUS from the oppreſſion of CASSIVELLAUNUS, and ſend him to them for their king and governor: this MAUDUBRATIUS was the ſon of IMANUENTIUS, that formerly poſſeſſing that kingdom, was ſlain by CASSIVELLAUNUS, and, to avoid his father's fate, had fled to CÆSAR, who promiſed him protection. CÆSAR granted their requeſt, but demanded forty hoſtages from them, and corn for his army; which conditions they readily performed.

The people of Eſſex and Middleſex.

The Trinobantes thus protected from their enemies, and ſecured by his orders from being plundered by his ſoldiers, the * Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci,

* CAMDEN ſays the Cenimagni were the ſame with the Iceni, whoſe province contained Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeſhire, and Huntingdonſhire. Segontiaci, he thinks, were originally inhabitants of Belgia, and places them at Holeſhot; the Bibroci he calls thoſe that inhabit the hundred of Bray; the Ancalites thoſe of Henly; and the Caſſi thoſe of Caihow.

WAR in GAUL.

and Caſſi, ſubmitted themſelves likewiſe by their embaſſadors to CÆSAR. From theſe he had intelligence that CASSIVELLAUNUS's town, which was fortified with woods and marſhes, and ſtored with plenty of men and cattle, was but a ſmall diſtance from his camp; for the Engliſh call a thick wood, ſurrounded with a ditch, and fortified with a rampier, a town, which they retire to when they are apprehenſive of incurſions from their neighbours: thither he marched with his legions, and found the place well ſecured both by art and nature; however he endeavoured to ſtorm it in two ſeveral places, and the enemy being no longer able to ſuſtain the fury of the aſſault, fled out at another part of the wood: here we found vaſt quantities of cattle, and many of the Engliſh, who endeavoured to make their eſcape, being overtaken, loſt their lives.

What the Engliſh called a town.

The Engliſh fortifications taken.

The four kings of Kent attack the Roman camp, but are repulſed with loſs.

CASSIVELLAUNUS in the mean time ſent embaſſadors to Kent, which, as we have already taken notice, lies toward the ſea-coaſt, and is governed by four kings, CINGETORIX, CARNILIUS, TAXIMAGULUS, and SEGONAX; whom he commanded to attack our camp, where the navy was laid up, with all the forces they could raiſe: but ſo ſoon as they arrived there, our men made a ſally, killed ſeveral of them, took LUGOTORIX, one of their chief commanders, priſoner, and returned ſafe again into their trenches. CASSIVALLAUNUS, upon the news of this defeat, reflecting on the many loſſes he had received, how his country was laid waſte, but above all, that ſeveral provinces had already forſaken the general alliance, ſent embaſſadors to treat of a ſurrender, who were introduced by COMIUS of Arras. CÆSAR deſigning to quarter that winter in Gaul, to prevent ſudden inſurrections there, becauſe the ſummer was already far ſpent, and the remainder might eaſily have been ſpun out with delays, demanded hoſtages, and appointed the yearly tribute which the Engliſh ſhould pay to the people of Rome; not forgetting ſtrictly to prohibit him from injuring MAUDUBRATIUS, or the Trinobantes.

Caſſivellaunus ſurrenders, and Cæſar impoſes a yearly tribute on the Engliſh.

Having received the hoſtages, he marched his army back again to the ſea-ſhore, where he found his fleet refitted, and cauſed it to be launched; but conſidering the number of the captives was ſo great, and that ſome of our ſhips had periſhed in the ſtorm, he reſolved to tranſport his army at two voyages; whereby it ſo fell out, that there was not one veſſel loſt which carried over the

ſoldiers, either this, or the foregoing year, for all the ſhips were ſo numerous, and the voyages ſo frequent. WAR in GAUL.

But very few of thoſe which were ſent back again from Gaul, after they had landed the ſoldiers that were firſt carried over, nor of the ſixty ſhips which LABIENUS had taken care to build, arrived ſafe at England; the reſt being driven back again by contrary winds: wherefore CÆSAR, having long expected them in vain, leſt the winter ſhould prevent his voyage, the equinox being near at hand, diſpoſed his ſoldiers cloſer than he deſigned, and taking the opportunity of an extraordinary calm, ſet ſail about ten o'clock at night, and arrived ſafe with his whole fleet at the continent by break of day.

Cæſar arrives ſafe with the reſt of his army in Gaul.

CHAP. IX.

HAVING laid up his fleet in the docks, and held an aſſembly of the Gauls at * Amiens, becauſe the ſummer's drought had made a ſcarcity of corn that year, he was obliged to quarter his legions otherwiſe than he had done in former winters, and to diſtribute them into ſeveral countries; one legion, under the command of lieutenant C. FABIUS, he ſent to Teroüenne; another under Q. CICERO to Hainault; a third under L. ROSCIUS to ‡ Seez; a fourth under TITUS LABIENUS, who had orders to quarter in Rheims on the borders of Treves; three others he quartered in Belgium, under the command of M. CRASSUS the queſtor, LU. MANUTIUS PLANCUS and CAIUS TREBONIUS the lieutenants; the legion which he had laſt raiſed beyond the Po, with five cohorts, he ſent into the country of Treves, which is governed by AMBIORIX and CATIVULCUS, the greateſt part of whoſe territories lie between the Moſe and the Rhine; theſe he committed to the charge of the lieutenants Q. TITURIUS SABINUS and L. ARUNCULEIUS COTTA. By this diſtribution of his legions, CÆSAR thought he might eaſily redreſs the want of proviſions; yet all the legions lay within the compaſs of one hundred miles, except thoſe whom he had ſent under the command of L. ROSCIUS, into

* Samarobrina, SCALIGER calls Amiens, others Cambray, or St. Quintin; but SANSON ſays poſitively 'tis the town of Amiens, and that it ſhould be read Samarobriva, for Briva or Briga is an old Celtick word for a bridge; ſo Samarobriva is a bridge over the Samara or Soam, where Amiens now ſtands.

‡ Eſſui, ſays BAUDRAND, are inhabitants of Normandy, and their capital the town now called Seez; but VOSSIUS thinks this a corruption of the text, and that it ſhould have been Ædui, the people of Autun. SANSON thinks Eſſui and Seſſui or Seſſuvij the ſame people.

WAR in GAUL.

to a moſt quiet and peaceable country; and he reſolved to ſtay himſelf in Gaul, 'till the whole army had poſſeſſed themſelves of, and fortified their winter-quarters.

Taſgetius murdered by his ſubjects of Chartres; Carnutes.

In the country of Chartres lived TASGETIUS, a man of the beſt family there, whoſe anceſtors had formerly been kings of the place; and CÆSAR, to reward that conſtant virtue and affection which he had given proofs of in all the wars, had reſtored him to the dignity of his forefathers: but in the third year of his reign, his enemies, by the aſſiſtance of ſeveral of his ſubjects, who were in the conſpiracy, publickly murdered him. CÆSAR had intelligence of this matter, and being apprehenſive that ſince ſo many were concerned in the treaſon, the country might revolt, he commanded L. PLANCUS to march immediately with his legion out of Belgium into Chartres, to apprehend all ſuch as had been concerned in the murder of TASGETIUS, and ſend them priſoners to him: in the mean time he had advice from all the queſtors and lieutenants, to whoſe charge he had committed the legions, that they had fortified their winter-quarters.

CHAP. X.

The people of Liege rebel, and aſſault the Roman camp;

OUR legions had not been ſettled above fifteen days before AMBIORIX and CATIVULCUS, at the inſtigation of INDUTIOMARUS of Treves, made a ſudden inſurrection, ſtirring up the people to rebel, after they had carried SABINUS and COTTA corn into their quarters, which were in their confines: having ſurprized the ſoldiers that were gone to fetch in wood, they came in a ſtrong body to ſtorm our camp; but the Romans immediately repaired to their arms, and aſcended the rampart, whilſt the Spaniſh cavalry iſſuing out from one ſide, got the better of their horſe; whereupon, deſpairing of ſucceſs, the enemy retreated; and, according to their cuſtom, demanded a conference, pretending they had ſomething to ſay which imported the publick good, and might conduce towards the making a peace.

but are repulſed; deſire a treaty.

Ambiorix's ſpeech to the Roman deputies.

Whereupon C. CARPINEUS, a Roman knight, one of TITURIUS's particular friends, and Q. JUNIUS a Spaniard, who had frequently been ſent before by CÆSAR to AMBIORIX, were deputed to treat with them: to whom AMBIORIX ſpoke to this effect; "That he thought himſelf infinitely indebted to CÆSAR for the many benefits he had formerly received from him; for having

ving freed him from that tribute which he uſed to pay his neighbours of Namur, and for ſetting his ſon and nephew at liberty, who had been detained amongſt the other hoſtages ſent to that country: wherefore he had not aſſaulted the Roman camp out of inclination, but neceſſity; for ſuch was the conſtitution of his government, that the people had not leſs power over him, than he over them: that his country had undertaken this war in compliance with the ſudden and general inſurrection of all the provinces of Gaul: that he was not ſo vain and unexperienced, to imagine it poſſible for him with ſo inſignificant a force to overcome the Romans; but by general conſent, the natives had pitch'd on that day for attacking the Romans in their ſeveral winter-quarters, to prevent one legion from coming to the aſſiſtance of another; nor was it poſſible for the people of Liege to deny their countrymen any thing, eſpecially where the recovery of their publick liberty was concerned: but having now diſcharged the duty owing to his country, gratitude obliged him to admoniſh CÆSAR, and friendſhip to intreat TITURIUS, to conſult the preſervation of themſelves and ſoldiers; for a great number of German troops, whom the Gauls had hired, had paſſed the Rhine two days before; therefore they might conſider whether it were not better for them to leave their quarters, and march to CICERO, or LABIENUS, the firſt not being above fifty miles diſtant from them, and the other a little further: for his part, he promiſed and obliged himſelf by oath, to grant them a ſafe paſſage through his country, by which means he ſhould at the ſame inſtant oblige his countrymen, by freeing them from the burthen of winter quarters, and make a grateful return for the favours he had received from CÆSAR."

CHAP. XI.

THUS ending his ſpeech, he departed. C. CARPINEUS and JUNIUS gave the lieutenants an account of what they heard, who being much ſurprized, thought the advice not to be neglected, though it came from an enemy; and that which weighed moſt with them was, they could not believe ſo mean and obſcure a people as thoſe of Chartres, would, of their own accord, preſume to make war on the Romans: wherefore, having ſummoned a council of war, they had long diſputes about the matter. LUCIUS

The Romans call'd a council of war.

WAR in GAUL.

CIUS ARUNCULEIUS COTTA, and ſeveral tribunes and centurions of the firſt order, were of opinion,

Cotta's opinion.

"They ought to do nothing raſhly, and that it was not proper to quit their quarters before they received orders from CÆSAR to that purpoſe, becauſe they were ſo well fortified, they were able to defend themſelves againſt any number of Germans whatever, witneſs the brave repulſe and many wounds the enemy had received the firſt attack; nor did they want proviſions to ſubſiſt on, 'till they could receive relief from CÆSAR and the neighbouring garriſons; and, in fine, that nothing could be a greater argument of levity or cowardice, than to follow an enemy's advice in affairs of the greateſt importance."

Sabinus's opinion.

But on the other hand, SABINUS exclaimed, "They had but a very ſhort time to conſult in, for it would be too late to do any thing, when the enemy was grown more powerful by conjunction with the Germans, or the neighbouring garriſons diſtreſſed: that he believed CÆSAR was already gone into Italy; for the people of Chartres would not have preſumed to murder TASGETIUS, nor thoſe of Liege ſo impudently have attempted to force our camp, if he had not been abſent: that an enemy's advice weigh'd not with him, but matter of fact did; for the Rhine was not far off, the Germans were much afflicted for the loſs of ARIOVISTUS, diſturbed at the memory of our late victories; the Gauls no leſs enraged, to reflect on the loſs of their former military glory, and the many injuries they had received after they were reduced to the obedience of Rome; and laſtly, who could believe that AMBIORIX would have engaged in ſuch a deſign without certain grounds? That his opinion was ſafe on all ſides; for, if the Gauls had no further deſign, they might without danger march to the next legion; but, if the whole country had combined with the Germans, the only means of ſafety conſiſted in diſpatch: whereas no other event could be expected from the advice of COTTA, and thoſe that differed in opinion from him, except ſtarving by a long ſiege, if they could avoid the preſent danger."

The diſpute was warmly maintained on both ſides, and SABINUS's opinion ſtrongly oppoſed by COTTA and the chief officers of the legion; whereupon SABINUS, that the greateſt part of the ſoldiers might hear him, cried out aloud,

Sabinus's reply.

"Do as you pleaſe, I am not more afraid to meet death than any of you; but let theſe take notice, that whatever

whatever misfortunes befal them, you are the perſon they muſt thank for them; for, did not you prevent them, they might in three days time arrive at the next garriſon, ſhare the ſame fate with their fellow-ſoldiers, and not periſh by ſword or famine, like an abject and abandoned people."

The council about to break up; the officers deſire an union.

Upon this they were going to break up the council; but the officers having embraced them both, intreated they would not by their obſtinacy plunge their affairs into ſo deſperate a condition: that, provided they were but of one opinion, there could be no difficulty either in ſtaying or going; but their diſſention was the ready way to ruin. The diſpute continued 'till midnight; at length COTTA ſubmitted to SABINUS's opinion, and orders were delivered out for marching by break of day. The reſt of the night was conſumed in watching, each ſoldier being employ'd to conſider what he could carry, and what part of his winter proviſions he muſt be obliged to leave behind him; all things were contrived to make the ſoldiers believe there was danger in ſtaying, and to increaſe that apprehenſion by their watching and faintneſs.

Cotta ſubmits.

CHAP. XII.

Sabinus and Cotta begin their march.

EARLY in the morning they began their march; and the army being drawn up into narrow ranks, extended a conſiderable length: they carried a great deal of baggage along with them, perſuading themſelves that AMBIORIX was their particular friend, and that they did not follow an enemy's advice: but the Gauls perceiving, by our watching, and the noiſe we made all night, that we deſigned to decamp the next morning, poſſeſſed themſelves of two convenient and private places in the woods, about two miles diſtant from our camp, where they waited for us in ambuſcade; and when the greateſt part of our army had entered the valley, the enemy appearing on the riſing ground on both ſides, at the ſame inſtant attacked our rear, and oppoſed the aſcent of our van-guard, engaging us in a place of prodigious advantage.

Are attacked by an ambuſcade.

Then TITURIUS at laſt perceived his error, and being ſurprized, began to tremble, run up and down, and drew his cohorts up after ſo aukward a manner, as if he deſpaired of the matter, as generally happens to thoſe who are conſulting when they ſhould execute.

Sabinus's cowardice.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

BUT COTTA, who foreſaw this would be the conſequence of their march, and therefore had oppoſed it, neglected nothing which might be of advantage to the publick ſafety, for he performed the part of an able general in drawing up, and encouraging his men, and that of a ſoldier in fighting. And becauſe the length of the army rendered it difficult for the lieutenants to viſit all parts, and give the neceſſary orders for relief, they commanded the ſoldiers to quit their baggage, and caſt themſelves into an orb; which though proper at ſuch a conjuncture, yet at this time the ſucceſs did not anſwer the deſign, for it daunted our ſoldiers, and encouraged the enemy, becauſe they looked upon it as the effect of deſpair in us; beſides, as it always happens upon ſuch occaſions, the ſoldiers, forſaking their enſigns, ran to the carriages, to reſcue from thence what they ſet the greateſt value on, and the whole army was filled with clamour and weeping.

The Romans caſt themſelves into an orb; their confuſion.

But the Gauls underſtood their buſineſs better; their officers gave orders that not a man of them ſhould leave his ranks, ſince the baggage was theirs, and whatever the Romans had taken ſuch care to lay up, would certainly fall into their hands, for all depended on the victory.

The Romans were equal to the Gauls both in courage and number, though they were deſerted by fortune and their general; however, they placed all their hopes of preſervation in their valour; and whenever a cohort ſallied out, they made a conſiderable ſlaughter of the enemy on that ſide.

CHAP. XIV.

WHICH AMBIORIX obſerving, gave orders they ſhould caſt their darts at a diſtance, not approach too near the Romans, give way wherever we made a ſally, and purſue us when we returned again to the army; for the lightneſs of their arms, and daily exerciſe, had made them ſo nimble, that they might eaſily avoid the fury of our aſſault: theſe directions they obſerved ſo diligently, that whenever a cohort left the orb to attack them, they fled away; in the mean time, the place from whence we ſallied

Ambiorix's management.

ſallied was left expoſed to the enemy's darts, and when we endeavoured to retreat again to our poſt, we were ſurrounded by thoſe we had put to flight, and the parties that ſtood next them; wherefore, to pretend to maintain our ground had been in vain, for we could neither have an opportunity of ſhewing our courage, nor was it poſſible for us, though we ſtood never ſo cloſe together, to avoid the darts of ſo numerous an enemy. But notwithſtanding we had ſo many inconveniencies, for all the Romans had received ſo many wounds, having fought from break of day 'till two o'clock in the afternoon, during all that time they committed nothing unworthy their priſtine courage: the brave TITUS BALVENTIUS, who the year before was primiple of the legion, a man of great authority, had both his thighs ſtruck through with a javelin; Q. LUCANIUS, an officer of the ſame rank, fighting courageouſly to relieve his ſon, who was hemm'd in by the enemy, loſt his life; and lieutenant-general L. COTTA, whilſt he was encouraging the ſoldiers, received a wound in his mouth from a ſling.

CHAP. XV.

Sabinus ſends to deſire quarter.

Q. TITURIUS, being diſturbed at this ill ſucceſs, as he ſaw AMBIORIX encouraging his men at a diſtance, ſent his interpreter C. POMPEIUS, to demand quarter for him and his ſoldiers; to which AMBIORIX made anſwer, "That he was ready to give him a conference if he deſired it, and hoped he ſhould be able ſo far to prevail with his countrymen to grant the Romans quarter; but as for TITURIUS, he would give him his oath, no hurt ſhould befal him." Having received this anſwer, he aſked COTTA (who before had been wounded) whether he would leave the battle, and go along with him to confer with AMBIORIX; COTTA told him he thought it not proper to conſult with an armed enemy, and therefore reſolved not to go.

Ambiorix's anſwer.

Cotta refuſes to go to the conference.

Whereupon SABINUS commanded the tribunes, and centurions of the firſt order, that were preſent, to follow him; being come near AMBIORIX, he was ordered to lay down his arms, which he did, bidding thoſe who were with him to follow his example: but, whilſt they were treating about the conditions, AMBIORIX began to make a long ſpeech, during which time the Romans by degrees were ſurrounded and put to the ſword; whereupon the enemy,

Sabinus goes with his party.

They are commanded to lay down their arms,

and then put to the ſword.

WAR in GAUL.

Cotta kill'd, and the whole army entirely defeated.

L. Petrofidius the ſtandard-bearer.

enemy, according to their cuſtom, cried out victory, making a dreadful noiſe, charged our army, and broke our ranks; at which time L. COTTA fighting bravely, loſt his life, with the greateſt part of the army; the reſt retreated to the camp they had left in the morning, amongſt which number L. PETROFIDIUS, the eagle-bearer, finding himſelf oppreſſed by the enemy, caſt the ſtandard within the rampart, and manfully ſuſtained their fury before the camp, 'till he expired; the reſt with much to do maintained their ground 'till night, at which time every man of them, deſpairing of preſervation, fell upon his own ſword: ſome few who had eſcaped out of the battle, travelled through by-ways in the woods to LABIENUS, and gave him an account of the action.

The Romans that retreated to their camp, kill themſelves.

CHAP. XVI.

Ambiorix goes to Namur and Hainault, moves the natives to rebel.

AMBIORIX was ſo puffed up with this ſucceſs, that he immediately went with his cavalry to Namur, the province which lay next to his country, travelling day and night without intermiſſion, having left orders for the infantry to follow him: he gave the people an account of what he had done, and, having ſtirr'd them up to rebellion, arrived the day after in the confines of the Hainaultois, whom he perſuaded not to omit ſo glorious an opportunity of freeing themſelves for ever, and revenging the injuries they had received from the Romans: he acquainted them that he had already ſlain two of their lieutenant-generals, and put a conſiderable part of their army to the ſword; that it would be no difficult matter for them ſuddenly to attack, and cut off the legion in winter-quarters under the command of CICERO; and that he was ready to aſſiſt them in the enterprize.

Whereupon having immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to the *Centrones, Grudij, Levaci, Pleumoſij and Gorduni, who are all their tributaries; and having raiſed what forces they could, they march'd with great expedition to CICERO's quarters, and arrived there before he had heard the news of TITURIUS's death.

CHAP.

* SCALIGER and ORTELIUS ſay the Centrones were the people of Tarantaiſe in Savoy; but CÆSAR mentions two countries of the ſame name, and theſe we are now ſpeaking of, lived amongſt the Belgæ: ſome criticks ſuſpect this to be a corruption of the text, but SANSON takes them for thoſe that now live about Ghent; the Grudii he places at Bruges, the Levaci in the county of Waes in Flanders, the Pleumoſij in the dioceſs of Tournay, and the Gorduni in the bailiwick of Courtray; probable conjectures taken from the ſituation of the place, and far fetch'd etymologies.

CHAP. XVII.

HERE likewiſe it fell out (as of neceſſity it muſt) that ſome of the Romans, who were gone to fetch wood and other proviſions, were ſurprized by the enemy's horſe; having ſecured theſe, the people of Chartrain, Namur, and Hainault, with all their confederates and tributaries, amounting to a vaſt number, began to ſtorm the Roman camp: whereupon our men immediately repaired to their arms, aſcended the rampier, and with great difficulty ſuſtained the enemy's charge, for the Gauls had placed all their hopes in diſpatch, and promiſed themſelves perpetual ſucceſs, if they could but obtain the victory that day.

The enemy endeavour to ſtorm the Roman camp under Cicero's command; but are repulſed.

In the mean time CICERO diſpatch'd couriers with all expedition to CÆSAR, promiſing them conſiderable rewards, in caſe they had the fortune to arrive ſafe with his packets; but the ways round about were ſo block'd up, that they were all intercepted: however, in one night with incredible celerity, he built 120 towers (of the wood which the ſoldiers brought into the camp for the fortifications) to compleat his works where they ſeemed imperfect. The next day the enemy, with a much greater force than before, ſtorm'd our camp a ſecond time, filled the ditch, but were again repulſed; and the ſame thing they attempted ſeveral days together, with the like ſucceſs. The Romans in the mean while laboured inceſſantly at their works in the night, nor were either the ſick or wounded permitted to reſt; whatever was neceſſary to defeat the next day's aſſault was provided in the night, ſeveral ſtakes were harden'd in the fire, plenty of piles driven into the ground; the towers were boarded, the battlements and parapets fortified with breaſt-works of hurdles: and CICERO, though he was much out of order, did not allow himſelf time to reſt even in the night, 'till the ſoldiers unanimouſly obliged him to conſult his health.

The Gauls attempt a ſecond ſtorm; but are again repulſed.

Cicero's diligence.

CHAP. XVIII.

THE Hainaultois finding themſelves thus diſappointed, their noblemen, who had formerly any acquaintance or friendſhip with CICERO, deſired a conference; which being granted, they uſed the ſame artifice as AMBIORIX had formerly dome with SABINUS: "They told him all the kingdoms of Gaul were in arms; that the Germans

The Hainaultois uſe the ſame ſtratagem with Cicero, as Ambiorix had with Sabinus and Cotta.

WAR in GAUL.

had passed the Rhine, that CÆSAR's, and the rest of the winter-quarters were besieged; that SABINUS was killed, and to prove what they said, produced AMBIORIX; wherefore CICERO would be much in the wrong, to flatter himself with hopes of relief from those that were not able to maintain their own ground: yet they had so particular an esteem for him, and the people of Rome, that they could deny them nothing except winter-quarters, which they could not by any means permit to grow customary; but if they had a mind to quit their garrison, the Gauls would allow them safe passage through their country, to such place as they designed to march to."

Cicero's answer.

To this CICERO only answered, "That it was not usual with the Romans to accept conditions from an armed enemy; but if they would lay down their arms, and make use of his intercession, they might send embassadors to CÆSAR, from whose justice he believed they would obtain such redress as they desired."

CHAP. XIX.

The Hainaultois surround the Roman camp with a ditch and a rampier.

THIS stratagem failing, the Hainaultois surrounded our camp with a rampier eleven foot high, and a ditch fifteen foot deep; this piece of fortification they had learned some years before, partly from the Romans, and partly from the prisoners they had taken; but wanting instruments proper for the occasion, they were forced to cut up turf with their swords, to dig mould with their hands, and carry it in their cloaks; from whence we may form a judgment how numerous they were; for in less than the space of three hours they had compleated a circumvallation * fifteen miles in length: the following days they raised turrets in proportion to the heighth of the rampier, and prepared scythes and penthouses according to the instruction of the captives.

The Gauls last effort to storm Cicero's camp.

The seventh day of the siege, the wind being high, they began to sling hot bullets made of clay, and cast heated darts upon the Roman barracks, that after the manner of the Gauls were thatched with straw, which immediately took fire, and the sparks were in an instant distributed by the wind all over the camp; whereupon the enemy, as if already secure of victory, with great clamour approached our rampier with their turrets, mounts, penthouses, and endeavoured to scale it; but so great was the

* But the Roman miles only consisted of 1000 paces, which is 56 paces less than ours.

the ſoldiers courage and preſence of mind, that though they were ſurrounded by the flames, and oppreſſed with an infinite number of darts; though they were ſenſible their fortunes were burning, yet not a man forſook the rampier, or caſt an eye upon his departing baggage, each bravely maintaining his ground againſt the attempt of the enemy: this was the bloodieſt day our men endured ſince the beginning of the ſiege; but they had the good fortune to kill and wound conſiderable numbers of the Gauls, who crouded ſo cloſe to the rampier, that the hindmoſt prevented the retiring of the front: by that time the fire was a little abated, the enemy had joined one of their turrets to our rampier; whereupon the centurions of the third cohort retired from their poſt, and having drawn off their men, beckoned to the Gauls, deſiring them to enter if they pleaſed; but obſerving that not a man of them durſt move, having aſſaulted them from all ſides with ſtones, they ſet their turret on fire.

War in Gaul.

CHAP. XX.

THERE were in this legion two centurions, both men of extraordinary courage, that ſtood fair for preferment, T. PULFIO, and L. VARENUS; theſe two were continually diſputing for the preference, each ſtriving to be advanced above other at every year's promotion: PULFIO in the heat of the attack, cried out, "VARENUS! what now detains you? what more glorious opportunity would you deſire to ſignalize yourſelf? this day ſhall decide the diſpute between us, and put an end to our emulation:" Then leaving the camp, he threw himſelf in amongſt the thickeſt of the Gauls, being followed by his rival, whom honour would not permit to ſtay behind. PULFIO caſt his pile at the enemy, and gave one of them, who was haſtening to engage him, ſuch a wound, that he immediately dropped; but his countrymen ſoon covered him with their ſhields, and all flung their darts at PULFIO, without giving him leiſure to retire; a javelin pierced his ſhield, and ſtuck faſt in his belt, which prevented him drawing his ſword till he was ſurrounded: whereupon VARENUS came to his aſſiſtance, and the enemy, fancying the dart had already done his buſineſs, left PULFIO to attack the other; VARENUS, having drawn his ſword, killed the firſt that came near him, and obliged the reſt to retreat; but being too eager in

Pulfio and Varenus, their generous emulation.

WAR in GAUL.

the purſuit, ſtepping into a hole, he fell down: PULFIO in the mean time having recovered himſelf, reſcued VARENUS from the Gauls, and both together, having ſlain ſeveral of the Gauls, and acquired infinite applauſe, returned ſafe again to their trenches: thus fortune equally divided her favours between them both, contriving that each ſhould come to the aſſiſtance of his rival, yet left it undecided, whether deſerved the greater honour."

CHAP. XXI.

GREAT part of our ſoldiers being wounded, we had very few left that were fit for ſervice; wherefore, the hotter the ſiege grew, the more couriers did CICERO diſpatch to CÆSAR, though ſeveral of them were taken, and rack'd to death within view of our ſoldiers: but there happened to be one VORTICO, a gentleman of Hainault, in our camp, who came over to the Romans at the beginning of the ſiege, and had given ſufficient proofs of his fidelity: this gentleman, with promiſes of liberty and conſiderable rewards, perſuaded one of his ſlaves to carry a packet to CÆSAR, which he tied to his javelin: being a native of the country, he paſſed without the leaſt ſuſpicion through the Hainaultois, and arrived ſafe at CÆSAR's quarters, who was informed by this means of the danger CICERO and his legion were in.

Cicero ſends Cæſar word of his being beſieged, by the aſſiſtance of Vortico.

Immediately on receipt of this packet, about five o'clock in the afternoon, he ſent orders to M. CRASSUS, paymaſter of the army, whoſe quarters were in Beauvois, about twenty-five miles off, that he ſhould draw out his legion at midnight, and march with all the expedition he could to join him: CRASSUS, according to his orders, came along with the courier: another meſſenger he diſpatched to lieutenant C. FABIUS, whom he commanded to meet him on the borders of Arras, through which he deſigned to march: he writ likewiſe to LABIENUS to meet him on the confines of Hainault, if he could do it with ſafety; for he thought it not convenient to expect the reſt of his army, which lay at a greater diſtance; only ſtaid for the arrival of about 400 horſe from the neareſt garriſons.

Cæſar receives the letters, and immediately prepares to relieve him.

At nine in the morning he had notice from his ſcouts of CRASSUS's approach, and having marched that day about twenty miles, he made him governor of Amiens, and left him with a legion to take care of the baggage of the army, the

the hoſtages, publick papers, and all the proviſions which had been laid up there for the winter. FABIUS, according to his orders, met CÆSAR at the time and place appointed; but LABIENUS having notice of SABINUS's death, the loſs of his cohorts, and underſtanding that all the forces of Treves were marching towards him, was apprehenſive, in caſe he ſhould quit his quarters, the enemy might miſconſtrue it for a flight, and that it would be impoſſible for him to ſuſtain their aſſault, who were fluſh'd with the ſucceſs of their late victory; wherefore he ſent CÆSAR word what dangerous conſequence it might be of, to leave his garriſon, after what had happened in Liege, eſpecially ſince all the horſe and foot of the people of Treves lay not above three miles diſtant from his camp. WAR in GAUL.

CÆSAR approved of his reaſons, and though the expectation of his three legions was now reduced only to two, yet placing all his hopes of the publick ſafety in diſpatch, arrived by long marches on the confines of Hainault, where he was informed from ſome priſoners, of CICERO's condition, and what danger he was in: then having perſuaded a trooper of Gaul by conſiderable rewards to carry a letter to CICERO, he writ it in private characters, that if it happened to fall into the enemy's hands, they might not be able to underſtand it; and if the meſſenger had not an opportunity of getting into the camp, he had inſtructions to faſten the packet to the ſtring of his javelin, and caſt it within the trenches: in this letter CÆSAR ſent CICERO word, that he would very ſhortly come with his legions to his aſſiſtance, and therefore encourag'd him to perſevere in his wonted conſtancy. The Gaul being apprehenſive of danger, according to orders caſt his javelin within the fortifications, which by accident light upon a tower, where it ſtuck two days before it was obſerved by the Romans; but the third day one of our ſoldiers found the letter, and brought it to CICERO, who read it publickly to the beſieged, which gave them no ſmall ſatisfaction; and not long after, by the ſmoak of the fires at ſome diſtance, they were thoroughly convined of CÆSAR's approach.

Cæſar arrives on the confines of Hainault,

ſends Cicero word of his march to his relief.

Cicero finds Cæſar's letter.

The Gauls having notice of this by their ſcouts, immediately quitted the ſiege, and marched with all their forces toward CÆSAR, which amounted to 60000 men; whereupon CICERO, having taken care to find out the ſame Gaul whom VORTICO had ſent before with the letters, and having given him directions to travel with all the caution and diligence poſſible, ſent him with a packet

The Gauls quit the ſiege, Cicero ſends Cæſar word of it.

WAR in GAUL.

to inform CÆSAR, that the enemy, having broken up the ſiege, were marching with all their forces to find him out

CÆSAR received this packet about mid-night; whereupon he communicated the contents to his army, and encouraged them to fight: the next day early he decamp'd, and having marched about four miles, croſs a ſpacious vale, through which there ran a river, he deſcry'd the enemy; but thinking it dangerous to engage ſo numerous an army in a place of diſadvantage, and conſidering that ſince he had already raiſed the ſiege, there was no neceſſity for ſuch violent expedition, he choſe as convenient a place as he could to encamp in, which he fortified; he had hardly * 7000 men in his army, who having no baggage, could not require much ground to lodge themſelves in; yet, to increaſe the pride of the enemy, he contracted the ſpaces between the tents narrower than uſual, and in the mean time diſpatched his ſcouts to diſcover which was the moſt convenient way to paſs the valley.

Cæſar encamps.

There happened the ſame day ſeveral ſkirmiſhes between the enemy's cavalry and ours on the banks of the river; but neither the Gauls nor the Romans left their camp, for they expected the arrival of freſh recruits; and CÆSAR endeavoured by a counterfeit fear to draw them out of the valley, that he might have the opportunity of engaging them before his camp; or at leaſt, if he could not effect that deſign, that having diſcovered the ſafeſt ways, he might croſs the river, and paſs the valley with leſs danger. The next morning by break of day, the enemy's cavalry marching up to our camp; engaged our horſe, who, by CÆSAR's command, gave ground, and retreated into the camp; he likewiſe cauſed the rampier on all ſides to be built higher, the gates to be ſtopp'd up, and that the ſoldiers, in the execution of their orders, ſhould give all the demonſtrations of fear and confuſion imaginable.

The Gauls attack Cæſar's camp.

Cæſar's ſtratagem.

The enemy, enticed by theſe artifices, croſs'd the river with all their forces, and drew up their army in a very diſadvantageous place; our men having retired from the rampier, they approached our camp, caſt their darts within the trenches from all ſides, and ſent heraulds round about to proclaim, that if any Gaul or Roman would come over to them before nine of the clock, they would grant him quarter; but that time once expired, it would be too late to expect it: nay, ſo contemptible were we in their opinion,

* Then we muſt ſuppoſe his legions were not compleat.

opinion, that becauſe they fancied they could not enter the ports of our camp, which we had ſtopp'd up with a ſingle row of turves, to make a ſeeming oppoſition, ſome endeavour'd to ſcale the rampier, whilſt others began to fill the ditch: whereupon CÆSAR, cauſing his horſe to ſally out from all the ports at the ſame inſtant, put the enemy immediately to flight, not a man of them daring to make the leaſt oppoſition; ſeveral of them he put to the ſword, and others were glad to ſurrender their arms.

Cæſar routs the Hainaultois.

CÆSAR thought it not convenient to purſue, becauſe of the intervening woods and marſhes; wherefore being ſatisfied with the execution he had already done upon the enemy in that place, he arrived ſafe the ſame day with all his forces at CICERO's camp, where he was amazed to behold the turrets, penthouſes and fortifications of the Gauls: having drawn out the legion, he perceived not the tenth man had eſcaped without wounds, from whence he computed with how much valour and danger they had defended their camp; wherefore having applauded CICERO and the legion for their courage, he call'd for every centurion and tribune by name, who, as CICERO informed him, had ſignalized themſelves in the ſiege. Having a particular account by the captives of the fate of SABINUS and COTTA, the next day, in the publick oration, he informed the ſoldiers of the matter, and comforted them upon the receipt of ſo melancholy a relation, ſaying, "They ſhould be the leſs diſturbed at the loſs occaſioned by the raſhneſs of a lieutenant, ſince the immortal Gods had taken care to expiate the ſhame by their virtue, not allowing the enemy a conſiderable time to glory in their ſucceſs, nor them to deplore their misfortune."

Marches to Cicero.

Cæſar's ſpeech on Sabinus's defeat.

CHAP. XXII.

THE fame of CÆSAR's victory was carried with incredible ſpeed through the country of Rheims to LABIENUS; for though his quarters lay fifty miles diſtant from the place of action, which was not ended before three o' clock in the afternoon, yet before mid-night there were acclamations heard at the ports of his camp, whereby the people of Rheims congratulated LABIENUS on CÆSAR's ſucceſs. Upon this news, INDUTIOMARUS with his country-men, who deſigned to have attacked LABIENUS's quarters the next day, decamped in the night, and returned to Treves. CÆSAR ſent FABIUS back again, with the legion under his command, to his winter-quar-

Labienus hears of Cæſar's ſucceſs.

Whereupon Indutiomarus returns home.

WAR in GAUL.

ters, designing to stay himself with three other legions, to be lodged in several places about Amiens; and since Gaul was so full of commotions, he resolved to stay there the rest of the winter: for such was the effect of SABINUS's death, that every province of Gaul sent mutual embassies to inform each other of their designs, and where they would begin the war; so great was their diligence, they met in private places in the night, to consult of their affairs, which allowed not CÆSAR a moment's rest all the winter; for there never passed a day, but he had intelligence of some new resolves or insurrections in the country. Amongst the rest, he was informed by L. ROSCIUS, to whom he had given the command of the thirteenth legion, that a considerable number of Gauls from * Normandy and Britain had marched within eight miles of his quarters, designing to besiege him, but having intelligence of CÆSAR's victory, returned with as much precipitation to their own country, as if they had been put to flight: whereupon CÆSAR, having summoned the chief noblemen of every state, frightened some by telling them he was acquainted with their designs, and encouraged others to continue loyal; by which means he preserved great part of the country in obedience. But the people of Sens, the most puissant and considerable province in Gaul, by general consent endeavoured to murder CAVARINUS that had been constituted their king by CÆSAR; upon whose arrival in Gaul, his brother MORITASGUS was sovereign of that country, which had formerly been subject to his ancestors: the poor prince having notice of their design, prepared for his safety by flight, but they pursued him to the confines of their country, and deprived him as well of his private patrimony, as his kingdom. Having sent embassadors to CÆSAR, to satisfy him about the matter, he commanded them to send their whole senate, but they refused to obey his orders: and so far did this example prevail amongst the Barbarians, that some were so hardy to declare open war; and so wonderful an alteration did it work through the whole country, that there was not a province which was not suspected, except Autun and Rheims, two countries always esteemed by CÆSAR, the first for its ancient and constant fidelity to the people of Rome, the other for the late services it had done in the Gallic wars: which is not to be wonder'd at for several reasons, but especially

The people of Sens conspire against Cavarinus; expel him the kingdom.

* Armoricæ, Civitates, or the people of Normandy and Britain design to besiege Roscius; but on the news of CÆSAR's victory return.

cially for the disturbance it was to them, to see themselves so much fallen from their ancient glory, that they who were formerly preferable to all other nations in war, should now be vassals to the people of Rome.

Indutiomarus sends to Germany for assistance, but is refused.

But INDUTIOMARUS and his countrymen of Treves were very busy all the winter, in sending embassadors cross the Rhine, to sollicit the Germans by promises of money to come to their assistance; assuring them, for their encouragement, that the greatest part of the Roman army was already cut off: but not one province of Germany could they bring over to their party, for they all sent them word, they had twice experienced the courage of the Romans to their sorrow, in the defeat of ARIOVISTUS, and the people of Hesse and Zutphen; nor would they venture to try their fortunes again. INDUTIOMARUS, being disappointed of this expectation, was nevertheless diligent in raising forces at home, and in the neighbouring provinces, in providing horses, and encouraging out-laws to repair to his standard by considerable rewards: so great was the credit and authority he acquired by this means throughout the whole continent, that there came embassadors to him from every part of Gaul, as well in publick as privately, to sollicit his alliance.

However he raises an army at home.

Understanding that the people of Sens and Chartres of one side, push'd on by the remembrance of their late revolt, were marching to join him; that those of Hainault and Namur, on the other side, were preparing to make war against the Romans; and that he should not want volunteers, whenever he marched out of his country, he called a council of war. The custom of the Gauls, before they proclaim war is this; "They summon all the youth of the country, that are able to bear arms, to a general place of rendezvous, and he that has the misfortune to come last, in the presence of the rest is put to death with the cruelest torments they can inflict upon him." At this council INDUTIOMARUS took care that his son-in-law CINGETORIX, head of the opposite faction, who, as we have already taken notice, behaved himself faithfully to CÆSAR, should be proclaimed a rebel, and his goods confiscated: then he acquainted his countrymen, that he was called upon for his assistance by the people of Sens, Chartres, and several other provinces of Gaul; wherefore he designed to march through the confines of Rheims, and lay their country waste; but first he would besiege LABIENUS, and accordingly dispatch'd such orders as he thought most convenient.

Indutiomarus calls a council of war.

The custom of the Gauls before they declare war.

He proclaims Cingetorix a rebel.

LABIE-

WAR in GAUL.

Labienus beſieged.

LABIENUS's quarters being equally fortified both by art and nature, he was not in the leaſt uneaſy for himſelf or his legion; but thinking it convenient to lay hold of every advantageous opportunity, upon the intelligence he received of INDUTIOMARUS's deſigns, from CINGETORIX and ſome of his relations, who were preſent at the council, he ſent commiſſaries to bring him cavalry from all the countries round about, to whom he appointed a certain day of rendezvous: in the mean while INDUTIOMARUS with all his horſe rid about the Roman camp, one while to diſcover our ſituation, and at another to confer with, or threaten us, and generally they caſt their darts within our rampier; but LABIENUS ſuffered not his men to move out of their trenches, and contrived all the means he could to convince the enemy of his fear.

INDUTIOMARUS viſited our trenches each day with more contempt than before, 'till LABIENUS had, by the favour of the night, received the cavalry from the neighbouring countries which he had ſent for; upon whoſe arrival he kept ſo ſtrict a guard upon his camp, that it was impoſſible for the enemy to get intelligence of the matter: wherefore INDUTIOMARUS, according to his uſual cuſtom, came the next morning to our camp, where he conſumed great part of the day, whilſt his cavalry caſt their darts, and endeavoured by opprobrious language to provoke our men to an engagement: but the Romans made no return 'till the evening, when the enemy were diſperſed and returning to their camp; which LABIENUS perceiving, cauſed his cavalry to make an unexpected ſally upon them from two ſeveral ports, having firſt given them particular orders, that when they ſhould have routed the enemy, which happened according to his expectation, they ſhould all aim at INDUTIOMARUS, and not wound any man whatever, before they had killed him, leſt the delay might give him an opportunity to eſcape; he promiſed conſiderable rewards to the man that ſhould kill him; and ſent the cohorts after to ſuſtain them, if there ſhould be occaſion: fortune proſpered his advice, for all the Roman cavalry aiming only at INDUTIOMARUS, he was overtaken and ſlain, as he endeavoured to ford the river; his head was brought to the camp, and then the horſe returning, purſued and ſlew as many of the enemy as they could: upon the news of this defeat, the forces of Liege and Hainault returned again to their country, and CÆSAR enjoy'd more peace in Gaul than before.

Labienus defeats Induſiomarus.

Whoſe head is cut off, and brought to the Roman camp.

C. J. CÆ-

C. J. CÆSAR'S COMMENTARY OF HIS WAR in GAUL.

The SIXTH BOOK.

CÆSAR *having reduced the Hainaultois, and received ſubmiſſion of thoſe of Sens and Chartres, defeats the people of Guelders.* LABIENUS *has the like ſucceſs in Treves.* CÆSAR *makes a ſecond expedition into Germany. The Sicambri attack his camp; which he defends with ſome loſs; and having laid waſte the country of Liege, returns to Italy.*

CHAP. I.

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Cæſar levies new forces, ſends to Pompey for more.

CÆSAR having many reaſons to expect farther commotions in Gaul, commanded his lieutenants, M. SILANUS, C. ANTISTIUS RHEGINUS, and T. SEXTIUS, to raiſe recruits; and writ to CN. POMPEY, then proconſul, to deſire, that ſince publick affairs detained him at Rome, he would liſt again the diſbanded legions which he formerly levied in Lombardy, and ſend them to him: for he thought it of great importance to his future affairs, that the Gauls ſhould perceive Italy was ſo puiſſant, ſhe could not only immediately repair any damage ſhe received, but even ſend more recruits than

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than ſhe loſt. POMPEY, moved by the publick advantage, and the friendſhip he bore CÆSAR, readily complied with his demands, and, before the winter expired, ſent him three legions: thus having doubled the number of the cohorts which were loſt with Q. TITURIUS, by his forces and diſpatch, he gave the Gauls an example of what the riches and diſcipline of the Roman people were able to effect.

CHAP. II.

The people of Treves ſend to Germany again for aſſiſtance, and obtain it.

AFTER the death of INDUTIOMARUS, the people of Treves conferred the kingdom on his next relations, who loſt no time in perſuading the neighbouring Germans, by promiſes of money, to undertake their aſſiſtance; but finding their endeavours in vain, they made their application to thoſe that lived farther from them: at length they got ſome provinces in the humour to make a league with them, upon delivery of hoſtages, as a ſecurity for the pay they were to receive for their ſervices; and the next ſtep they made was to enter into an alliance with AMBIORIX. CÆSAR being informed how matters went, and perceiving what preparations were carrying on for war on all ſides; that the people of Hainault, Namur, Guelders, and Germans croſs the Rhine were already up in arms; that the natives of Sens, inſtead of appearing according to his orders, were in conſultation with thoſe of Chartres; and that the Germans were ſollicited by daily embaſſies from the people of Treves to come into Gaul; he thought it neceſſary to prepare for war earlier than uſual.

Senones.

Cæſar marches into Hainault;

Wherefore having drawn out the four legions which lay next his quarters, e'er the winter was over, he made ſo ſudden and unexpected a march into Hainault, that before the natives could either rally their forces to oppoſe him, or ſave themſelves by flight, he had taken great numbers of cattle and priſoners; he gave the plunder to his ſoldiers, and having laid the country waſte, the people were obliged to ſubmit, and deliver hoſtages for their future fidelity: this affair thus nimbly diſpatch'd, he ſent his legions back into their winter-quarters.

which ſubmits.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

HE had before appointed the ſtates of Gaul to aſſemble at the beginning of the ſpring; but the people of Sens, Chartres and Treves, did not make their appearance there; which CÆSAR eſteeming as a revolt, and declaration of war, for the quicker diſpatch adjourned the diet to Paris, which borders on the country of Sens, and was within the memory of man united with it, yet not ſuſpected to be concerned in the rebellion; wherefore having pronounced from his chair the tranſlation of the diet to that place, he began his journey the ſame day towards Sens, and arrived there in a ſhort time by long marches.

Cæſar tranſlates the diet to Paris.

Marches to Sens;

ACCO, the chief author of that rebellion, having notice of CÆSAR's approach, commanded the people to retire into their towns; but the execution of his orders was prevented by CÆSAR's diſpatch: wherefore finding it in vain to reſiſt, they ſent embaſſadors to beg pardon for what they had done, and prevailed with the faithful Autunois to intetcede for them: CÆSAR, moved by ſo powerful a mediation, accepted of their excuſe, becauſe he doubted not but the following ſummer would afford him opportunities enough to exerciſe his arms; wherefore having demanded an hundred hoſtages, he committed them to the cuſtody of the Autunois. Thoſe of Chartres did the like, and by the interceſſion of the people of Rheims, whoſe tributaries they were, on delivery of hoſtages obtained the ſame favour. After this he returned to the diet, and commanded each province to furniſh him with their uſual quota of cavalry.

They ſubmit, and are pardoned at the interceſſion of the Autunois.

Thoſe of Chartres do the like, and the people of Rheims procure their pardon.

CHAP. IV.

HAVING quieted this part of Gaul, CÆSAR employed all his thoughts upon the war with Treves and AMBIORIX; wherefore to prevent any new commotions in Sens, which might ariſe either from CAVARINUS's deſire of revenge, or the people's ancient malice, he commanded him to go along with him, at the head of his country's cavalry.

And having thus ſettled theſe affairs, becauſe he was aſſured AMBIORIX would not give him battle, he began to provide againſt all his deſigns. Guelders joins to the confines of Liege, is fortified with plenty of woods and marſhes

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ſhes on every ſide, and this was the only province of Gaul that had not ſent embaſſadors to CÆSAR, to deſire a peace; he was likewiſe informed that they entertained AMBIORIX, and by the means of the people of Treves had entered into an alliance with the Germans: but thinking it the wiſeſt way, firſt to deprive AMBIORIX of theſe aſſiſtances, before he attacked him, that he might not have an opportunity of retiring to Guelders, or joining the Germans croſs the Rhine; he ſent the baggage of his whole army before to LABIENUS, under the convoy of two legions, who was then in the confines of Treves, himſelf marching in the mean time with the other five againſt the people of Guelders; who, relying on the natural fortifications of their country, had raiſed no forces, but upon his arrival convey'd themſelves and their effects into the woods and marſhes: wherefore CÆSAR, dividing all his forces into three battalions, committed one to the care of lieutenant C. FABIUS, another to M. CRASSUS the pay-maſter, and having in an inſtant finiſhed his bridges, attacked them in three places at once, and ſet fire to their towns and buildings; he obtained a conſiderable booty of cattle and priſoners, which obliged the rebels to ſend embaſſadors to ſue for peace: CÆSAR, on delivery of hoſtages, accepted their ſubmiſſion, telling them he ſhould eſteem them his enemies, if they either received AMBIORIX into their country, or held any manner of correſpondence with him. This affair diſpatched, he left COMIUS of Arras there, with a party of horſe, to keep the country in obedience, and marched himſelf towards Treves.

Cæſar marches with five legions into Guelders.

That province ſubmits.

CHAP. V.

The people of Treves march to beſiege Labienus.

WHILST CÆSAR was thus employed, the people of Treves, having levied conſiderable numbers of horſe and foot, were marching to beſiege LABIENUS with his ſingle legion, which was quartered in their confines, and were already arrived within two days march of his camp, when they had intelligence that he had received two legions from CÆSAR: wherefore they encamped themſelves about fifteen miles diſtant from the Romans, deſigning to expect the arrival of their German auxiliaries. LABIENUS, underſtanding their reſolution, left only five cohorts to ſecure the baggage, marching towards the enemy with the other twenty-five, and a conſiderable num-

ber of horſe; for he hoped their raſhneſs might afford him an opportunity to engage them; and therefore encamped within a mile of the place where the Gauls were lodged. Between LABIENUS and the Gauls ran a river, which was difficult to ford, becauſe the banks were very rough and ſteep; wherefore he believed the enemy no more deſigned to paſs it than himſelf. The Gauls were daily in expectation of freſh ſupplies, for which reaſon he declared in open council, "Since the Germans were ſo near, he would neither venture the loſs of his perſon nor army, but decamp the next morning early." 'Twas not very long e'er the enemy had notice of what paſſed in the council; for having ſo many Gauls in our army, 'twas natural for them to favour their countrymen: but LABIENUS at midnight called a council of the tribunes and centurions of the firſt order, whom he acquainted with his deſign; and that the enemy might be more ſtrongly confirmed in their opinion of the Romans fear, he commanded the ſoldiers to remove with more noiſe and confuſion than uſual, as if they were flying rather than decamping; which the enemy, not lying far off, were informed of by their ſcouts before break of day.

He marches to meet, and encamps within a mile of 'em.

Labienus's artifice.

He counterfeits a retreat.

Our rear had hardly left their trenches, before the Gauls began to encourage each other to the purſuit; ſaying, "So happy an opportunity was not to be omitted; that the Romans being in ſo great confuſion, it were folly to ſtay in expectation of the Germans; nor was it ſuitable to the honour of their country, to permit ſo ſmall a party, already put to flight, and encumbered by their baggage, to eſcape without daring to attack them." Wherefore they reſolved to paſs the river, and engage the Romans, notwithſtanding the diſadvantage of the ground. LABIENUS imagining this would be the effect of his retreat, to carry on the artifice till he had enticed them all croſs the river, marched ſlowly on; and ſending his baggage before, ordered it to be placed upon a little hill; then turning to his ſoldiers, he ſaid, "Now fortune has bleſſed you with the opportunity you have ſo long deſired; for now you have drawn the enemy into a diſadvantageous place; let me therefore deſire you to behave yourſelves with the ſame courage under our command, as you have done formerly when led by your emperor; believe him to be preſent, believe that he beholds, and will reward your virtue." Then commanding them to face about, he drew up the legions in order of battle, and having detached a ſmall

The Gauls croſs the river.

Labienus's ſpeech to his ſoldiers.

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He engages,

small party of horse for a guard to his carriages, disposed the rest in the two wings of his army: our men, setting up a shout, immediately cast their piles at the enemy, who were so surprized to see the Romans, who they fancied but the moment before had fled, now come with their eagles display'd to attack them, that they had not the courage to sustain the first onset, but fled for safety to the neighbouring woods: LABIENUS pursued with his cavalry, slew great numbers of them, took as many prisoners, and in a few days after subdued the whole country; for the Germans, who were marching to their assistance, having notice of this defeat, returned home again, taking INDUTIOMARUS's kinsmen along with them, who having been the occasion of this revolt, were forced to fly their country; and CINGETORIX, who had always given proofs of his fidelity to the Romans, was constituted king of Treves.

and defeats the people of Treves.

Whereupon the Germans, who were marching to their assistance, return.

CHAP. VI.

CÆSAR, having left Guelders, was now arrived in Treves, where he resolved to pass the Rhine, to chastise the Germans for having sent supplies to the people of that country, and prevent AMBIORIX's being protected amongst them: for these reasons he began to build a bridge a little above the place where he had crossed the river before; it was contrived after the same fashion with the former, and compleated in a few days by the constant industry of the soldiers. Having left a strong garrison on the other side the bridge, to suppress all insurrections in Treves, he crossed the river with the rest of his army: so soon as he arrived in Germany, the Ubij, who had formerly delivered hostages, and were received into the Romans protection, sent embassadors to inform him, that they had given no assistance to Treves, nor done any thing to forfeit their fidelity; but if he required it, they were ready to send more hostages; wherefore they humbly besought him, that he would distinguish them from the rest of the Germans, and not punish the innocent with the guilty: CÆSAR, upon further examination, found the Ubij were not concerned in the matter, and that the supplies were sent by the Suabians; wherefore he enquired the accesses to their country.

Cæsar resolves to go into Germany.

Casts a bridge cross the Rhine, and marches over it.

The Ubij send embassadors to him.

Some few days after he was informed by the Ubij, that the Suabians had drawn up all their forces in one place,

He marches against the Suabians.

place, from whence they ſent orders to their tributaries, to furniſh them with ſupplies of horſe and foot; whereupon having choſe a convenient place to encamp in, he ordered the Ubij to drive all their cattle out of the fields into their towns; hoping that ſo barbarous and unexperienced an enemy, being ſtreightened for want of proviſions, might eaſily be drawn to engage in a place of diſadvantage; commanding them, in the mean while, to ſend frequent ſcouts into Suabia, to diſcover the enemy's motions: They obey'd his orders, and ſoon informed him, that the Suabians, upon notice of his arrival, had retired to a prodigious foreſt, called Bacenis, at the extreameſt part of their confines, which ſerved for a mutual frontier between them and the Cheruſci, where they deſigned to attend the Roman army.

CHAP. VII.

BEING arrived at this place, it may not be impertinent to give an account of the cuſtoms of Gaul and Germany, and the different factions that reign amongſt them: The Gauls are ſo addicted to faction, that they have not only diviſions among their ſeveral provinces, cantons and diſtricts, but even in every family; the heads of theſe parties are perſons of greateſt intereſt amongſt them, to whoſe judgment and command they ſubmit the direction of all their affairs: this cuſtom ſeems to have been inſtituted by antiquity, to the intent that the moſt obſcure perſon in the commonwealth might be able to contend with his richer adverſary; for each of theſe heads is obliged to protect his party, otherwiſe he would ſoon be ſtripped of his authority. The ſame cuſtom is obſerved throughout the whole continent of Gaul, which is divided into two factions.

The cuſtoms of the Gauls.

On CÆSAR's firſt arrival in the country, thoſe of Autun were the chief of one, the Franchecomtois of the other party; but finding themſelves no equal match for the Autunois (who from all antiquity bore the greateſt ſway in Gaul, and had many tributary ſtates dependent on them) pray'd aſſiſtance of ARIOVISTUS and the Germans; whom by conſiderable preſents, and great promiſes, they drew croſs the Rhine to their aid. After the arrival of their new allies, having fought many ſucceſsful battles, the ſcales were ſo turned, that thoſe of Franchecomte made themſelves maſters of ſeveral fiefs belonging

What poſture the affairs of Gaul were in on Cæſar's arrival.

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to the Autunois, obliged them to ſend the ſons of their nobility for hoſtages, to take an oath of allegiance to them; uſurped part of their territories, and ſoon obtained the ſovereignty of the whole continent. Whereupon DIVITIACUS took a journey to Rome, to implore aſſiſtance from the ſenate, which he could not obtain; but on CÆSAR's arrival the poſture of affairs was changed again, for the Autunois recovered their hoſtages, their fiefs, and by CÆSAR's favour, acquired more tributaries than they had before; for ſuch as put themſelves under their protection were better uſed, and met with more juſtice, than when they were dependants on the Franchecomtois; whereby their power and reputation were ſoon ſo much encreaſed, that their rivals were ſtripped of their ſovereignty: thoſe of Franchecomte thus depreſſed, the people of Rheims, who were favoured likewiſe by CÆSAR, ſucceeded to their authority; for they, whoſe ancient enmity would not permit them to be vaſſals to the Autunois, became clients to thoſe of Rheims, who carefully protected them; by which means they immediately grew a potent people. By this turn of affairs, the Autunois once more became head of one of the moſt powerful parties in Gaul, and the people of Rheims of the other.

CHAP. VIII.

The government of Gaul.

THERE are only two degrees of men in Gaul that have any ſtroke in the adminiſtration of publick affairs, the druids or clergy, and the *nobility; for the commons are eſteemed no more than ſervants, have no manner of intereſt, and are never admitted to ſit in parliament; but being oppreſſed either by their own debts, the impoſition of tributes, or the injuſtice of the powerful, are obliged to become vaſſals to the nobility; who have the ſame power over them that lords uſually exerciſe on their villains. To the druids belongs the care of divine things, of private and publick ſacrifices, with the interpretation of their religion: great numbers of youth come to be inſtructed by them, and they are held in mighty veneration amongſt their countrymen, who ſubmit all difference to their arbitration: let the offence be of what nature ſoever, if any perſon be killed, if the controverſy relate to titles of land, or the extent of confines, theſe are the judges, whoſe ſentence muſt decide the matter: theſe are they that muſt pronounce rewards and puniſhments

*Equites.

The Druids office.

They are ſupreme judges of all controverſies.

niſhments: and whoever refuſes to abide their decree, either lord or vaſſal, they excommunicate him, which is the greateſt penalty that can be inflicted amongſt them: * for they who lie under the condemnation of this ſentence are reckoned in the number of the wicked, all the natives ſhun them, and avoid their company as contagious; they are not permitted to commence a ſuit, have no reſpect paid them, nor are ſuffered to diſcharge any office in the common-wealth. Theſe druids have a ſuperintendent, to whom they are all ſubject, upon whoſe deceaſe the moſt worthy ſucceeds him; but if there happen to be ſeveral canditates, the election is decided by majority of votes, and ſometimes by the ſword. Once a year they have a general rendezvous at a conſecrated place ſet apart for that purpoſe, in the confines of Chartres, which lies in the midſt of Gaul; hither flock all ſuch as have any controverſies to decide, and ſubmit to their decrees: 'tis thought this diſcipline was firſt inſtituted in England, and from thence transferred to Gaul; for even at this day, thoſe who deſire to be perfect maſters of their art, take a voyage thither to learn it.

The druids ſeldom attend the army, for they are exempt from that duty, from taxes, and enjoy all manner of immunities: the encouragement they have is ſo great, that many chooſe to be of their profeſſion, and others are ſent to their college by their parents; their firſt leſſon is to learn a conſiderable number of verſes by rote, which ſome have ſpent twenty years about, for they never commit them to writing, not that they are ignorant of letters, for on all other occaſions they make uſe of Greek characters; but I ſuppoſe they obſerve this cuſtom, to lock up their learning from the vulgar, and exerciſe the memory of their ſcholars. Their chief principle is, that the ſoul never dies, but tranſmigrates, after the deceaſe of one body, to another; which doctrine is of great uſe to inſpire them with courage and a contempt of death; but they have many other traditions they inſtruct their youth in, concerning the ſtars and their motion, the extent of the world, the nature of things, and the power of the immortal gods.

The privileges and immunities they enjoy.

Their doctrines.

* From this cuſtom no doubt we derive our out-lawries; for by the ancient laws of England, before men were out-law'd for debt, he who lay under that ſentence was reckoned a more hideous monſter than an excommunicate in a Roman catholick country; *caput gerebat lupinum*, and it was lawful for any man to kill him.

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CHAP. IX.

The office of the nobility.

NEXT in degree to these are the nobility, who when any war breaks out, as there did almost every year before CÆSAR's arrival, either offensive or defensive, have the direction of all affairs; each being attended by a number of vassals in proportion to his estate and quality, the only mark of grandeur amongst them.

Their human sacrifices.

The whole country of Gaul is much addicted to superstition: wherefore they who are dangerously ill, or daily conversant in the dangers of battle, either offer human sacrifices, or devote themselves to the altar; because they think the gods are never appeased, but by the death of one man for another: wherefore they have publick offerings of this kind, which are committed to the care of the Druids, who have large hollow images, bound about with osiers, into which they put men alive, and setting fire to the case, suffocate them. They believe thieves, highwaymen, and other offenders, to be the most grateful offerings to the gods, but when honesty has made those scarce, the innocent are forced to supply their places.

Their gods. Mercurary their tutelary god.

MERCURY is their tutelary god, to whose honour they have many images erected; him they esteem as the inventor of arts, and apply themselves to him for protection in their journeys and undertakings, believing him to have a particular influence over merchandize, and all manner of gain: Next in esteem to MERCURY is APOLLO, then MARS, JUPITER and MINERVA, of whom they have the same notions with other countries, that APOLLO can cure their diseases, that MINERVA first taught mankind works and manufactures, that JUPITER is the supream deity, and that MARS presides over war: wherefore before they commence a war, they devote great part of the spoils they shall obtain to this deity; and, when they obtain the victory, offer up all the cattle they have taken, on his altars; the rest of the prey they dispose into a place set apart for that purpose; and in several countries may be seen monuments compiled of offerings of this nature: they seldom neglect the performance of their vows, conceal any part of their plunder, or presume to carry it away; for the penalties inflicted for crimes of this nature are the most cruel that can be devised.

Apollo.
Mars.
Jupiter.
Minerva.

Their descent from * Dis or Pluto.

The Gauls believe themselves to be descended from * PLUTO, because their Druids have so informed them; where-

wherefore they do not count the time as other nations do, by the days, but nights, and in the annual remembrance of their births, the beginning of their months and years, they always prefer the night before the day. Another cuſtom they have, which ſeems very particular, they never permit their children to appear in publick before them, 'till they are of ſufficient age to bear arms, for the contrary they eſteem diſhonourable.

They count the time by nights, as we our ſeven-night, fort-night, &c.

Whatever fortune the wife brings, the huſband is obliged to equal it, and both the ſums together, with their annual product, are laid up for the benefit of the ſurvivor. The men have power of life and death over their wives and children: and when any man of quality dies, his next relations aſſemble to enquire into the occaſion of his death; upon the leaſt ſuſpicion they have power to give his widow the queſtion, with as little ceremony as if ſhe had been one of his ſervants; and if they find her guilty, to burn her alive. Their funerals are very ſumptuous and magnificent, in proportion to their quality; every thing the deceaſed party ſet the greateſt value on is caſt into the pile, even animals; and formerly, thoſe vaſſals and clients whom they held the deareſt, were obliged to attend them to the other world.

The diſpoſal of the wife's fortune.

The men have power of life and death over their wives and children.

Their funerals.

Thoſe provinces which are eſteemed for prudent adminiſtration, have ordained by law, that he who receives news from the neighbouring ſtates, of importance to the common-wealth, ſhall immediately make his application to the magiſtrate, without declaring it to any other perſon: becauſe they have experienced the nature of their ſubjects to be ſuch, that being frighted by falſe reports, they are apt to raiſe commotions, and put the ſtate in diſorder by their raſh reſolves; wherefore the magiſtrates only truſt them with ſuch informations as they think convenient, ſtifling the reſt; nor do they permit them to diſcourſe concerning ſtate-affairs any where but in the council.

CHAP. X.

BUT the Germans differ mightily from the Gauls in their conſtitution; for they have neither Druids to direct them in ſacred rites, nor trouble themſelves with ſacrifices: they acknowledge no gods but thoſe they behold, and whoſe influence they are apparently obliged to, as the ſun, * fire, and the moon, for they have not ſo much as heard of any other: they are perpetual huntſmen and warriours;

The cuſtoms of the Germans.

Their gods.

Sol. * Vulcanus, Luna.

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riours; inure themſelves to labour and hardſhip from their childhood; and eſteem thoſe men the moſt, who have lived the longeſt virgins, which they believe contributes to their growth, vigour, and the ſtrengthening of their nerves: but nothing is eſteemed ſo ignominious amongſt them, as to have known a woman before they paſſed the twentieth year of their age; which cannot be concealed, becauſe they waſh promiſcuouſly in their rivers, and only make uſe of ſkins and ſmall mantles of fur inſtead of cloaths, leaving the greateſt part of their bodies naked.

Their chaſtity.

Cloathing.

Their diet.

They mind not agriculture, for the greateſt part of them live upon milk, cheeſe, and fleſh-meat; nor has any man fields of his own, diſtinguiſhed from the common by boundaries; for their magiſtrates and princes yearly diſtribute to every canton ſuch a portion of land as they think ſufficient, in ſome part of the country; where they ſend them to continue only for one year, and oblige them to remove the next: which cuſtom they obſerve, leſt the love of the place they have long inhabited, having changed the people's genius from the ſtudy of war, to that of tillage, they ſhould endeavour to extend their confines, and the weaker be oppreſſed by the more powerful; leſt they ſhould become curious in their buildings, to defend them from the ſummer's heat and winter's cold; butchiefly to prevent covetouſneſs, the root of all factions and diſcord, and preſerve that equality of riches in the common-wealth, which produces peace and content.

Way of living.

Their confines lie waſte for a great way round.

Every country thinks it honourable to have their confines round about lie waſte; for they eſteem it an argument of their courage, to have expelled their neighbours, and ſtruck ſo great a terror into them, that they dare not venture to approach their territories; beſides, they think this the way to ſecure them from the danger of ſudden incurſions. Whenever a ſtate wages war, either offenſive or defenſive, they make choice of an officer for that occaſion, whom they inveſt with power of life and death; but they have no ſuch magiſtrate in time of peace, for the chief of every canton diſtributes juſtice, and decides all controverſies amongſt his own people. They don't eſteem it infamous to ſteal out of their own confines, but rather a laudable exerciſe to preſerve their youth from idleneſs; therefore when any nobleman declares in council he deſigns to make an expedition, they who approve the leader and the cauſe, riſe up to proffer their ſervice; for which they are applauded by their countrymen; but they

Robbing out of their confines no diſgrace.

who

who ſtay behind, after they have once offered to go, are looked upon as traitors or deſerters, and never truſted after: they are ſtrict obſervers of hoſpitality, and all their doors are open to ſuch as fly to them for refuge on any occaſion; whom they carefully protect.

There was once a time when the Gauls were ſuperior to the Germans in virtue, and made war upon them; when ſcarcity of land, and fruitful loins, obliged them to ſend colonies croſs the Rhine: wherefore the moſt fertile parts of Germany about the Hercynian foreſt, which I find ERATOSTHENES and ſome other Grecians, have mentioned by the name of Orcinia, were inhabited by the natives of upper Languedoc, who having formerly poſſeſſed themſelves of that part of the country, continue there to this day, are much eſteemed for their courage and juſtice, and are in all things conformable to the Germans way of living, as well in diet as cloathing; but the neighbourhood and commerce which the Gauls have ſince held with the Roman province, has taught them to live more luxuriouſly; by which means growing inſenſibly weaker, they have been overcome in ſeveral battles, and reduced to ſuch a degree, that they no longer pretend to compare themſelves with the Germans.

Volcæ. Tectoſages.

The Hercynian foreſt is nine days journey over in breadth, for I cannot compute it any other way, becauſe the Germans are ignorant of the uſe of meaſure: it commences in the confines of Switzerland, Baſil and Spires, and extends along the river Danube as far as Tranſilvania: then turning from the river to the left, it runs through an infinite number of countries; nor is there any German that has travelled through it, or knows its utmoſt extent, though ſeveral have gone fifty days journey in it.

Nemetes. Rauraci.

In this wood are ſeveral kinds of wild beaſts, which are not to be met with elſewhere; but theſe are the moſt remarkable of them: a bull, whoſe ſhape reſembles that of a ſtag, with one horn only, planted directly in the midſt of his forehead, much longer and ſtraiter than thoſe of our cattle; this horn is divided at the top into ſeveral branches; the males and females are both ſhaped alike, and their horns of the ſame ſize: they have likewiſe another kind of animals, whom they call * Alces, theſe much reſemble the † roe-buck in their ſhape, and various colours

Strange beaſts in the Hercynian foreſt. Bull with one horn. Alces.

* VOSCIUS fancies the ſingular termination of this word ſhould be Alx, from the German Elch; monſieur D'ABLANCOURT tranſlates it wild aſſes.

† The original is not capreis, but capris, though in SALMASIUS's opinion it ought to be ſo, with whom VOSSIUS likewiſe agrees.

WAR in GAUL.

of their ſkins, but are ſomething of a larger ſize, have no horns, nor joints in their legs, never lie down to ſleep, nor, if they chance to fall, are able to get up again; wherefore, when they are weary, they lean againſt the next tree, which ſerves them for a reſting-place: for this reaſon, when the huntſmen have found out their haunts, they either looſen the roots of all the trees thereabout, or ſaw them almoſt quite off, to deceive the animal, who coming to the uſual leaning-place, the prop fails, and both fall down together.

Uri or Bufalos.

The third ſpecies are thoſe creatures they call uri, very little leſs than elephants; in colour, ſhape and kind reſembling much our bulls: they are prodigious ſtrong, wonderfully nimble, and ſpare neither man nor beaſt that has the misfortune to come in their way; wherefore the natives are very induſtrious in digging pits to catch them; the youth inure themſelves to this exerciſe, and particular kind of hunting; for he who has killed the greateſt numbers of them, brings the horns to witneſs for his courage, and is highly applauded by his countrymen. So ſavage is the nature of theſe beaſts, though taken never ſo young, they cannot be tamed; the largeneſs, ſhape and ſpecies of their horns differ much from our bulls, the natives preſerve them carefully, tip the edges with ſilver, and drink out of them on feſtival days.

CHAP. XI.

CÆSAR had notice from his Ubian ſcouts, that the Suabians were retired into their woods; wherefore apprehending want of proviſions (becauſe, as we have already taken notice, the Germans are but little addicted to agriculture) he reſolved to march no further; but that the enemy might not be entirely delivered from their fears by his retreat, and that he might prevent their ſending aſſiſtance to the Gauls, having repaſſed the Rhine, he only broke up about two hundred foot of his bridge, on that ſide next Germany, leaving the reſt ſtanding; and at the foot built a wooden tower four ſtories high, with other fortifications, where he left a garriſon of twelve cohorts, under the command of young C. VOLCATIUS TULLUS, to defend it. When harveſt approached, he detached L. MINUTIUS BASILIUS, with all his cavalry, againſt AMBIORIX; whom he ordered to march through the foreſt of Arden, which is the largeſt in Gaul, for it extends above five hundred miles in length, from the banks of the

Cæſar repaſſes the Rhine, breaks down half his bridge, and leaves a garriſon there.

He detaches Baſilius againſt Ambiorix;

Rhine and the confines of Treves and Hainault. He commanded him to keep no fires in his camp, that the enemy might not have notice of his approach, hoping that ſecreſy and diſpatch might give him an opportunity of doing ſome conſiderable exploit; and he himſelf deſigned to follow immediately after. WAR in GAUL.

BASILIUS performed his orders beyond expectation, for he arrived ſo quickly upon the enemy's territories, that he ſurpriſed great numbers of them in the field; and by their inſtruction marched directly to AMBIORIX, who had only a ſlender guard of cavalry about him: but as fortune has an influence over all affairs, ſo ſhe aſſumes a peculiar power in thoſe of war; for as it was a moſt extraordinary chance, that BASILIUS ſhould fall upon AMBIORIX's quarters, before he was prepared to receive him, and be ſeen, e'er his arrival was heard of; ſo muſt it be acknowledged as ſtrange an accident, that AMBIORIX ſhould eſcape after the loſs of his arms, horſes and chariots. But he was obliged to the ſituation of his houſe, which was ſurrounded by a wood, for his eſcape; for the Gauls generally build near a wood or a river, for coolneſs; and his men, poſſeſſing themſelves of a narrow paſſage, ſuſtained the attack of our cavalry till their maſter had an opportunity of mounting his horſe, and ſecuring himſelf in the thickets: thus fortune freed him from the danger herſelf had plunged him into. who narrowly eſcapes being taken.

CHAP. XII.

AMBIORIX, having ſecured his perſon, did not endeavour to aſſemble any forces, but ſent meſſengers privately throughout the country, to command every man to provide for his own ſafety; thinking it either dangerous to venture an engagement, or wanting time, by the ſudden arrival of the Roman cavalry, to put his deſigns in execution: wherefore one part of them fled for ſhelter to the foreſt of Arden, whilſt the reſt endeavoured to ſecure themſelves in the neighbouring marſhes. Whereupon CATIVULCUS, who ſhared one half of the kingdom of Liege with AMBIORIX, and was now grown too old to endure the fatigues of war or flight, having beſtowed many imprecations on his partner, for being the cauſe of that unhappy revolt, ſought refuge for his cares from a poiſonous draught, extracted from the yew-tree (whereof Cativulcus poiſons himſelf.

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(whereof they have plenty in Gaul and Germany) and ſo expired.

In the mean while the people of * Cologn and Zulpich, two German colonies that lie between Liege and Treves, ſent embaſſadors to CÆSAR, to deſire he would not count them amongſt the number of his enemies, or believe that all the Germans on their ſide the Rhine had a hand in the ſame conſpiracy; for they aſſured him they never deſigned to make war upon the Romans, or ſent AMBIORIX any ſupplies; which CÆSAR being ſatisfied in from the examination of the captives, promiſed them, on condition they ſent all the natives of Liege, that ſhould fly for ſhelter to their country to him, he would not commit any acts of hoſtility in their confines; then having divided his army into three parts, he ſent all the baggage of his legions to Tongre, which is the name of a caſtle almoſt in the midſt of Liege, where TITURIUS and ARUNCULEIUS had formerly their winter-quarters. The laſt year's fortifications were yet intire; wherefore CÆSAR, deſigning to ſave his ſoldiers as much labour as he could, made choice of this place, where he left the fourteenth legion, which was one of the three he had lately received from Italy, and two hundred horſe, under the command of Q. TULLIUS CICERO, for a guard.

Cæſar leaves his baggage at Tongre, Atuatica. Divides his army into three parts.

TITUS LABIENUS he detached with three legions towards the ſea-coaſts, and the borders of Guelders; C. TREBONIUS, with the like number, he ſent to lay the country waſte on that ſide next Namur; reſolving to march himſelf, with the remainder of the army, towards the river * Scheld, which flows into the Moſe, and to the foreſt of Arden, whither he was informed AMBIORIX was gone with a ſmall party of horſe. When he firſt began his march, he deſigned to return again in ſeven days, for he had left the legion in garriſon proviſions for no longer time; wherefore he likewiſe ordered LABIENUS and TREBONIUS, if they could conveniently, to return within the ſame time, that upon further conſultation they night know what new methods were propereſt to be taken for defeating the enemy's deſigns.

Detaches Labienus towards Guelders, Trebonius towards Namur, and marches himſelf towards the foreſt of Arden.

* Scalids.

* CONDRUSI, SEGNI, ſend embaſſadors to CÆSAR to declare their innocence. But ORTELIUS thinks the CONDRUSI are thoſe of Condrotz.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

THE rebels, as we have already taken notice, had no army, town, or garriſon for us to attack, but were all diſperſed amongſt the vallies, woods, marſhes, and ſuch other places where they hoped to find ſhelter; the natives were all well acquainted with theſe lurking-holes, which obliged CÆSAR to take extraordinary care to prevent his men from ſtraggling, for the ſafety of each individual ſoldier in ſome meaſure imported the whole army, which united, had nothing to fear from a diſperſed and frightened people, leſt the deſire of plunder ſhould tempt them to ramble through thoſe unknown and private ways, where the thickneſs of the woods would not permit them to march in bodies: wherefore, to compleat the buſineſs, and extirpate the race of ſo wicked a people, he found it neceſſary to ſend an infinite number of ſmall parties againſt them; for ſo long as he obliged the ſoldiers to maintain their ranks, according to the Roman diſcipline, the very ſituation of the place ſerved the rebels for a fortreſs, who had courage enough to lay ambuſcades, and attack us on advantage when diſperſed. In the midſt of theſe difficulties CÆSAR took all the care imaginable, and though the ſoldiers were inflamed with revenge, yet he rather choſe to omit an opportunity of injuring the enemy, than do it to the detriment of his army: wherefore he invited the countries round about, who being attracted by the hopes of plunder, ſoon flocked from all ſides to deſtroy the people of Liege; by this means he only hazarded the Gauls in the woods, preſerved his own legions ſafe, and had the rebels ſurrounded, whoſe race and memory he reſolved to extinguiſh, to revenge the crimes they had been guilty of.

The Rebels hide themſelves in the woods and marſhes.

Cæſar proclaims it lawful for all the countries round to harraſs Liege.

CHAP. XIV.

THUS their deſtruction went forward in all places till the ſeventh day was arrived, the time appointed for CÆSAR's return to Tongre; but hence may be learned what influence chance has over the affairs of war: the rebels, as we have already remarked, being frightened and diſperſed, had not any body of forces to give us the leaſt apprehenſions; whereupon the Germans croſs the Rhine, having notice that the people of Liege were deſtined to deſtruction,

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destruction, and that all mankind were welcome to partake of the plunder; the Sicrambri that lie next the river, who formerly entertained the people of Hesse and Zutphen, when they fled from CÆSAR, resolving to come in for a snack, levy'd two thousand horse, and crossing the river about thirty miles below the broken bridge, where CÆSAR had left a garrison, soon arrived on the borders of Liege: they took several of the natives prisoners, and obtained a considerable number of cattle, which they are very greedy of; neither marsh nor wood put a stop to their career, so long as plunder called them forward, for from their cradles they are inured to war and theft: they were very inquisitive to know where CÆSAR lay, and at last were informed that he and his army had left the country: but they desisted from their progress upon the advice of a captive, who asked them, Why they would trouble themselves to pursue so trifling and worthless a booty, when they might make their fortunes at a single stroke? for they might arrive in three hours march at Tongre, where the Romans had reposed all their baggage, under the guard of so small a garrison, as was not sufficient to man the ramparts, nor durst a man of them venture out of their trenches. Big with expectation, they hid the booty they had already got, and marched directly to Tongre, whither they were conducted by the captive who gave them this advice.

The Sicambri cross the Rhine, and come into Liege,

where they get a considerable booty;

but on the advice of a captive, desist from pursuing those of Liege,

and march directly to Cicero's quarters.

CHAP. XV.

CICERO had so strictly observed CÆSAR's orders hitherto, that he had not permitted so much as a boy to stir out of the garrison; but the seventh day he began to despair of the performance of CÆSAR's promise, because he was informed he had marched farther up into the country, and could hear no news of his return: wherefore being moved by the complaints of his soldiers, who began to murmur at his patience, and esteem their present confinement as bad as a siege, not suspecting any accident of this nature could befal him within so short a space as that of three miles, whilst an army of nine compleat legions with a considerable number of horse was abroad, which had already defeated and dispersed the enemy, he detached five cohorts to forage in the nearest corn-fields, which were divided from his camp only by a little hill: all the sick and wounded of the army were left in this garrison,

Cicero detaches five cohorts to forage.

garriſon, and they who were a little recovered, to the number of three hundred, were of the ſame party, which was attended by all the carts and ſervants of the camp.

The very moment the foragers were gone out, arrived the German cavalry, who endeavoured to force their paſſage through the Decuman port with the ſame fury they had galloped thither; the woods prevented our having notice of their approach, which was ſo unexpected, that the ſutlers, who had ſheds in the counterſcarp, had not leiſure to ſave themſelves by retiring within the works. Our men were extremely ſurpriſed at ſo ſudden an attack, and the cohort that was placed for an out-guard could hardly ſuſtain their firſt onſet: in the mean time the enemy rode round about the trenches, to diſcover ſome more convenient place to enter at; our ſoldiers had much to do to maintain the gates, for all other parts were ſo well fortified they needed no defence: in fine, the whole camp was frighted, every man enquired of the next he met the occaſion of the tumult, and no body knew which way to advance the ſtandards, or where to poſt himſelf; ſome reported the camp was already taken, others, that the Germans, having defeated CÆSAR and his army, were now come to ſtorm their trenches; whilſt the reſt, remembring that TITURIUS and COTTA had loſt their lives in the place they were lodged in, became ſuperſtitious, and preſaged the ſame fate to themſelves. This confuſion confirmed the enemy in the belief of what the priſoner had reported, that we had no garriſon within; wherefore encouraging each other, not to let ſo rich a booty ſlip out of their hands, they began to ſtorm our rampier.

The Germans arrive at Tongre, and endeavour to force the Decuman port.

The Romans confuſion.

P. SEXTUS BACULUS, primiple to CÆSAR, whoſe name has been mentioned in former actions, was left behind in the camp, and was ſo dangerouſly ill, he had eaten nothing for five days before; deſpairing of ſafety either for himſelf or his ſoldiers, weak and unarmed he left his tent; and perceiving things were reduced to the laſt extremity (for the enemy had almoſt forced their paſſage) he ſnatched arms from the next ſoldier, and placed himſelf before the gate: the centurions of the out-guard followed him, and all together for a while ſuſtained the Germans charge, till SEXTUS having received many dangerous wounds, began to faint, was carried off by the ſoldiers, and the reſt had ſo far recovered themſelves, as to aſcend the rampier, and make a ſhew of defence.

Baculus, tho' wounded, leaves his tent, and places himſelf in the gate till the reſt of the ſoldiers rally.

CHAP.

WAR in GAUL.

CHAP. XVI.

The foragers returning, fall in with the Germans.

IN the mean while our foragers were returning home again, and hearing a noiſe, ſent the cavalry before to diſcover the occaſion, who brought them word how dangerous a poſture affairs were in: they were all ſtrangely ſurpriſed at the news, and lamented the want of a fortification to ſhelter them from the enemy; but eſpecially the new levies, who having no experience in war, impatiently waited for the tribunes and centurions orders, to know which way they muſt diſpoſe themſelves: the Germans, at firſt when they beheld our enſigns, left off the ſtorm, fancying the legions which the priſoners had informed them were marched further into the country, were now returned; but finding their error, and contemning the ſmallneſs of our number, they ſurrounded our foragers on all ſides.

The ſoldiers ſervants fled for ſhelter to the next riſing ground, whence they were immediately driven, and caſt themſelves for ſafety amongſt the ranks of the maniples, which put them into more confuſion than they were in before: ſome were of opinion 'twould be the ſafeſt method to draw themſelves into a triangle, and ſo force their way through the enemy; becauſe the camp was ſo near, that if ſome ſhould fall in the attempt, the reſt might ſecure themſelves; but others thought it beſt to poſſeſs the hill, and all expect the ſame fate. The veteran ſoldiers, who went out under one enſign, could by no means approve of this advice: wherefore encouraging each other, under the conduct of C. TREBONIUS, a Roman knight, their commanding officer, they broke through the midſt of the enemy, and arrived every man of them ſafe in the camp; they were followed by the ſervants and cavalry, who purſuing their ſucceſs, procured their ſafety by the ſoldiers courage: but they who had poſſeſſed themſelves of the hill, for want of diſcipline, could neither perſiſt in their own ſcheme, and maintain their ground, nor imitate their fellow-ſoldiers example, who owed their lives to the briſk effort which carried them ſo fortunately to the camp; but endeavouring to obtain the gate, quitted their poſt of advantage: the centurions, who for their courage had been promoted from the lower order in other legions to the upper in theſe new troops, fought bravely to maintain the glory they had formerly acquired, and

The veteran ſoldiers, drawn up into a triangle, force their way through the Germans, and arrive ſafe in the camp: The new levies not taking the ſame way, are moſt of them cut off.

died with honour; their courage, beyond expectation, gave ſome of the ſoldiers the means to eſcape, but the reſt were ſurrounded and cut to pieces by the enemy. WAR in GAUL.

CHAP. XVII.

THE Germans now deſpairing of ſucceſs, becauſe they ſaw our ſoldiers ready to defend the works, returned croſs the Rhine with the booty they had hidden in the woods; but ſo great was the fear which poſſeſſed our ſoldiers even after their retreat, that when C. VOLUSENUS arrived at night with the cavalry, they could not be perſuaded that CÆSAR and his army were ſafe, and returning to the camp: in fine, they were ſo bewitched with fear, that they would not believe but CÆSAR was routed, and none but the horſe had eſcaped; for they could not conceive how the Germans durſt attempt to force their trenches, ſo long as he was ſafe; but his arrival convinced them of their error. The Romans fear after the Germans retreat.

When CÆSAR came back, he was informed of the late action, in which he found nothing to complain of, but the cohorts foraging contrary to his orders; for the enemy's ſudden attack proved how dangerous it was to truſt fortune with the moſt minute opportunity: he wondered extremely the Germans had ſo narrowly eſcaped him, but infinitely more, that they who croſſed the Rhine to deſtroy AMBIORIX's country, ſhould do him the greateſt ſervice imaginable, by endeavouring to take the Roman camp. Cæſar returns to the camp, blames Cicero for letting his cohorts forage contrary to orders.

CHAP. XVIII.

ON his return to harraſs the country of Liege, having levied great numbers of forces in the neighbouring provinces, he ſent them into all parts of the country; not a houſe nor village that came in their way eſcaped burning, for they plundered on every ſide: the continual rains, as well as the number of ſoldiers and cattle, help'd to deſtroy the corn, ſo that they who eſcap'd the ſword, were likely to die with famine. The cavalry were divided into ſo many parties, that they often came to the very places where the captives informed them they had actually ſeen AMBIORIX, who could not poſſibly be far from thence; for ſome were ſo induſtrious in the purſuit, that they almoſt wrought miracles to oblige their Cæſar returns to harraſs Liege.

The cavalry divided into ſmall parties.

Ambiorix, truſting his perſon only to a guard of 4 horſe, often narrowly eſcapes.

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their general; each moment flattered them the next would compleat their happineſs, but AMBIORIX riding from one thicket to another, and removing his quarters in the night, eſcaped their moſt diligent ſearch; being attended only by four horſe, all the friends he durſt confide in.

Cæſar returns to Rheims, holds a diet.

Durocortorum Rhemorum.

Thus CÆSAR having laid their country waſte, only with the loſs of two cohorts, marched his army to the capital of Rheims, where he ſummoned the diet of Gaul: When the ſtates were aſſembled, he commanded them to examine into the rebellion of Sens and Chartres; and ACCO being found the principal cauſe of this revolt, received a ſevere ſentence, which was, To be ſtripped naked, and to have his neck fixed between the granes of a fork, then whipped to death, and afterwards beheaded; and thoſe who fled from juſtice were * baniſhed. This affair diſpatched, he ſent two legions to take up their winter-quarters in Treves, two more to Langre, the other ſix to the † capital of Sens; and having provided his army with corn, returned, according to his cuſtom, to hold the diet of Lombardy.

Acco ſentenced *more majorum*.

* Aqua & igne interdicti.

† Agendicum Senonum.

C. J. CÆSAR'S COMMENTARY OF HIS WAR in GAUL.

THE SEVENTH BOOK.

A general revolt of the Gauls, who chooſe VERCINGETORIX *for their leader.* CÆSAR *takes ſeveral places. The ſiege of Bourges. Diviſions in Autun. The ſiege of Clerimont, where the Romans are repulſed with loſs.* LABIENUS's *ſucceſs at Paris.* VERCINGETORIX's *preparations; and the ſiege of Alexia.*

CHAP. I.

CÆSAR having quieted the commotions in Gaul, went, as he deſigned, into Lombardy, to preſide at the convention of the ſtates; where he was informed of PUBLIUS CLODIUS's death, and the ſenate's decree for aſſembling all the youth of Italy; where upon he reſolved to raiſe new levies throughout his whole province: this news was ſoon carried into Gaul, where the natives added what they thought convenient to it; reporting that CÆSAR was detained by the troubles at Rome, and that it was impoſſible for him to come to his army, whilſt the factions there were ſo hot. Encouraged by this opportunity, they who had long bemoaned their ſubjection

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The Gauls taking advantage of Cæsar's absence and the factions at Rome, consult about a general revolt.

to the Roman yoke, now began to consult more openly of war; and the princes of Gaul, having appointed private meeting-places in the woods, there communicated their mutual regret for the death of ACCO, in whose punishment they thought themselves all concerned; bemoaned their common misfortune, promised vast rewards to them that would first begin the war, and venture their lives to restore the liberty of Gaul. The first step to be made, in so important an attempt, was to block up CÆSAR's passage to his army, before he could receive intelligence of their design; which they imagined feasible, because the legions without their general's orders durst not leave their quarters, nor could CÆSAR come to them without a guard: in fine, they resolved to die, rather than not recover that glory and liberty which they had received from their ancestors.

CHAP. II.

Those of Chartres first declare war.

WHEREUPON the people of Chartres declared, no danger should deter them from undertaking any enterprize that might be of service to the publick, and promised to begin the war themselves; but, to avoid delay, desired the rest should swear upon their standards (the most solemn obligations amongst the Gauls) not to desert them after they had declared war against the Romans, for they had no time to deliver hostages. The satisfaction they desired was readily comply'd with, they were highly applauded for their piety to their country, and so the council for that time was dissolved.

Cotuatus and Conetodunus massacre Fulfius Cotta and all the Roman merchants at Orleans or Genabum.

At the day appointed the people of Chartres, led on by COTUATUS and CONETODUNUS, two desperate fellows, on a sign given, marched directly to Orleans, where they massacred all the Roman citizens, who came thither to traffick, and seized their effects; amongst the rest C. FULSIUS COTTA, a worthy Roman knight, whom CÆSAR had made commissary-general of the stores: this action was quickly carried through the whole continent of Gaul; for when any important accident happens, the news soon circulates through the whole country, by the extraordinary clamour they make; which being heard by the neighbouring state, is conveyed to the next beyond, as happened on this occasion; for this action, which was done at Orleans at sun-rise, was heard of at Auvergne, about 160 miles distant, before nine o'clock the same evening.

CHAP. III.

INSPIRED by this example, VERCINGETORIX, the ſon of CELTILLUS of Auvergne, a youth of the greateſt authority there (whoſe father had formerly obtained the command of Gaul, but was ſlain by his own countrymen for aiming at the ſovereignty) called his clients together, and eaſily perſwaded them to rebel: but his deſign being diſcovered, the whole country repaired to their arms, and he was expelled the city of Cleremont by his uncle GOBANITIO, and thoſe other noblemen who were not for embarking in ſo dangerous an attempt. However, not diſcouraged by this misfortune, he began to liſt all the vagabonds and out-laws he could meet with, and having levied a conſiderable number of thoſe, he eaſily perſwaded ſuch of his countrymen as came near him, to follow his ſtandard, encouraging them to take arms for the common liberty of Gaul: and having now a powerful army under his command, being ſuperior to his enemies, he drove them out of the country, who not long before had done him the like ſervice; whereupon he was complimented with the title of king. He immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to all the countries round, to adviſe them to perſevere in their noble reſolutions; and entered into a league with the people of Sens, Paris, Poictou, * Quercy, Tours, † Limoſin, Eureux, Anjou, and thoſe other countries which lay towards the ſea; who by unanimous conſent choſe him their general: being inveſted with this authority, he demanded hoſtages from every one of thoſe ſtates, appointed what quota of men they ſhould immediately furniſh him with, and what quantity of arms each ſhould provide, by a certain day prefixed. He was equally careful and ſevere, obliged thoſe that ſtood neuter to declare themſelves; ſuch as were guilty of notorious crimes he puniſhed with fire, and all manner of torments; and they who committed ſmaller faults, having their ears cut off, or eyes put out, were ſent back again into their own countries, that they might ſerve for an example to the reſt, and deter them, by the ſeverity of their puniſhment, from being guilty of the like offences.

Thus having quickly levied a conſiderable army, he detached one party, under the command of LUCTERIUS of Quercy, a man of ſpirit and enterprize, to Roverge, marching himſelf with the reſt againſt Berry: upon his

Vercingetorix takes arms, is expelled his country.

Gergovia.

But liſting an army, he returns and drives out his enemies.

Is proclaim'd king.

Enters into league with the neighbouring ſtates, who chooſe him their general.

* Cadurci.
† Lemorices.

His ſevere diſcipline.

He ſends Luctterius againſt Roverge.

Bituriges.

Marches himſelf to Berry.

WAR in GAUL.

arrival, the people of Berry, being dependants on thoſe of Autun, ſent thither for aſſiſtance, to protect them from the enemy's invaſion; the Autunois, by the advice of the lieutenants whom CÆSAR had quartered among them, comply'd with their demands, and ſent them a party of horſe and foot; who arriving at the Loire, which divides the confines of Berry from Autun, ſtaid there a few days, without daring to paſs the river, then returned home again, and informed our lieutenants, they were jealous of treachery from thoſe of Berry; for they were credibly informed, in caſe they paſſed the Loire, they ſhould be attacked on one ſide by the people they went to aſſiſt, and on the other by thoſe of Auvergne. For my part, I cannot certainly affirm whether there was truth in their excuſe, or they betray'd their truſt; but immediately on their departure Berry joined with the rebels of Auvergne.

Ligeris. The cowardice of the party the Autunois ſent to aſſiſt Berry.

CÆSAR having notice of theſe tranſactions, ſo ſoon as he was informed that CN. POMPEY'S prudence had compoſed the diſorders at Rome, repaſſed the Alps: here he was mightily diſturbed to contrive which way he ſhould join his army, for he conſidered, in caſe he ſhould ſend for any of his legions out of their quarters, they would be obliged, during his abſence, to give the enemy battle in their march: nor did he think it convenient to truſt his perſon, even amongſt thoſe ſtates which had not yet rebelled.

CHAP. IV.

IN the mean while LUCTERIUS of Quercy, who was ſent to Roverge, had obliged that country likewiſe to join with the faction of Auvergne; then marching againſt the Agenois and Gevaudan, he received hoſtages from each of thoſe ſtates; and having raiſed a conſiderable army, endeavoured to make an eruption into the Roman province on that ſide next Narbonne. Upon notice of this expedition, CÆSAR thought it highly imported him to go immediately to Narbonne: on his arrival he encouraged ſuch as were wavering, to continue firm in their allegiance, and placed garriſons in thoſe parts of Roverge that lay near the province, in the lower Languedoc, Tholouſe, and the other towns which were neareſt the enemy; commanding part of the provincial forces, together with the new levies he had brought from Italy, to render themſelves at Vivarais, which joins to the confines of Auvergne.

Roverge ſubmits to Lucterius, ſo do the Agenois and Gevaudan, Nitiobriges and Gabali. He marches to enter the Roman province.

Volcæ Arecomici.

Thus

Thus having diſpatched the neceſſary orders for theſe affairs, and diſappointed LUCTETIUS, who not thinking it ſafe to venture amongſt the garriſons, had returned; he went to meet the forces he ſent before to Vivarais. 'Twas now the depth of winter, and though the mountains of the Sevennes, which divide Auvergne from Vivarais, were covered with ſnow ſix foot deep, which ſtopped all the paſſages; yet by the wondrous application of the ſoldiers the ways were opened, and he arrived in the territories of the Auvergnois, who little dreaming of his approach (becauſe they thought themſelves as well ſecured on that ſide by the mountains as a wall, ſince never any ſingle man had been known to travel the ſame way before at that unſeaſonable time of the year) were ſoon ſuppreſſed; for he ſent his cavalry out in ſeveral parties about the whole country, to ſtrike as great a terror as poſſible into the rebels. VERCINGETORIX was ſoon informed of this action; whereupon his countrymen deſired he would ſo far conſult the good of Auvergne, as not to ſuffer them to be deſtroy'd by the enemy, ſince the whole ſtreſs of the war depended on them: moved by their intreaties he decamped from Berry, and marched towards Auvergne.

WAR in GAUL.

Cæſar goes to Vivarais, whither he had ſent the new levies. Mons Cebenna.

Croſſes the mountains of Cevennes in the midſt of winter, and arrives at Auvergne, which ſubmits.

But CÆSAR having ſtay'd two days only in the country, becauſe he foreſaw VERCINGETORIX's deſign; under pretence of raiſing new levies, and drawing the cavalry together, left his army under the command of young BRUTUS, whom he ordered to diſperſe the horſe as wide as he could, to harraſs the country; promiſing, if poſſible, to return again to the camp within three days: then, without acquainting any body with his deſign, he took poſt for Vienna, where he had laid freſh horſes ſome time before, and from thence, travelling day and night without intermiſſion, rid through the confines of Autun to Langre (where two legions were quarter'd) that he might diſappoint any attempts of the Autunois againſt his perſon by diſpatch.

Vercingetorix leaves Berry, and marches to Auvergne.

Cæſar leaves his camp; arrives by poſt at Vienna or Vienne in Dauphine, and from thence to Langre.

CHAP. V.

BEING thus arrived at Langre, he ſent to the reſt of his legions, and drew them all together, before the people of Auvergne knew of his being there; but ſo ſoon as VERCINGETORIX was informed of our motions, he return'd again to Berry, and from thence march'd to inveſt Gergovia,

Vercingetorix marches to beſiege Gergovia.

WAR in GAUL.

Gergovia, a town of the * Boij, built by CÆSAR after the victory he obtained over the Swiſs, and by him made tributary to the Autunois.

Cæſar having drawn his army out of their winter-quarters, marches to the aſſiſtance of the Bourbonnois.

This affair gave CÆSAR no ſmall occaſion to conſult what methods were propereſt to be taken; for he was apprehenſive, in caſe he ſhould not draw his legions out of their quarters, to aſſiſt the tributaries of Autun, the whole country of Gaul would revolt, finding it in vain to expect protection from the Romans; on the other hand, if he took the field too early, he had reaſon to fear want of proviſions: however, he reſolved to undergo any difficulty, rather than ſuffer ſo ignominious and fatal a blow to the Roman intereſt. Wherefore having ordered the Autunois to furniſh him from time to time with proviſions, he diſpatched a courier to inform the Boij he would quickly come to their relief, to encourage them to continue firm in their allegiance, and vigorouſly ſuſtain the aſſault of the enemy: according to his promiſe, having left the baggage of his army under a guard of two legions at † Sens, he marched towards Bourbonne.

Boij.

The next day arriving at ‡ Chaſteau-Landon, a town in the country of Sens, he reſolved to take it in, that he might leave no enemy behind to intercept his convoys: in two days he compleated his circumvallation, and the third the beſieged ſent deputies to treat of a ſurrender, whom he commanded to deliver up their arms, horſes, and 600 hoſtages: the execution of this treaty he left to the care of C. TREBONIUS, intending to march with what expedition he could to Orleans, a city belonging to thoſe of Chartres; who having notice that Chaſteau-Landon was taken, and concluding CÆSAR would not reſt there, reſolved to provide a ſtrong garriſon to defend the town. Here CÆSAR arrived after two days march; but being benighted, was obliged to defer his aſſault till the next morning;

He arrives at Orleans, which he takes and ſacks.

* The Boij, SANSON ſays, are the preſent inhabitants of Bourbonne, yet will have this Gergovia to be the ſame with that in Auvergne, which he calls Cleremont, though he confeſſes others affirm this to be Moulins: SCALIGER, in his Notitia Galliæ, mentions not this place; believing, as I ſuppoſe, with ORTELIUS, that it was foiſted into the text: VOSSIUS is of a different opinion, but ſays the text is corrupted, becauſe the Greek has it Γεργοβίναν; but which of theſe learned gentlemen is in the right, I leave to the determination of thoſe criticks who have more curioſity than myſelf: I ſhall only take notice, that though monſieur SANSON calls Gergovia in Auvergne, Cleremont, whoſe interpretation I have followed in the name; yet SCALIGER, ORTELIUS, and CLUVER, place Gergovia about a league's diſtance from Cleremont.

† The capital of Sens, Agendicum.

‡ Vellaunodunum, by ſome thought to be Villeneuve in Lorrain, by others Auxerre; but SANSON, who agrees with CENALIS, ſays it is Chaſteau-Landon, which CÆSAR beſieges and takes.

ing; however he diſpatched the neceſſary orders, and apprehending the beſieged might ſteal out of the town by night, becauſe Orleans joins to the bridge croſs the Loire; he commanded two legions to lie all night upon their arms: accordingly the citizens, a little after midnight, began to paſs the river without any noiſe; which CÆSAR having notice of from his ſcouts, ſet the gates on fire, then commanded the legions that were ready, to enter the town; which they made themſelves maſters of, and took moſt of the enemy priſoners: for the narrowneſs of the bridge and paſſages, had given but few an opportunity to eſcape. Having ſack'd the town, he gave the plunder to the ſoldiers; then paſſing the Loire, arrived on the confines of Berry. WAR in GAUL. Then marches towards Berry.

CHAP. VI.

VERCINGETORIX having notice of his approach, broke up the ſiege, and marched directly to meet him. CÆSAR was reſolved to take in * Neuvye, a town belonging to the country of Berry, which lay in his road; but the people ſent embaſſadors to deſire he would pleaſe to pardon them, and preſerve their lives. That he might effect his more important deſigns with greater diſpatch, he granted their addreſs, on condition they ſhould deliver up their horſes, arms, and ſend him hoſtages. Part of the hoſtages were already delivered, the reſt were preparing, and ſome centurions with a ſmall party were admitted to ſearch the city for arms and horſes; when the beſieged deſcrying VERCINGETORIX's cavalry at ſome diſtance, which marched before the reſt of the army, and hoping they came to their aſſiſtance, immediately ſet up a ſhout, repaired to their arms, ſhut the gates, and aſcended the walls: but the centurions that were in the town, perceiving by the noiſe, that the Gauls had ſome new deſign, drew their ſwords, and having poſſeſſed the gates, retreated with all their men in ſafety to the camp.

CÆSAR immediately drew out the cavalry to engage the enemy's horſe, and finding his men began to give

* Noviodunum. CÆSAR mentions four ſeveral towns of the ſame name; one in Soiſſon, which moſt people take for Noion, but monſieur SANSON calls it Soiſſon: SCALIGER cannot believe that any body ever found the true name for it yet. Another town of this name in Autun, upon the river Loire, all people expound Nevers: this we are now talking of, SANSON calls Neuvye; and the fourth, Noviodunum Diablintum, he applies to Nogent Le Rotrou, the chief village of Perch, on the river Huyſſen.

WAR in GAUL.

ground, detached about 400 German horſe to aſſiſt them: the Gauls were not able to ſuſtain their aſſault, loſt many of their party, and being routed, fled for ſafety to their army. Upon this defeat, the beſieged again deſpairing, ſeized all thoſe perſons who had been inſtrumental in raiſing the mob on the late occaſion, ſent them priſoners to CÆSAR, and delivered themſelves up to his mercy. This affair diſpatched, CÆSAR marched towards * Bourges, the capital town of Berry, ſituate in a plentiful ſoil; not doubting but he ſhould quickly reduce the whole country, when he had made himſelf maſter of the ſtrongeſt town in that ſtate.

Cæſar takes Neuvye, and marches from thence to Bourges.

* Oppidum Avarricum.

CHAP. VII.

Vercingetorix ſummons a council.

VERCINGETORIX having received ſo many loſſes ſucceſſively, as thoſe of Sens, Orleans, and Neuvye, ſummoned a council; where he told his countrymen, His ſpeech. "They muſt now think of making war after a quite different manner than formerly; that they muſt do their utmoſt to intercept the Roman convoys and foragers; that the ſeaſon of the year would be aſſiſtant to them in this enterprize, for being as yet too early to forage in the fields, the enemy muſt be forced to diſperſe themſelves to ſeek for proviſions in the villages, where they might eaſily cut them off with their cavalry. That they muſt not ſet a greater value on their goods than their lives, for it was abſolutely neceſſary all the houſes and villages round ſhould be burnt, to prevent the enemy's foraging; and as for themſelves, it was but reaſonable they ſhould be ſupply'd by the countries they defended: this council once put in practice, the Romans muſt either be obliged to ſtarve, or forage at a great diſtance from their camp with infinite danger. That it would be the ſame thing in effect, whether they defeated them, or intercepted their convoys, for being deprived of thoſe, they could not long ſubſiſt. And further he declared, all thoſe towns ſhould be reduced to aſhes, whoſe artificial or natural fortifications could not preſerve them from falling into the enemy's hands, leſt the Romans ſhould furniſh themſelves there with forage and plunder, and they be obliged to drain their army, by ſending garriſons to ſo many places: For though this might appear a harſh reſolution, yet they ought to conſider how much better it was to comply with his advice, than to ſuffer themſelves to be put to the

ſword,

ſword, and their wives and children to be made ſlaves, the unavoidable fate of the conquer'd."

WAR in GAUL.

His opinion was approved of, and in one day above twenty cities of Berry were burnt; the like was done in other countries; in fine, nothing but conflagration was to be ſeen on all ſides; which though the natives beheld with ſome regret, yet they flattered themſelves with hopes, that they ſhould ſoon obtain the victory, and recover all they had loſt. The fate of Bourges was ſolemnly debated in council, whether it ſhould be burnt, or defended; the people of Berry moſt humbly petitioned that they might not be obliged to put fire with their own hands to one of the moſt beautiful cities of Gaul, which ſerv'd as well for a defence, as ornament to their country, eſpecially ſince it might be ſo eaſily maintained, for nature had fortified the place on all ſides, except one narrow paſſage, with a river and a marſh: VERCINGETORIX at firſt oppoſed them, but at length being moved by their prayers, and the generous compaſſion of the army, complied with their deſires, and ſent a garriſon to defend the town.

Upon his advice 20 cities in Berry burnt: ſeveral more in other places.

Debate whether Bourges ſhould be burnt or no: carried in the negative.

CHAP VIII.

THIS affair determined, he followed CÆSAR by ſmall marches, till he arrived within fifteen miles of Bourges, where he choſe a place fortified with woods and marſhes to encamp in: he had hourly intelligence by his ſcouts how matters went at Bourges, and diſpatched ſuch orders thither as he thought convenient: he kept a conſtant watch upon our convoys and foragers, whom he frequently cut off, when neceſſity obliged them to ſeek for proviſions at too great a diſtance from the camp; though we took all the care imaginable to prevent his deſigns, by avoiding the ſame times and places when and where we had gone before.

Vercingetorix marches towards Bourges; encamps within fifteen miles of it.

CÆSAR having encamped on that ſide where the marſh and river had left a narrow acceſs to the town, began to raiſe a mount, to prepare his penthouſes, and erect two turrets, for the nature of the place prevented any circumvallation: he gave continual orders to thoſe of Autun and Bourbonne to ſupply him with proviſions; but the firſt of theſe were ſo negligent they did him no great ſervice, and the other, having but a ſmall and poor country, quickly conſumed all the corn in their province: thus the Autunois taking no care to perform his orders, the Bourbonnois being poor, and the country round about laid waſte

Cæſar ſets down before Bourges.

WAR in GAUL.

The Romans want provisions.

waſte by the enemy, the army was ſo ſtreighten'd for want of corn ſeveral days together, that they were obliged to ſubſiſt only upon the cattle, which the foragers had brought in from the villages a great diſtance from the camp: yet not a man was heard to utter any complaint unworthy the dignity of the Roman empire, or the glory they had obtained in their former victories; nay, though CÆSAR himſelf viſited all the legions in the works,

Cæſar offers to quit the ſiege. The ſoldiers anſwer.

and proffer'd to break up the ſiege, if they found the fatigue too great to be endured; "yet they all deſired, he would not entertain any thoughts of that nature; for as they had hitherto behaved themſelves ſo well under his command, that they had always effected their deſigns, not meeting with the leaſt diſgrace; ſo now they would not make an ignominious retreat, and quit the ſiege; for they were reſolved to endure any hardſhips, rather than not revenge the maſſacre of the Roman citizens at Orleans." The ſame thing they ſaid to the tribunes and centurions, begging them to aſſure the general of their reſolutions.

CHAP. IX.

Vercingetorix decamps, removes nearer Bourges; marches with his cavalry to attack the Roman foragers; whereupon Cæſar marches directly to his camp.

WHEN our turrets approached the walls, CÆSAR had notice that VERCINGETORIX, having conſumed all the forage round about his camp, had removed nearer Bourges, and was gone out with a party of cavalry, and ſuch like infantry as uſed to fight amongſt the horſe, to lie in ambuſcade for our foragers: whereupon CÆSAR marched privately about mid-night towards the enemy's camp, where he arrived the next morning early. The Gauls were ſoon informed by their ſcouts of CÆSAR's approach; wherefore having hid their baggage and carriages in the thickeſt part of the wood, they drew themſelves up on an open hill; which CÆSAR perceiving, commanded his ſoldiers to diſpoſe of their baggage, and ſtand to their arms.

The enemy draw themſelves up on a hill ſurrounded by a moraſs.

The poſt which the enemy had poſſeſs'd was a gentle riſing ground, ſurrounded almoſt on all ſides by a dangerous moraſs, about fifty foot over: having lodged themſelves on this hill, and broke down all the bridges, they confided in the ſituation of the place, diſpoſed themſelves according to their ſeveral countries, and ſent ſmall parties to guard all the fords and avenues; reſolving, if the Romans ſhould attempt to force their way, to pour down upon

upon them from the higher ground, and attack them whilſt they ſtuck in the mud. They who only reflected on the ſmall diſtance between the two armies, thought the enemy as willing to engage as themſelves; but they that conſidered the diſadvantage of the place, beheld the Gauls oſtentation with contempt: however, the Romans were ſo inraged to ſee the enemy durſt confront them at ſo ſmall a diſtance, that they impatiently deſired the ſign of battle: "But CÆSAR informed them how many brave lives that victory would coſt him; and ſince they were ſo ready to undertake any danger for his glory, he ſhould think himſelf the moſt ungrateful man in the world, if he did not ſet a greater value on their ſafety than his own." Thus having moderated their deſire, he returned to the camp, and gave ſuch further orders as were neceſſary for carrying on the ſiege.

WAR in GAUL.

The Romans are impatient of the ſign of battle.

Cæſar's ſpeech to them.

CHAP. X.

ON VERCINGETORIX's return, he was accuſed of treaſon, for having moved his camp nearer the Romans, for marching away with all the cavalry, leaving the army without a commander, and giving CÆSAR ſo favourable an opportunity to attack them; from whoſe grant they believed he would rather receive the kingdom of Gaul, than from their election. To which articles of impeachment he anſwered, "That he decamped at their deſire, for want of forage: that he had lodged himſelf nearer the Romans, being induced by the place, whoſe natural fortifications were ſufficient to defend it: that there was no occaſion for cavalry in a moraſs, but they might have been uſeful in the place he carried them to: that he had left no officer to command them, leſt the ſoldiers ſhould have forced him to engage the enemy, which he knew they were all inclined to, the effeminacy of their minds making them impatient of further labour: that if the Romans happened to come during his abſence, he ſuppoſed they were obliged to fortune for directing them; but if any perſon had invited them thither, they ought to return him thanks, for giving them occaſion to behold the ſmalneſs of the enemy's number from the riſing ground, and to deſpiſe their efforts; who not daring to engage the Gauls, made an ignominious retreat. That he ſcorned to accept a kingdom from CÆSAR's gift, that he could obtain by victory, which he and the Gauls were now aſſured of; however,

Vercingetorix impeached of treaſon.

His anſwer.

WAR in GAUL.

however, he was willing to ſurrender the command they had inveſted him with, if they did not think the advantages they received from his conduct, ſufficiently repaid the honours he received: and, ſays he, that you may be convinced of my ſincerity, hear the Roman ſoldiers themſelves." Then producing ſome ſervants, who were taken as they attended our foragers not many days before, had ſince been kept faſting in irons, and inſtructed before, what anſwers they ſhould make to the queſtions that were aſk'd them; they declared, "They were legionary ſoldiers: that being driven by hunger, they privately ſtole out of the camp, to try if they could get any corn or cattle in the fields: that the whole army ſuffered under the ſame want: that every man was grown feeble, and unable to endure fatigue: wherefore CÆSAR had reſolved, if he could not make himſelf maſter of the town within three days, to quit the ſiege.

His ſtratagem.

Theſe, ſaid VERCINGETORIX, are the advantages you receive from the man you have accuſed of treaſon, by whoſe management, without the loſs of your blood, you behold ſo powerful and victorious an army almoſt conſumed by famine; who has likewiſe provided, that no country ſhall receive them, when they ſhall baſely endeavour to ſave themſelves by flight." At this the whole army gave a ſhout, and, after the faſhion of their country, claſhed their arms, as they always do when they approve the harangue; proclaiming VERCINGETORIX for a great and faithful commander, whoſe conduct could not be excelled. 'Twas reſolved that 10000 choſen men, pick'd out of the army, ſhould throw themſelves into Bourges; for ſince they believed the whole ſucceſs of the war depended on the preſervation of that town, they would not rely intirely upon the people of Berry for the publick ſafety.

He is acquitted, and commended by the whole army.

CHAP. XI.

The induſtry of the beſieged.

THE Gauls are very induſtrious and ingenious people at imitating any machine they have ſeen; but all their endeavours were diſappointed by the wondrous application of the ſoldiers; though they hindred our hooks from doing execution on the walls, by catching hold of them with ropes, and pulling them with their engines into the town, and undermined our mount; for their iron works had made them excellent miners: though they erected towers

towers on every part of their walls, which they covered with hides; made frequent ſallies day and night, either to ſet fire to the mount, or diſturb our works; daily increaſed their towers to an equal heighth with our mount; and caſt ſuch plenty of ſharp ſtakes hardened in the fire, with ſcalding pitch, and ſtones of a prodigious weight into our trenches, that they prevented us from approaching their walls. WAR in GAUL.

How the Gauls build the walls of their cities.

Moſt of the cities in Gaul build their walls after the ſame manner; they drive ſtreight beams of a conſiderable length, at two foot diſtance from each other, into the ground, which they bind together on the inſide, and cement with an earthen bank; but the intervals on the outſide are filled with large ſtones, which being fixed with mortar, another row is laid upon them, to keep the ſame diſtance, that the beams may not touch each other, but obſerve a juſt proportion; that there may be an equal and artificial mixture of wood and ſtones, continuing the ſame method till they have raiſed the wall to ſuch a height as they think convenient: this way of building is as uſeful as beautiful; for as the variety and equal intermixture of the materials is pleaſing to the eye, ſo the ſtone is proof againſt fire, and the beams againſt the battering-ram; for being faſtened within the town by continual planks, they can neither be disjointed, nor pulled up by the roots.

CHAP. XII.

The induſtry of the Roman ſoldiers.

THOUGH the ſoldiers met with ſo many difficulties in the ſiege, though they were incommoded with the dirt, cold, and perpetual rains; yet by inceſſant labour they ſurmounted all theſe inconveniencies; and in twenty-five days compleated a mount 330 foot broad, and eighty foot high. When it almoſt touched the walls, CÆSAR, according to his cuſtom attending the works, and encouraging the ſoldiers to loſe no time, about three in the morning perceived the mount began to ſmoak; for the enemy had undermined and put fire to it: then ſetting up a ſhout on all parts of the wall, made a vigorous ſally from two ſeveral ports; ſome caſt fire-brands and combuſtible matter upon the mount, ſome pitch and ſuch other materials as might ſerve to encreaſe the flame; ſo that we hardly knew whither to ſend aſſiſtance firſt: but CÆSAR had taken care to have a conſtant out-guard of two legions,

The beſieged ſet the mount on fire, and make a vigorous ſally.

WAR in GAUL.

legions, who relieved thoſe that wrought in the trenches by turns; ſo ſome immediately confronted thoſe that ſallied out of the town, and others were employed in drawing off the towers, and cutting the mount, whilſt the whole army endeavoured to extinguiſh the fire.

The diſpute continued very warm all the reſt of the night, and the enemy were ſtill in hopes of victory, becauſe the ſheds of the turrets were burnt, nor could our ſoldiers manage them whilſt they were expoſed to the enemy's ſhot: wherefore they ſent freſh ſupplies continually to relieve the weary, thinking the fate of Gaul depended on that critical minute. During this conflict there happened a memorable action, which I muſt not omit: One of the beſieged, having planted himſelf before the gate, caſt balls of pitch and tallow with his hands to increaſe the fire of the turrets, till being wounded on his right-ſide, with an arrow ſhot from a ſcorpion, he expired in the place: the man that ſtood next ſupply'd his poſt, till he met with the ſame fate; then ſucceeded a third, and after him a fourth: nor was the place left vacant, till the fire of the mount was extinguiſhed, the enemy on all ſides repulſed, and the fight at an end.

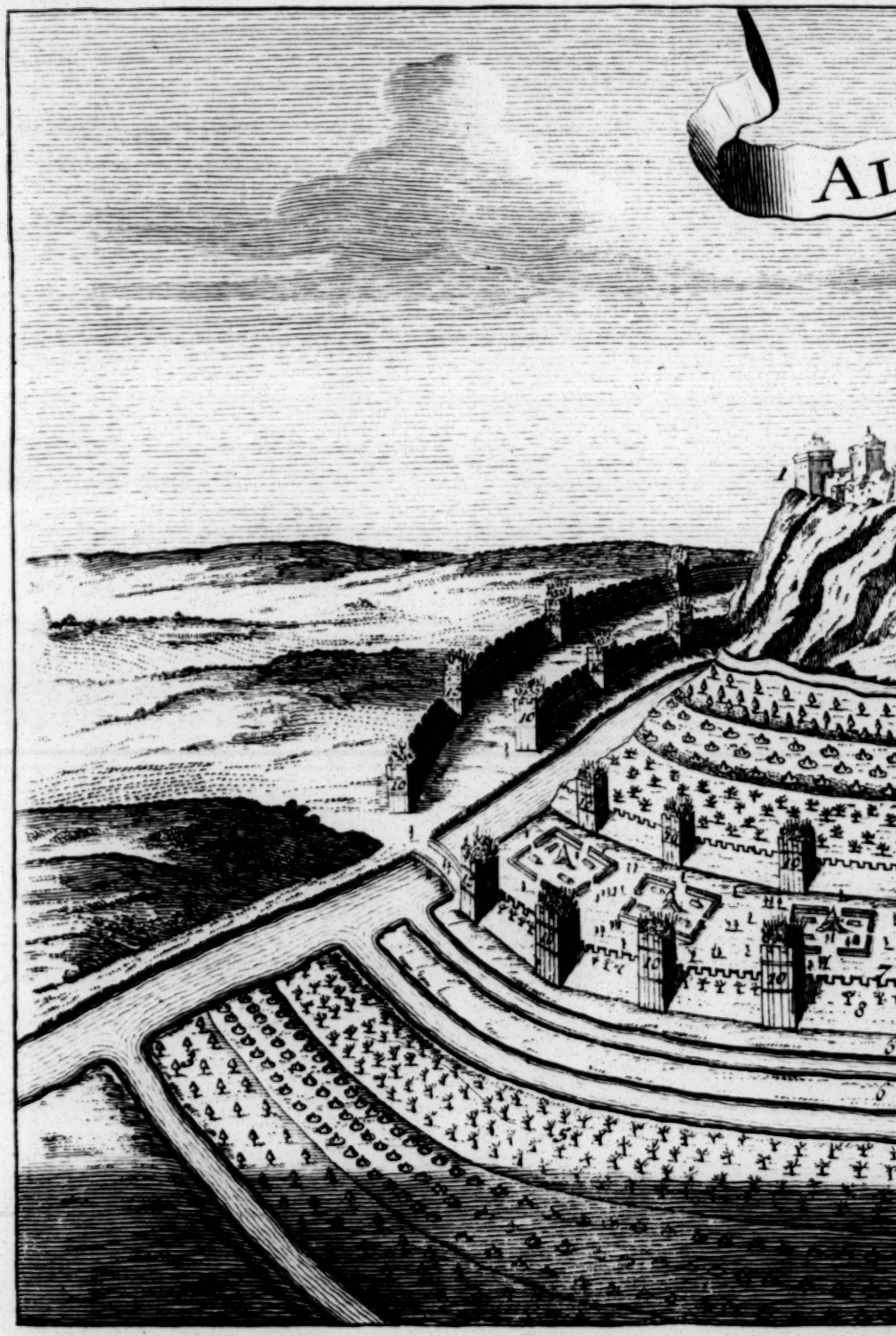
Four Gauls ſucceſſively maintain the ſame poſt till they are all killed, and others do the like till they are beaten back into the town.

CHAP. XIII.

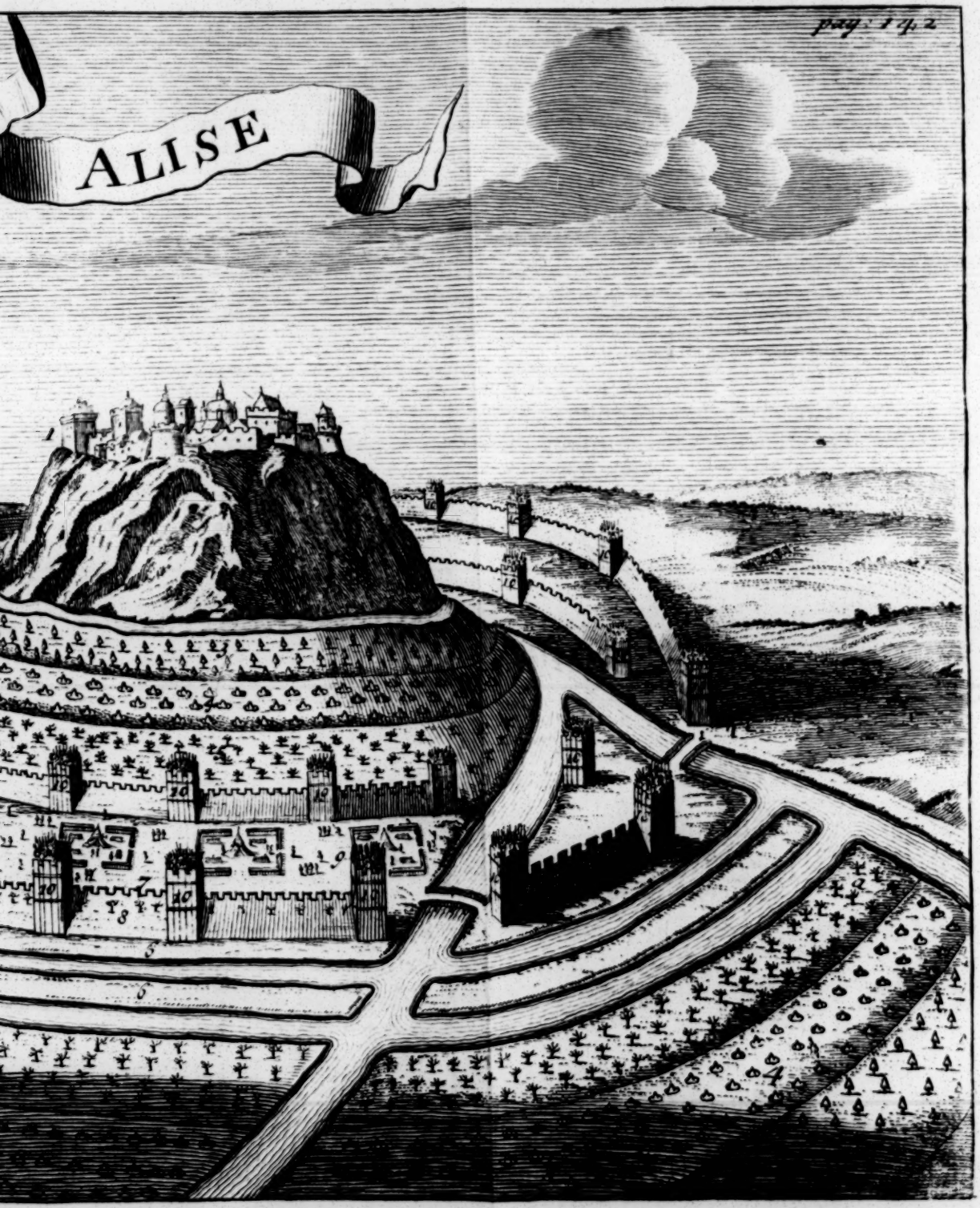
THE Gauls having eſſay'd all methods in vain, the next day, in obedience to VERCINGETORIX's commands, began to conſult about leaving the town; which they hoped they might do without much damage, by the favour of the night, becauſe they had no great journey to their camp, and the moraſs which lay between would prevent the Romans purſuit. Night came, and the beſieged were preparing for their intended march, when the women, running out into the ſtreets, flung themſelves weeping at their huſbands feet, and beſought them that they would not abandon their wives and children, whom nature had form'd incapable to endure the fatigues of a flight, as a prey to the enemy: but when they found them inflexible (for ſelf-preſervation and fear ſeldom admit of pity) they began to make a noiſe, and acquaint the Romans with their huſband's deſign; whereupon apprehending the paſſages might be poſſeſſed by our cavalry, they altered their reſolution.

The beſieg'd deſign to quit the town, but are prevented by their wives.

The next day CÆSAR having advanced the towers, and given the neceſſary orders for carrying on the ſiege, there



1. The Town of Alise.
2. The Ditch twenty foot broad.
3. The Stimuli.
4. The Lilia.
5. The Cippi.
6.
7.
8.



6. The 2 Ditches near ȳ Rampier
7. The Rampier.
8. The Cervior Sharp boughs
9. The Camp.
10. The wooden Towers about ȳ Rampier.

there fell an extraordinary rain, which he thought a convenient time for effecting his deſign, becauſe he obſerved the watch on the walls but negligently kept; wherefore he commanded the ſoldiers not to labour too hard at the works: the legions being covered by the vines, he encouraged them to reap the fruit of their labours, and having promiſed a reward to the firſt that ſcaled the town, they flew like lightning from all parts, and ſoon poſſeſſed themſelves of the walls: the enemy were extreamly ſurpriz'd, and being forced from their turrets and battlements, drew themſelves up in a triangle in the market-place, and ſuch other ſtreets as were broad enough for that purpoſe; that if the Romans ſhould come to attack them, they might better maintain their ground, being drawn up in order of battle: but perceiving no body came near them, and that the walls were poſſeſſed round about by the Romans, apprehending their flight might be prevented, they flung down their arms, and ran to the fartheſt part of the town, where preſſing forward to make their eſcape through a narrow gate, they hindered each other, and were killed by the ſoldiers, as thoſe who got out of the town were by the cavalry; for no body minded the plunder, but enraged by the maſſacre at Orleans, and the fatigue they had endured in the ſiege, put all to the ſword, without reſpect to age or difference of ſex: ſo that out of 40000 ſcarce 800 eſcaped to VERCINGETORIX, who upon the firſt alarm fled out of the town; theſe he privately received in the dead of night, ſending out his ſervants, and the chief noblemen of each province, to meet and conduct them to thoſe parts of the camp, where their ſeveral countrymen were quartered, to prevent any mutiny that might ariſe from the diſguſt of the army upon their return.

The Romans ſcale the walls.

Storm the town, and put the beſieged to the ſword.

Out of 40000 only 800 eſcape to Vercingetorix: his policy in receiving them.

CHAP. XIV.

THE next day, VERCINGETORIX, calling a council of war, comforted the Gauls, telling them, "They had no reaſon to be diſcouraged at their late loſs, ſince the Romans had not ſucceeded by their valour, but ſkill in beſieging of towns, which they had no experience in: that conſtant ſucceſs was not to be expected in war; and for his part, they all could bear him witneſs, it was contrary to his opinion that Bourges ſhould be defended: wherefore this loſs was to be imputed to the folly of the people of Berry, and the too great indulgence of the army;

His ſpeech upon the loſs of the town.

WAR in GAUL.

my; however he would take care to repair the damage, by a far greater advantage; for he would undertake the other countries of Gaul, which had hitherto ſtood neuter, ſhould enter into the grand alliance: that the kingdom of Gaul ſhould join in the ſame deſign, whoſe force united, the whole world would not be able to withſtand: that he had almoſt brought this affair to a happy concluſion; but in the mean time he thought it convenient for the publick ſafety, they ſhould fortify their camp, to defeat any ſudden excurſions of the enemy."

Vercingetorix's credit increaſed by the loſs of Bourges.

This harangue was not ungrateful to the Gauls, eſpecially ſince they ſaw their general was neither dejected after ſo great a loſs, nor endeavoured to abſcond from publick view; nor did it a little add to the reputation of his conduct, that as it was his opinion Bourges ſhould be burnt, ſo he was the firſt that had adviſed them to deſert the place; wherefore as ill ſucceſs generally eclipſes the credit of other commanders, ſo his, on the contrary, daily increaſed with his loſſes: they flattered themſelves on his affirmation that the other ſtates of Gaul would join with them, and began to fortify their camp, which had never before been practiſed by the Gauls; being reduced to ſo humble a condition, that though they were not inured to labour, yet they patiently ſuffered whatever taſks were impoſed upon them.

On his advice the Gauls fortify their camp; the firſt time they ever did it.

CHAP. XV.

He endeavours to perſuade all the other countries of Gaul to revolt.

VERCINGETORIX did not deſign to be worſe than his promiſe, he took abundance of pains to draw the other countries of Gaul into the ſame alliance, endeavouring to gain the noblemen of each ſtate, by preſents and promiſes; for this purpoſe he made choice of the beſt negotiators, whoſe craft or intereſt might effect his deſigns: for thoſe that had eſcaped from Bourges he provided arms and cloathing; and to repair the loſs he received there, gave orders that each of the revolted provinces ſhould furniſh him with a certain number of recruits, to be ſent to his camp by a day prefixed; and he commanded them to levy all the archers in their country, whereof they have plenty in Gaul, for his ſervice; by which means he ſoon recovered what he loſt at Bourges. In the mean time THEUTOMATUS, ſon of OLLOVICO king of Agen, whoſe father had formerly been ſtiled friend by the ſenate of Rome, came over to him with a conſiderable number of horſe, which he brought from Gaſcoigne.

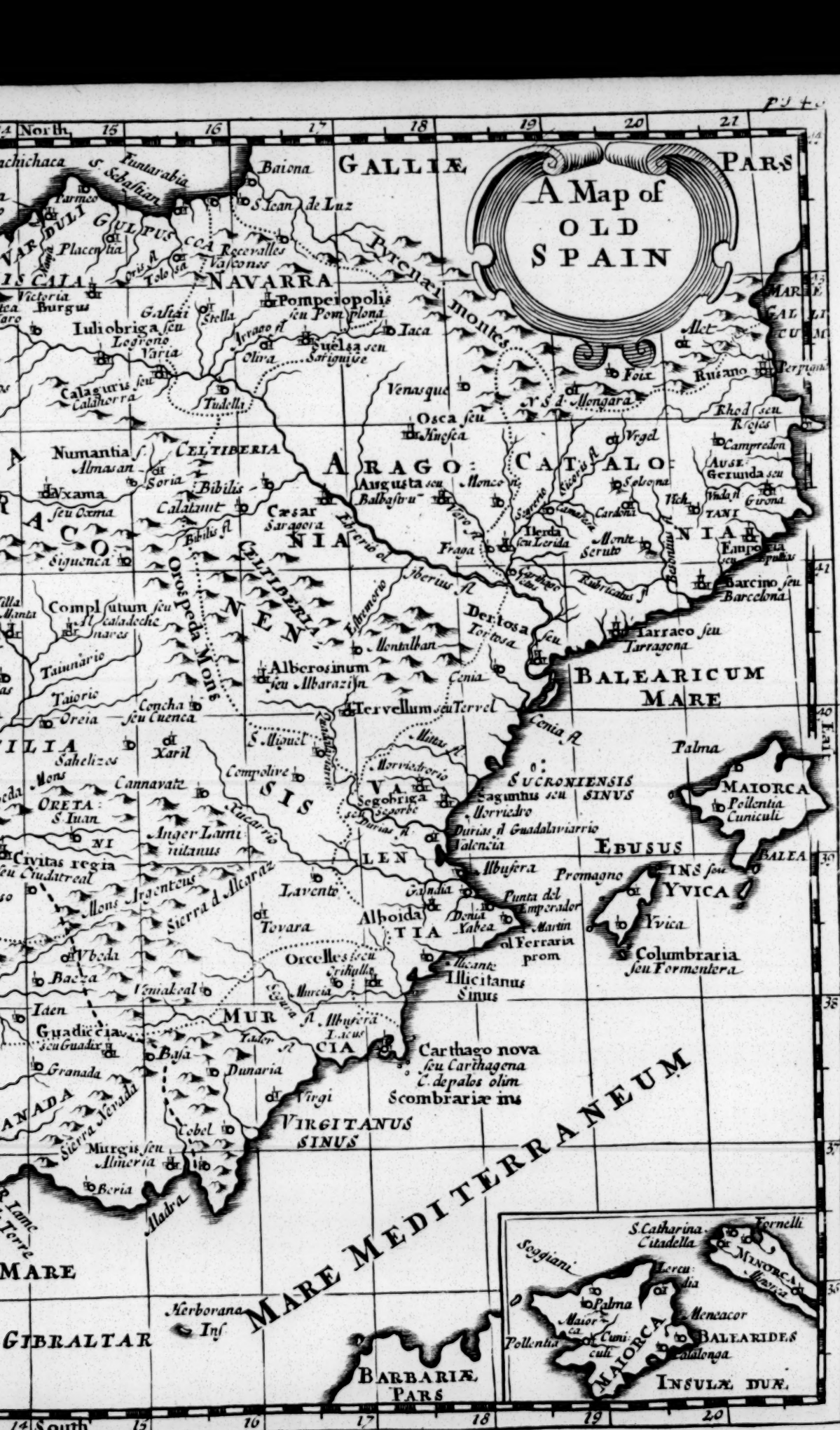
Arms and cloathes the beſieged that eſcaped from Bourges.

Raiſes new levies.

Theutomatus, king of the Nitiobriges or Agen, comes over to him.

CHAP.


OCEANUS CANTABRICUS
C. de Ortegal
C. de las pennas de guzan
C. de Machichaca
Cizarga Insula
S. Iago
Avilés
Ribadeo
Mindonia seu Mondoñedo
Ovetum seu Oviedo
Lucus seu Lugo
Compostella
Decori
Muros
Lamas
Aroca Inf.
Grobe Inf.
Islas de Bayona ol Deorum
Ponterredros
Tide seu Tuy
Villa Nova
Orense
Minio fl.
Baiona
Pons Lamii seu Pont de Lima
Minio fl. Lethe
Bracara seu Braga
Villa de Conde
Villanova
Villa regia seu Villareal
Duro fl.
Duria fl.
Foreste
Lamego
Moncorvum seu Moncorvo
Miranda seu Miranda
Tamaga
Brigantia seu Briganza
Duro rio
Medina del Campo
Salamanca
Camora
Vallis Oletum seu Valladolid
Pallantia seu Palentia
Astorga
Asturica seu Astorga
Legio seu Leon
Juliobriga
Montes d'Occa
Santillana
Flaviobriga seu Bilbao
S. Andre
Victoria antea Haro
Burgi seu Burgos
Valvieſſo
Burgus
Iuliobr
Numantia
Almasan
Oxama seu Osma
Segovia
Abula seu Avila
Escurial
Madritum seu Madrit
Villa Manta
Compl utu
Taiunario
Esquivias
Taiorio
Toletum
Oreia
Vera de Plasencia seu Toledo
Placentia
Ciudad Rodrigo
Castel Rodrigo
Pinolium seu Pinchel
Aveiro
Viseu
Conimbria
C. Mondego Mundus fl. Mundego
Miranda seu Miranda
Coria
Alcantara
Puente del Arzobispo
Caraiscio
Tagus fl.
Leiria
Castr. Franca seu Branca
Tomar
Federnera
Santaren um seu Santarem
S. Vincente
Portalegra
Augusta Emerita seu Merida
Caprubio
Lacus rio
Campo de Calatrave
Calatrava
Oroſreda
Civitas regia seu Ciudatreal
Elviso
Mons
Oreta S. Iuan
Alanquer
Ulysippo seu Lisbona
Tagus fl.
Almada
Setubal
Cabo de Spichel
Elvas
Pax Augusta seu Badajos
Evora seu Ebora
Olivenza
Cumbras maceras
Sierra Morena
Realejo
Induiar
Vbeda
Baeza
Idem
Guadalcacer
Guadiciana seu Guadix
Granada
Hispalis seu Sevilla
Alcalareal
Astigi seu Ecya
Osuna
Singulis fl.
Sierra Nevada
Lagos
Tavira seu Tavila
Villanova de Milfonte
Cabo de S. Vincente ol Sacrum Prom.
Promontorium Magnum seu Lagos
Sinus Gaditanus
Gades seu Cadiz
Lucifera seu S. Lucar
Malaga
Asindu
Medina Sidonia
Monda
Ronda
Iberia
Mirgi
Alme
Gibraltar
Fretum Herculeum nunc Estrecho de Gibralta
Ibericum Mare
Ceuta
Tanger
Milliaria Hiſpanica
Miliaria Germanica
Engliſh Miles
North
South
West


A Map of OLD SPAIN
North
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
South
GALLIÆ PARS
Baiona
S. Iean de Luz
Pyrenæi montes
NAVARRA
Pompeiopolis seu Pomplona
Iaca
Iuliobriga seu Legrono
Varia
Calagurris seu Calahorra
Tudella
Venasque
Osca seu Huesca
Foix
Rusano
Mongara
Rhod seu Roses
Numantia
Almasan
CELTIBERIA
Soria
Bibilis
Vxama seu Osma
Calatiaut
Cæsar Saragoza
Augusta seu Balbastro
Monco
Vrgel
Campredon
Ausa Gerunda seu Girona
Solsona
Vich
TANI
Cardona
Manresa
Ebro fl.
Segre fl.
Lerida
Fraga
Monte Serato
Empolia seu Empurias
Tarragona fl.
Iberus fl.
Rubricatus fl.
Barcino seu Barcelona
Complutum seu Alcala de Henares
Orospeda Mons
Iucar fl.
Dertosa seu Tortosa
Tarraco seu Tarragona
Taiunario
Alberosinum seu Albarazin
Montalban
Cenia
BALEARICUM MARE
Taiorie
Concha seu Cuenca
Oreia
Tervellum seu Tervel
Cenia fl.
Palma
Sahelizes
Xaril
S. Miguel
Murviedro
SUCRONIENSIS SINUS
Saguntus seu SINUS
Compolive
Cannavate
ORETA
S. Iuan
Segobriga
Segorbe
MAIORCA
Pollentia
Cuniculi
Anger Laminitanus
Durias fl.
Guadalaviarrio
Valencia
EBUSUS
Civitas regia
Ciudatreal
Ilbufera
Promagno
INS seu YVICA
Lavente
Sierra d. Mearaz
Iaenteus
Tovara
Punta del Emperador
Denia
Xabea
Martin
Alboida
TIA
Yvica
Vbeda
Bacza
Orcelles seu Crikulla
Alicante
Columbraria seu Formentera
Illicitanus Sinus
Veniakeal
Murcia
Iaen
Guadicciia seu Guadix
Granada
Basa
Dunaria
Ilbufera Lacus
Carthago nova seu Carthagena
C. de palos olim Scombrariæ ins
Virgi
VIRGITANUS SINUS
Sierra Nevada
Tebel
Murgis seu Almeria
Beria
Iadra
MARE MEDITERRANEUM
Xerborana Ins.
GIBRALTAR
BARBARIÆ PARS
S. Catharina Citadella
Fornelli
Seggiani
Mercu dia
MINORCA
Palma
Maior ca
Meneacor
Pollentia
Cuni culi
BALLARIDES
Calalonga
MAIORCA
INSULÆ DUÆ

WAR in GAUL.

CHAP. XVI.

CÆSAR ſtay'd ſeveral days at Bourges, to refreſh his army after their late labour, and want of proviſions; for he found plenty of corn in the town: the winter was now almoſt ſpent, and the ſeaſon invited him to take the field; wherefore he reſolved to follow the enemy, to try whether he could draw them out of the woods and marſhes, or have an opportunity of beſieging them; when the principal noblemen of Autun came to beſeech him that he would aſſiſt their country, which was in a dangerous condition at that juncture; for as formerly by the cuſtom of Autun they were always governed by a ſingle annual magiſtrate, whoſe election inveſted him with regal power; now two pretended title to the ſame office, both affirming they were lawfully created: one of theſe pretenders was CONVICTOLITANIS, an illuſtrious youth of great intereſt; COTUS the other, of an ancient family, great authority, and powerful in relations, whoſe brother VEDELIACUS had diſcharged the ſame office but the year before: that the whole country was up in arms, the ſenate and people divided, and ſhould the diſpute continue, it was much to be feared a civil war would enſue: to prevent which fatal conſequences, they relied entirely on his care and authority. Though CÆSAR thought it inconvenient to leave the war, and the enemy behind him; yet conſidering what effects might ariſe from ſuch diviſions, leſt ſo powerful and firm allies to the people of Rome, whom he had always favoured and enriched, ſhould fall out amongſt themſelves, and that party which depended leſs on him, pray aſſiſtance from VERCINGETORIX, he thought it neceſſary to put a ſtop to the progreſs of theſe diſorders; and becauſe the chief magiſtrates of Autun are prohibited going out of the country, leſt they ſhould detract from the honour of their office, he reſolved to go himſelf in perſon thither; and ſummoned both the ſenate and candidates to attend him at Deciſe: almoſt the whole country came thither, and being ſatisfied that COTUS had been clandeſtinely choſen, by a few electors, at an improper time and place, and declared magiſtrate by his own brother, contrary to the law (which does not only prohibit two perſons of the ſame family from executing the ſupream office of magiſtracy, whilſt he who firſt obtained it is alive, but even from ſitting in

Cæſar is informed of the diſputes in Autun about the ſupream magiſtracy.

Wherefore Cæſar goes to Autun.

Summons the candidates to attend him at Decetia or Deciſe.

WAR in GAUL.

where he decrees in favour of Convictolitanis, againſt Cotus's pretenſions.

Then orders the Autunois to furniſh him with 10000 foot, and all their cavalry. He ſends Labienus to Paris, marches himſelf to Cleremont, Gergovia, Elaver.

the ſenate at a time) he obliged him to quit his pretenſions, and gave ſentence in favour of CONVICTOLITANIS, who had been created by the prieſts, according to the cuſtom of the country, when the place was vacant. Having accommodated this affair, he deſired the Autunois to lay aſide all thoughts of faction, and give him what aſſiſtance they could towards carrying on the preſent war; that Gaul being ſubdued, they might receive thoſe rewards their loyalty deſerved: he deſired them immediately to furniſh him with all their cavalry, and 10000 foot, that he might diſpoſe them into garriſons to levy contributions: he divided his army into two parts; four legions, with half of the cavalry, under the command of LABIENUS, he detached to Sens and Paris; and with the other four march'd himſelf to Cleremont, on the river Allier, in the country of Auvergne; which VERCINGETORIX having notice of, broke down all the bridges of the river, and march'd upon the banks on the other ſide.

CHAP. XVII.

Cæſar's ſtratagem to paſs the Allier.

it takes effect.

Cæſar arrives at Cleremont; vid. marg. note, pag. 15.

BOTH armies were continually in view, encamp'd almoſt over-againſt each other; and the enemy's ſcouts were ſo diſperſed, that it was impoſſible for the Romans to caſt a bridge over the river: CÆSAR was very uneaſy, leaſt he ſhould loſe the greateſt part of the ſummer for want of an opportunity to paſs the Allier, which is never fordable till towards autumn; to prevent which inconvenience, he removed his camp into a woody place, over-againſt one of thoſe bridges which the enemy had cut down: the day following, hiding himſelf with two legions, he ſent away the reſt of his army, with all their baggage, as uſual; making a draught of one fourth out of every cohort, that the number of the legions might ſtill appear compleat: he commanded the army to march as far as they could, and when he computed, by the time of the day, they might be encamping, he began to rebuild a bridge upon the ſame piles whoſe lower part the enemy had left ſtanding; and having ſoon compleated his work, march'd his legions over, choſe a convenient place to encamp in, and recalled the reſt of his army: whereupon VERCINGETORIX, that he might not be obliged to fight againſt his will, went a great way before by long marches. From thence in five days march CÆSAR arrived at Cleremont, where having had a ſmall ſkirmiſh with

with the enemy's cavalry, and taking a view of the town, he deſpaired of reducing it by ſtorm, nor did he think it convenient to make any ſteps towards inveſting the place, before he had furniſhed himſelf with ſuch proviſions as he had occaſion for: but VERCINGETORIX having encamped on the hill cloſe by the town, diſpoſed all his army according to their ſeveral diſtricts, at a ſmall diſtance from each other, and having poſſeſſed all the hills round about, made a dreadful appearance: he obliged the chief noblemen of every ſtate, whom he made his council, to attend his levy every morning early, either to conſult or receive ſuch orders as he thought neceſſary; never omitting a day without ſending his horſe intermixed with archers, to ſkirmiſh with our cavalry, that he might be acquainted with each man's particular merit. There was a riſing ground that joined to the foot of the mountain the town was built on, excellently well fortified by nature, and difficult of acceſs on all ſides; which if our men could gain, they were in hopes to cut off the water, and prevent the enemy from foraging ſo freely as before: upon this place the Gauls had only poſted a ſlender guard; wherefore CÆSAR, leaving his camp about midnight, defeated the party that was lodged there, before the town could come to their aſſiſtance, poſſeſſed himſelf of the hill, and having left two legions in the place, drew a line of communication, by a double trench twelve foot broad, from the leſſer to the larger camp, that the ſoldiers might paſs ſafely from one to the other, without any annoyance from the enemy.

WAR in GAUL.

Vercingetorix encamps cloſe under the walls.

Cæſar gains a hill of advantage.

CHAP. XVIII.

WHILST affairs were in this poſture at Clerefmont, CONVICTOLITANIS of Autun, to whom CÆSAR had lately decreed the magiſtracy, being corrupted by the people of Auvergne, endeavoured to draw in ſome of the young nobility; the chief of theſe were LITAVICUS and his brothers, gentlemen of the greateſt family in the country, with whom he divided his bribes: "He put them in mind they were born free, and deſtined by nature for empire: that Autun alone held the balance of victory, for all the other provinces were reſtrained by her example; but ſhould ſhe once declare, the Romans would have no footing left in the country: for his own part, he muſt confeſs he had lately received a favour from CÆSAR, but

Convictolitanis perſuades Litavicus and his brothers to rebel.

WAR in GAUL.

ſuch an one as the merits of his cauſe might challenge; yet he did not think himſelf obliged to ſhew his gratitude, at the expence of his country's liberty; nor could he tell any reaſon, why the Autunois ſhould ſubmit their laws and cuſtoms to the arbitration of CÆSAR, any more than the Romans theirs to the Autunois." His authority, and the rewards he propoſed, ſoon prevailed; LITAVICUS with his brothers agreed to undertake the buſineſs; but firſt it was thought proper to conſult about the means for accompliſhing their deſigns; for they were ſatisfied the country would not eaſily be induced to declare war againſt the Romans: wherefore it was reſolved that LITAVICUS's brothers ſhould be ſent before to CÆSAR, that he ſhould have the command of the 10000 foot, which the Autunois were to furniſh; and the reſt of the affair ſhould be managed as occaſion offered. Accordingly having received the command of the army, and marched within thirty miles of Cleremont, LITAVICUS, on a ſudden called the ſoldiers together, and with tears in his eyes ſpoke to this effect: "Gentlemen, whither are we going? all our horſe, all our nobility are already ſlain; EPOREDORIX and VIRDUMARUS, men of the beſt quality in our country, are accuſed of treaſon by the Romans, and put to death unheard: but I refer you to thoſe who have eſcaped the ſlaughter for further information, becauſe grief for my departed brothers and kinſmen ſtops my utterance." At that, ſome inſtruments who had been before inſtructed what to ſay, were produced; they joined in the ſame ſtory with LITAVICUS, and informed the army of the particulars; that the Autunois horſe had been put to the ſword, for holding correſpondence with thoſe of Auvergne, as the Romans pretended; that they had hid themſelves in the croud, and were ſaved by flight from the ſlaughter. Upon this advice the whole army were mightily diſturbed, and intreated LITAVICUS that he would contrive ſome means for their ſafety: he told them, "The preſent affair did not admit of any debate; that there was no other way left but marching directly to Cleremont, and joining the Auvergnois; for, added he, it is not to be doubted but the Romans, having already committed ſo barbarous an action, will make what haſte they can to put us likewiſe to the ſword; but if we have any courage left, let us revenge the death of our injured countrymen upon theſe villains:" Whereupon producing the Roman citizens who had taken the opportunity of

Litavicus made General of the 10000 foot; his brothers ſent before to Cæſar.

Litavicus's treaſon and diſſimulation.

Litavicus perſuades the forces under his command to rebel.

of their convoy, they robbed them of a conſidereble quantity of corn, and put them to a barbarous death; then immediately diſpatched couriers to all parts of Autun, to divulge the ſame ſtory, about the death of the noblemen and cavalry, and to adviſe them to vindicate their wrongs, as they had done.

CHAP. XIX.

EPOREDORIX and VIRDUMARUS of Autun, one of an illuſtrious houſe and conſiderable intereſt in his country; the other of equal age and authority, though not ſo well deſcended, whom CÆSAR, on DIVITIACUS's recommendation, had raiſed to the higheſt dignities, being particularly ſummoned, came alone with the horſe: theſe two always rival'd each other for the precedence; in the late diſpute about the magiſtracy, one eſpouſed CONVICTOLITANIS's quarrel, the other that of COTUS; and the firſt of theſe having notice of LITAVICUS's deſign, came to CÆSAR about midnight, diſcovered the plot, and intreated him not to ſuffer the minds of a country, his ancient friends, to be alienated by the treaſonable practices of ſome young noblemen; for he foreſaw, that if LITAVICUS went over to the enemy, with ſo conſiderable an army, their ſeveral relations would think themſelves obliged to uſe what methods they could to preſerve them, and conſequently the affair muſt have a powerful influence over the whole country. CÆSAR was mightily ſurprized to hear that his favourite Autunois ſhould think of a revolt; therefore he immediately drew out four light-arm'd legions, with all the cavalry; and not having time to contract his camp into a narrower ſpace (becauſe the whole ſucceſs of the buſineſs depended on diſpatch) left lieutenant C. FABIUS with two legions to guard the baggage: he gave orders before he ſet out for apprehending LITAVICUS's brothers, but found they had not long before gone over to the enemy. Having encouraged his ſoldiers chearfully to endure the fatigue of ſo neceſſary a march, they purſued their journey with great eagerneſs for 25 miles, till they arrived within ſight of the Autunois; then he detached the horſe before, to ſtop their march, commanding them not to put any man to the ſword: and ordered EPOREDORIX with VIRDUMARUS, whom they believed to be killed, to go along with the cavalry, and ſhew themſelves to their countrymen the

Eporedorix acquaints Cæſar with Litavicus's deſign.

Whereupon Cæſar marches to intercept the Autunois, before they reach Clermont.

He meets the Autunois; they ſubmit when they find their error.

WAR in GAUL.

Autunois; who finding their miſtake, diſcovering LITAVICUS's deceit, held out their hands to ſignify their deſire to ſurrender, and having laid down their arms, began to beg their lives: LITAVICUS in the mean time, with all his dedendants, who are not permitted by the cuſtom of Gaul, to deſert their patron in the greateſt dangers, eſcaped to Cleremont. CÆSAR immediately ſent embaſſadors to Autun, to acquaint the people how merciful he had been to their countrymen, whom by martial law he might have put to the ſword; then having allow'd his army three hours time to reſt, he marched towards Cleremont, and had almoſt paſſed one half of the journey, when a party of horſe from C. FABIUS came to give him notice how much danger the camp was in, being aſſaulted by the enemy on all ſides, who when their forces fainted, ſtill ſupplied their places with freſh men; whilſt the Romans having a large camp, and but few ſoldiers to defend it, were obliged, though never ſo weary, to maintain their ground: that they had already received many wounds from the enemy's darts and arrows, though their engines had done them good ſervice; that FABIUS, at their departure, had ſhut up two gates of the camp, encreaſed the height of the rampier, and prepared for the next day's aſſault: whereupon CÆSAR made what haſte he could to his relief, and arrived at the camp before ſun-riſe.

Litavicus eſcapes to Cleremont.

Cæſar has notice that the Gauls attack his camp.

He makes haſte to its relief.

CHAP. XX.

IN the mean while the Autunois, having received LITAVICUS's news, ſtaid not for a confirmation; but ſome being prompted by avarice, others by revenge and raſhneſs, which they are mightily addicted to, taking every thing they heard for granted, plundered the Roman citizens, killed ſome, and ſold others for ſlaves: nor did CONVICTOLITANIS a little foment their fury, that by plunging them into ſome deſperate action, ſhame might continue them in the ſame reſolution. They enticed CAIUS ANTISTIUS, the tribune, who was marching to his legion, and ſeveral Roman merchants, to quit Chalons, on parole not to diſturb their paſſage; but ſet upon them on the road, robbed them of their baggage, beſieged thoſe night and day who made oppoſition, and many being killed on both ſides, raiſed a greater power to effect their deſign. But being informed that all their ſoldiers were in CÆSAR's power, they ran to ANTISTIUS, aſſured him nothing

The Autunois on Litavicus's meſſage take arms, plunder the Roman citizens,

beſiege Antiſtius.

Cabillonum.

nothing had been done by publick authority, called thoſe to account that had ſeized the Roman effects, ſequeſter'd LITAVICUS and his brothers eſtates, and ſent embaſſadors to CÆSAR, to clear themſelves from what had been done. All this they did to recover their ſoldiers; but being tainted with the treaſon, loth to make reſtitution of thoſe goods which had been divided amongſt ſo many, and apprehenſive of the puniſhment they deſerved, they privately conſulted about carrying on the war, and ſent embaſſadors to the ſtates round about, to deſire their aſſiſtance.

WAR in GAUL.

But finding their ſoldiers were in Cæſar's power, they ſend embaſſadors to him to clear themſelves.

Though CÆSAR was not ignorant of their practices, yet ſending for their deputies, in an affable manner he aſſured them, that he ſhould not entertain an ill opinion of their country for the diſorders the mob had been guilty of, or bear the leſs affection to the Autunois.

Cæſar gives them a favourable audience.

CHAP. XXI.

BEING apprehenſive of freſh commotions in Gaul, that he might not be ſurrounded on all ſides in an enemy's country, he conſulted which way he might quit the ſiege of Cleremont, and join the reſt of his army, without giving the enemy occaſion to believe that he fled to avoid them. Whilſt he was meditating on this affair, there fell out an accident which ſeemed to favour his deſign; for going into the leſſer camp to view the works, he obſerved a hill left naked, which but a few days before had been cover'd all over with the enemy's forces; he wondered what was the reaſon of their quitting it, and enquired the cauſe of the deſerters, who daily flock'd in great numbers to our camp: they all agreed with our ſcouts, that the back of the hill, from whence lay a paſſage to another part of the town, was an even ground, but woody and narrow: that the enemy were mightily afraid of loſing this poſt, for the Romans having already made themſelves maſters of one hill, ſhould they obtain this likewiſe, the Gauls would be almoſt ſurrounded, and cut off from foraging; for which reaſon VERCINGETORIX had drawn out all his forces to fortify the paſſage. CÆSAR upon this intelligence detached ſeveral ſquadrons of horſe thither at midnight, commanding them to ride up and down the place with as much noiſe as poſſible: by break of day he cauſed a great number of mules and carriages to be drawn out of the camp, and the baggage to be taken out of them; then

Cæſar deſigns to quit the ſiege of Cleremont.

But firſt reſolves upon an exploit.

WAR in GAUL.

furniſhing the grooms and waggoners with helmets, that they might reſemble the horſe, he cauſed them to ride about the hill: with theſe, for the greater ſhew, he mixed a few cavalry, commanding them to make a large tour about the place. The party was ſoon deſcry'd by the beſieged, for the town commanded a view of the camp, though they could not perfectly at that diſtance diſcover what was done: after theſe he likewiſe detached one legion to the ſame place, whom he order'd to hide themſelves in the woods and lower grounds: this increaſed the jealouſy of the Gauls to ſuch a degree, that they immediately drew out all their forces to maintain the poſt. CÆSAR, perceiving the camp was deſerted, hid his colours, and cauſed his ſoldiers to paſs in ſmall parties from the larger to the leſſer camp, leſt the town ſhould take notice of it; then calling his lieutenants together, to whom he had committed the charge of each particular legion, he gave them ſuch directions as he thought convenient: In the firſt place he order'd them to reſtrain their ſoldiers from being carried too far by the deſire of fight or plunder; he acquainted them with the diſadvantage of the place, which nothing but diſpatch could overcome; that the preſent was an affair which depended more upon opportunity than virtue; and giving them the ſign to advance, ſent the Autunois to meet them by another aſcent on the right.

CHAP. XXII.

THE wall of the town lay 1200 paces diſtant from the plain below, without computing the uneven ground between, and the circuit which was neceſſary to be taken for moderating the ſteepneſs of the aſcent, which ſtill encreaſed our journey: the Gauls about the middle of the hill, ſo far as the nature of the place would admit, had raiſed a wall ſix foot high for a fortification; from the foot of the hill to this outward wall there was nothing to obſtruct our paſſage, but from thence to the town the upper part of the hill was covered all over with little * camps. So ſoon as the ſign was given, our men made ſuch haſte to execute their orders, that they quickly paſs'd this fortification, and made themſelves maſters of three ſeveral camps; which they did with ſo much diſpatch, that THEUTOMATUS,

The Romans take the firſt wall on the hill.

* Becauſe CÆSAR ſaid before they were divided into ſeveral parties, each country being placed by themſelves.

MATUS, king of Agen, was ſurpriſed in his tent, as he was repoſing himſelf about noon, and narrowly eſcaped being taken; for his horſe was wounded under him, and he fled away half naked, not having time to dreſs himſelf. CÆSAR having now accompliſhed all he deſired, commanded a retreat to be ſounded; whereupon the ſoldiers of the tenth legion, who heard the trumpet, made a halt; and the other legions, though the intervening valley prevented their hearing the ſummons, yet were commanded by the tribunes and lieutenants, according to CÆSAR's inſtructions, likewiſe to halt; but prompted with the hopes of a ſpeedy victory, encouraged by the flight of the enemy, and flushed with the remembrance of their former ſucceſſes, they thought nothing too difficult for their courage to accompliſh, nor did they deſiſt from the purſuit before they came to the very gates and walls of the town: which occaſioned ſo great a clamour and confuſion from all parts, that they who were furtheſt from the place aſſaulted, believing we had already forced our entrance, left the town; the matrons caſt their cloaths and money o'er the wall, with naked breaſts and extended hands, beſeeching the Romans to have mercy on them, and not put women and children to the ſword, as they had done at Bourges; and ſome of them being let down by their hands, delivered themſelves up to our ſoldiers: L. FABIUS, a centurion of the eighth legion, was ſo encouraged by the plunder he got at Bourges, that he was heard to ſay, no man ſhould get into Cleremont before him; wherefore by the aſſiſtance of three ſoldiers of his maniple he mounted the walls, then aſſiſted them one after another to do the like: in the mean while, they who were gone to defend the paſſage on the other ſide of the town, hearing a noiſe, and being informed by ſeveral meſſengers that the Romans had taken poſſeſſion of Cleremont, ſending their horſe before, followed after with all expedition; each man as ſoon as he arrived there, placed himſelf under the wall, to join with ſuch as had already made head againſt the enemy; and they ſoon grew ſo numerous, that whereas the matrons, but the moment before, beſought the Romans to be merciful to them, now they begun to encourage their own party to make a vigorous defence, by producing their children, and ſhewing themſelves with diſhevelled hair, according to the cuſtom of the Gauls.

WAR in GAUL.

Theutomatus narrowly eſcapes being taken priſoner.

Cæſar ſounds a retreat; the tenth legion halts, but the reſt purſue their ſucceſs.

The confuſion of the beſieged on the Romans approach.

Lucius Fabius's avarice, which coſts him dear.

He ſcales the walls.

Vercingetorix's party return to their aſſiſtance.

They aſſume freſh courage.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

THUS the diſpute became unequal to the Romans as well in reſpect to the diſparity of number, as the diſadvantage of the place; nor was it to be expected, that they who had already endured ſuch a fatigue, ſhould be able to withſtand thoſe who came freſh to the combat. CÆSAR perceiving that the number of the enemy continually encreaſed, and being concerned for the danger his ſoldiers were in, ſent orders to lieutenant T. SEXTIUS, whom he had left to guard the leſſer camp, immediately to draw out his cohorts, and poſt them at the foot of the hill, over-againſt the enemy's right wing; that in caſe our men ſhould be routed, he might put a ſtop to the enemy's purſuit: and he himſelf marching with one legion, poſſeſs'd a place not far from SEXTIUS, where he expected the event of the battle. The conflict was ſharply maintained on both ſides, the enemy confiding in their poſt and numbers, ours in their courage; when on a ſudden the Autunois, whom CÆSAR had before ordered to aſcend by another way on the right, to give the enemy a diverſion, were diſcover'd on the flank of our ſoldiers, and the reſemblance of their arms to thoſe of the Gauls, did not a little ſurpriſe the Romans; for though they extended their right arms, the uſual ſign of peace; yet our men were apprehenſive they did it only for a decoy. At the ſame time L. FABIUS the centurion, and thoſe who had got into the town with him, being ſurrounded and killed, were thrown over the wall; and M. PETREIUS, another centurion of the ſame legion, endeavouring to force the gates, was oppreſſed by the enemy's numbers; wherefore deſpairing of ſafety for himſelf and his manipular ſoldiers, who had followed him, he told them, "That ſince he could not ſave himſelf, he would at leaſt take care of them, whom his ambition had brought into that danger, and adviſed them to make uſe of the opportunity he would procure them;" then ruſhing into the midſt of the enemy, he kill'd two, obliged the reſt to give way, and perceiving his men ſtrove to aſſiſt him, "In vain, ſaid he, do you endeavour to ſave the man whom his blood and ſtrength have already forſaken; be gone therefore, whilſt you may, and retire to your legion:" then fighting on, he expired ſoon after, but purchaſed ſafety for his followers by the expence of his life. Our men being attacked

L. Fabius kill'd and thrown over the wall.

Marcus Petreius dies bravely.

tacked on all ſides, after the loſs of forty-ſix centurions, were obliged to quit the place; but the tenth legion, which had been poſted nearer the bottom of the hill, to cover their retreat, ſtopped the enemy's career, being ſaſtained by the cohorts of the thirteenth legion, which were drawn out of the leſſer camp, and had poſſeſſed the higher ground: ſo ſoon as our men recovered the plain, they made a ſtand, and faced about to the enemy; upon which VERCINGETORIX drew off his forces from the foot of the hill into their camps: this day we loſt almoſt 700 men.

WAR in GAUL.

The Romans, after the loſs of 46 centurions, and near 700 men, are obliged to retreat.

CHAP. XXIV.

CÆSAR, the day after, having ſummoned the ſoldiers to attend him, made a ſpeech, wherein he condemned their eager purſuit, and repremanded them for preſuming to judge how far they were to go after a retreat was ſounded, and their officers had commanded them to halt: he laid before them the dangers they were liable to from the diſadvantage of the place, which he was ſo ſenſible of at Bourges, that though he ſurpriſed the enemy there without either cavalry or a general, yet he forewent a certain victory, rather than purchaſe it at ſo ſmall an expence as the difficulty of the paſſage would have coſt him. He highly applauded their courage, whom neither the fortifications of the enemy's camp, the height of the mountain, nor the walls of the town could ſtop; but as much condemned their pride and arrogance, who fancied themſelves better judges of victory and the event of affairs than their general; for he rather deſired to have his ſoldiers modeſt and obedient, than couragious and daring. In the concluſion of his ſpeech, he comforted the ſoldiers for the loſs they had received; telling them, they ſhould not be dejected at their late misfortune, which was to be attributed to the diſadvantage of the place, not to their want of courage. Then deſigning, as formerly, to quit the ſiege, he drew his army up in order of battle; but finding VERCINGETORIX was not diſpoſed to fight him, after a ſmall and ſucceſsful ſkirmiſh between the cavalry, he withdrew into the camp again: the like he did the day following; then thinking he had done enough to encourage his own ſoldiers, and abate the pride of the Gauls,

Cæſar calls a council, makes a ſpeech.

Reprimands the ſoldiers for tranſgreſſing their orders.

After a ſucceſsful ſkirmiſh with the enemy's horſe, Cæſar decamps, paſſes the Allier; is informed by Virdumarus and Eporedorix of Litavicus's ſoliciting the Autunois to a revolt.

WAR in GAUL.

Gauls, he decamped, and marched to Autun: the enemy did not think fit to follow us; wherefore having in three days rebuilt the bridge croſs the Allier, he paſſed the river with all his forces. He was informed by VIRDUMARUS and EPOREDORIX that LITAVICUS was gone with all the cavalry to ſollicit thoſe of Autun to join the revolted Gauls, and therefore it would be abſolutely neceſſary for them to prevent his deſign, by confirming the country in their loyalty. Though CÆSAR was already convinced of the infidelity of the Autunois, and plainly foreſaw that VIRDUMARUS and EPOREDORIX's going would haſten their revolt, yet he thought it not proper to detain them, that he might not give them the leaſt pretext to blame him, or reaſon to believe he ſuſpected them. At their departure he briefly enumerated the ſervices he had done their country; in how mean a condition he found them, ſhut up within their walls, robbed of their fields, deprived of their forces, made tributaries, and obliged to deliver hoſtages for their fidelity; whereas he had raiſed them to ſo high a pitch of grandeur, that they did not only recover, but far excel their priſtine glory and authority; then taking his leave, he diſmiſſed them.

CHAP. XXV.

Virdumarus and Eporedorix ſeize Nevers, put the garriſon to the ſword.

NEVERS is a town of Autun, conveniently ſeated on the river Loire: here CÆSAR had lodged all the hoſtages of Gaul, the corn, the publick treaſure, his own, and the greateſt part of the army's baggage, and hither he had ſent a great number of horſes, which he had brought up in Spain and Italy for the ſervice. When EPOREDORIX and VIRDUMARUS arrived at this place, being informed how kindly LITAVICUS had been received at the * capital of Autun, that CONVICTOLITANIS, the chief magiſtrate, with the greateſt part of the ſenate, were come over to him, and had ſent publick embaſſadors to VERCINGETORIX to treat of an alliance, thought it convenient to lay hold of that opportunity; wherefore, having put the garriſon of Nevers and the Roman merchants who reſided there to the ſword, they divided the money and horſes between them, took care to ſend the hoſtages to the magiſtrate at Autun, and becauſe the town was not tenable, leſt it ſhould be of any uſe to the Romans, ſet it on fire. What corn they had carriage for, they immediately ſent away by water, and flung

* Bibracte.

Divide the plunder, and burn the town.

flung the reſt into the river, or burnt it; then began to raiſe forces in the neighbouring countries, diſpoſed parties for a guard on the banks of the Loire, and diſperſed their cavalry all the country over, to ſtrike a terror into the Romans, endeavouring to cut off their convoys, and reduce them to a neceſſity of leaving their province: they promiſed themſelves ſucceſs in this affair, becauſe the late ſnow had ſo ſwell'd the Loire, that it was not fordable.

WAR in GAUL.

Raiſe forces, and place guards on the banks of the Loire.

On advice of theſe motions, CÆSAR thought it high time to make haſte, and if he muſt be at the trouble of building a bridge, reſolved to do it ſo quickly, that he might engage the enemy before they grew ſtronger: for he held it by no means convenient to return to the Roman province, whilſt honour, the mountains of the Cevennes, and the difficulty of the way oppoſed his paſſage; beſides, he had a great deſire to join the reſt of his army under the command of LABIENUS. Wherefore, beyond all mens expectation, marching both day and night, he arrived by long journies at the Loire; where the cavalry having found out as convenient a ford as could be expected for the ſeaſon, he diſpoſed them ſo as to break the force of the ſtream, whilſt the foot paſſed over the river, which took them up to the ſhoulders, leaving them only the liberty to hold their arms above the water: at the firſt view of the Romans, the enemy betook themſelves to flight. Thus having ſafely paſſed the Loire, obtained a conſiderable booty of corn and cattle in the fields, and refreſhed his army, he reſolved to march into the country of Sens.

Cæſar arrives at the Loire;

fords the river; the enemy fly, and he marches on towards Sens.

CHAP. XXVI.

WHILST CÆSAR was thus employed, LABIENUS having left thoſe ſupplies, which lately came from Italy, for a guard to his baggage at Sens, marched with four legions to Paris, which is ſituated in an iſland of the Seine. Upon notice of his arrival, the enemy drew a conſiderable number of forces from the neighbouring countries, which they committed to the charge of CAMULOGENUS of Eureux; upon whom they conferred that honour, for his ſingular ſkill in military affairs, though his age ſeemed to have rendered him unfit for the command: He, obſerving there was a large moraſs which joined to the Seine, and obſtructed all the paſſages round about,

Labienus marches to Paris.

Lutetia.

WAR in GAUL.

about, lodged his army there, deſigning to prevent the Romans croſſing the river. LABIENUS was no ſooner arrived there, but he began to make his approaches, under the ſhelter of his vines, to fill up the moraſs with mould and hurdles, to render the paſſage firm; but finding the work very troubleſome, leaving his camp without noiſe about mid-night, he marched the ſame way that he came, till he arrived at Melun, which is another town of the country of Sens, ſituated likewiſe in an iſland of the Seine, as well as Paris: here he ſurpriſed about fifty ſhips, which he immediately mann'd with his ſoldiers; whereupon the few inhabitants that remained in the town (for the greateſt part was gone out to the war) were ſo frighted, they immediately ſurrendered. After this ſucceſs he repaired the bridge, which the enemy had cut down not long before; croſſed the river with his army, and marched along the banks with the ſtream to Paris: the enemy, having notice of his motions, by ſome that made their eſcape from Melun, immediately ſet fire to Paris, cauſed the bridges to be cut down, and ſecuring themſelves in the moraſs, on the banks of the Seine, directly over-againſt Paris, placed themſelves oppoſite to LABIENUS's camp.

Labienus ſurpriſes Melun, Metioſedum: for this is the ſame place with Meliodunum. Vide the preface.

By this time CÆSAR's quitting the ſiege of Clermont, the revolt of the Autunois, and the ſecond rebellion of the Gauls, were known all the country over; to this news the natives added ſome of their own, reporting that CÆSAR's journey was ſtopped by the Loire, and that for want of proviſions he was obliged to return to the Roman province. Whereupon the people of Beauvois, having notice of the defection in Autun, being naturally inclined to change, began to raiſe forces, and make publick preparations for war. LABIENUS perceiving the face of affairs ſo wonderfully changed, was obliged to lay a quite different ſcheme than what he had firſt deſigned; for now he did not think of making acquiſitions and conqueſts, but of ſecuring his retreat to Sens; becauſe one ſide of the country was poſſeſſed by thoſe of Beauvois, reputed a warlike people; and the other by CAMULOGENUS, who had already a powerful army in the field: to add to theſe difficulties, his legions were divided from their garriſon and baggage by a broad river; wherefore he found nothing could free him from theſe inconveniencies but his wonted preſence of mind.

The people of Beauvois prepare for war.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

IN the evening he ſummoned a council of war; and having encouraged the officers diligently to obſerve his orders, divided the ſhips which he brought from Melun among the Roman knights, commanding them to fall down the river at nine o'clock without any noiſe, and expect him about four miles off; five cohorts, whom he thought leaſt capable of ſervice, he left for a guard to his camp; and the other five cohorts of the ſame legion, with all the baggage, had directions to march up the river with as much noiſe and confuſion as poſſible; he likewiſe got a number of cock-boats, which he ſent the ſame way, commanding them to make as great buſtle as they could with their oars; and he himſelf, not long after, march'd ſilently out of his camp with three legions, to the place where he had appointed the ſhips to meet him. Here he ſurprized the enemy's ſcouts, who were placed in all parts of the river, but were prevented from making their eſcape by a ſudden tempeſt; and our foot and cavalry, by the care of the Roman knights, to whom LABIENUS had committed the charge of that affair, were ſoon carried over the river. It happened that the enemy before break of day, almoſt at the ſame inſtant had notice, that there was a greater noiſe than uſual in the Roman camp; that a conſiderable party were march'd up the river; that beating of oars was heard the ſame way; and that a little lower another party had been tranſported croſs the river: whereupon believing the Romans deſigned to croſs the Seine in three ſeveral places at once, and retreat as faſt as they could, becauſe the people of Autun had revolted; CAMULOGENUS likewiſe divided his army into three ſquadrons, one he left for a guard directly over-againſt our camp, and detaching a ſmall party towards Melun, with orders to go as far as the boats were gone before, march'd with the reſt of his forces againſt LABIENUS.

Labienus prepares for a retreat to Sens.

Divides his army into three parties.

The Gauls on notice of it do the like.

By break of day we had tranſported all our forces croſs the river, where we found the enemy ready to receive us. LABIENUS encouraging his men to remember their priſtine virtue, the many battles they had formerly won, and to believe CAESAR himſelf was preſent, under whoſe conduct they had ſo often met with ſucceſs, gave them the ſign of battle. At the very firſt onſet the left wing of the enemy was forced, and routed by the ſeventh legion;

Labienus with three legions croſſes the Seine, engages and defeats one third of the enemy.

WAR in GAUL.

gion; but their right, with whom the twelfth legion engaged, though the first ranks were swept off by the Roman piles, vigorously maintained their ground, without the least suspicion of flight, CAMULOGENUS being present to encourage them. Here the dispute was dubious; when the tribunes of the seventh legion, having notice how matters went, faced about, and attack'd the enemy in the rear, who even then attempted not to fly, but being surrounded on all sides, were cut to pieces with their general. The squadron which had been left behind to guard the passage over against our camp, hearing the two parties were engaged, came to assist their countrymen, and posted themselves on a hill; but not being able to sustain the assault of our victorious soldiers, fled as the other party had done before them; and those who found no shelter from the woods and mountains, were killed by our cavalry. After this success LABIENUS returned to Sens, where he had left the baggage of his legions, and from thence with all his forces marched to CÆSAR.

Another party come to their assistance, and meet with the same fate.

CHAP XXVIII.

The revolted states endeavour to draw others in.

THE rebels, encouraged by the revolt of the Autunois, sent embassadors to sollicit all the states round about to revolt; they made use of their interest, money and authority to effect this design, threatning those who stood neuter, that their hostages, whom CÆSAR had left at Nevers, should suffer for their obstinacy. The Autunois sent deputies to VERCINGETORIX, desiring he would come to them, that they might consult together about the propereſt methods for carrying on the war; but the chief business when he came thither, was to desire he would resign his command to them. The dispute was submitted to the decision of a general council of all the revolted states, to be held at Autun; great numbers flock'd thither by the day appointed, the question was put to the vote, and VERCINGETORIX, by publick consent, was again chosen general. The states of Rheims, Langre and Treves were not present at this council, the first remaining faithful to the people of Rome, and those of Treves, whose country lay at too great a distance, were employ'd at home by the Germans. The Autunois were not a little disturbed to find themselves thus stripped of their sovereignty; they already perceived a mighty change in their fortune, and began to regret the loss of CÆSAR's favour

The Autunois contend with Vercingetorix about the supream management of affairs, and are overruled by majority of votes, which again choose him Generaliſſimo.

favour: but having embarked in the enterprize, there was no room for a retreat; wherefore EPOREDORIX and VIRDUMARUS, two hopeful young gentlemen, were obliged, much againſt their wills, to receive orders from VERCINGETORIX. WAR in GAUL.

Inveſted with this office, VERCINGETORIX commanded the confederates to ſend him hoſtages; and appointed a day for a general rendezvous, at which time they were to furniſh him with 15000 horſe; for he was contented with the foot he had already, becauſe he did not deſign to try his fortune in an engagement; but hoped to intercept the Roman convoys, and cut off their foragers, when he ſhould be ſo well furniſhed with cavalry; provided they would contentedly ſubmit to lay their own country waſte, and ſet fire to their buildings; which damage would ſoon be recompenſed by perpetual liberty and empire. Having diſpatched theſe orders, he commanded the Autunois, and thoſe of *Lyons, which lay neareſt the Roman province, to levy 10000 foot: theſe, with 800 cavalry, he committed to the charge of EPOREDORIX's brother, whom he ordered to make war on †Dauphine and Savoy, commanding likewiſe the people of Gevaudan, and the neighbouring parts of Auvergne, to harraſs Vivarais; as he did thoſe of Roverge and Quercy, to make inroads into Languedoc and Rheims: not omitting, at the ſame time, under-hand to ſollicit the people of Dauphine and Savoy (who he hoped were not well ſatisfy'd with their ſubjection to the Romans) by ſending their noblemen bribes, and promiſing the natives the ſovereignty of the entire Roman province.

Vercingetorix raiſes 15000 horſe.

Sends ſeveral parties againſt the Roman province, Languedoc and Rheims.

To oppoſe this powerful confederacy, CÆSAR had only provided twenty-two cohorts, which he cauſed lieutenant LUCIUS CÆSAR to levy in the province. The people of Vivarais, who made themſelves the aggreſſors, by attacking their neighbours firſt, after the loſs of ſeveral men, with C. VALERIUS DONATURUS, ſon of CABARUS, the principal man in their country, were obliged to quit the field, and retire within their walls. But the Dauphinois and Savoyards, having diſpoſed ſeveral watches along the river Rhoſne, preſerved themſelves by their extraordinary care and diligence. CÆSAR underſtanding that the enemy were ſo much ſuperior to him in

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The people of Vivarais routed by the rebels.

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WAR in GAUL.

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WAR in GAUL.

Cæſar ſends for cavalry to Germany.

horſe, and had blocked up all the paſſages, to prevent his receiving ſupplies from Italy, or the Roman province; ſent to thoſe ſtates of Germany croſs the Rhine, which he had formerly quieted, for cavalry, and ſuch light-arm'd foot as uſed to fight amongſt them: upon their arrival, perceiving they were but ill mounted, he took the horſes from the tribunes of the ſoldiers, the Roman knights, and volunteers, to furniſh them with.

CHAP. XXIX.

Cæſar deſigns to march towards Franchecomte.

Vercingetorix deſigning to ſtop his march, calls a council of war.

IN the mean time the enemy's forces from Auvergne, and the cavalry, which all the confederates were to furniſh, had met at the general rendezvous, CÆSAR was marching towards Franchecomte, through the extreme confines of Langre, when VERCINGETORIX, having notice of his deſign, endeavoured to interrupt his journey; and being arrived, after three days march, within ten miles of the Romans, he ſent for the horſe-officers to council; "And aſſured them the time for victory was now come, for CÆSAR had left Gaul, and was flying to his province; which would certainly give them preſent liberty, but not ſecure them peace and quiet for the future; ſince the Romans did not deſign to quit Gaul, but return with more forces to carry on the war: wherefore that was the only time to attack them, whilſt they were upon their march; for ſhould the foot attempt to aſſiſt the horſe, that muſt of neceſſity put a ſtop to their journey: but if every man ſhould endeavour to ſhift for himſelf, which he thought more likely, they would loſe both their baggage and honour together. For as for the cavalry, they might be aſſured not a man of them durſt venture out of the body of the army: and to ſtrike the greater terror into the enemy, he would draw all his forces out before the camp." The officers unanimouſly deſired, that each man ſhould bind himſelf to perform his duty by a ſolemn imprecation, "Wiſhing that he might never return again to his own houſe, be diſown'd by his children, wife and relations, that ſhould not twice force his way through the Roman army."

The Gauls ſwear to ride twice thro' the Roman army.

Vercingetorix ſends all his horſe to engage the Romans.

Their requeſt being granted, every man took the oath; and VERCINGETORIX dividing his cavalry the next day into three parties, order'd one to attack our van, the other two were to follow at a ſmall diſtance on either ſide. On notice of their deſign, CÆSAR likewiſe divided his

his horſe into three parties, and commanded them to meet the enemy. Both parties being cloſely engaged, CÆSAR ordered the army to halt, the baggage to be received in amongſt the legions, and where he perceived his men to be overcharged, he immediately detached others to their aſſiſtance; which prevented the enemy's gaining ground, and encouraged our ſoldiers, who found themſelves ſo carefully relieved: but at laſt the Germans, having gained a riſing ground, pour'd down with ſuch fury upon the enemy, that they routed, and purſued their left wing as far as the river, where VERCINGETORIX had poſted himſelf with the infantry; which the reſt of the Gauls perceiving, to prevent being ſurrounded, fled as their countrymen had done before them. There was a dreadful ſlaughter in all places; three of the chief noblemen of Autun were taken, and brought to CÆSAR; COTUS, general of their horſe, who had lately diſputed with CONVICTOLITANIS about the magiſtracy; CAVARILLUS, who, after LITAVICUS's revolt, commanded their foot; and EPOREDORIX, who was generaliſſimo for the Autunois againſt the Franchecomtois, before CÆSAR's arrival in Gaul.

WAR in GAUL.

The fight begins.

The Germans horſe break the Gauls left wing, and rout them.

All the reſt are put to flight.

Cotus, Cavarillus and Eporedorix taken priſoners.

The enemy's horſe being routed, VERCINGETORIX withdrew his forces, and immediately marched to Aliſe, a town of * Duſemois, commanding the baggage to follow him; CÆSAR leaving his, under a guard of two legions, purſued him as far as the day would permit, and, having killed about 3000 of the enemy's rear, arrived the next day at Aliſe. He took a view of the place, and having daunted the enemy by the defeat of their horſe, in which they moſt confided, encouraged his men to draw a line of circumvallation about the town.

Vercingetorix marches to Aliſe. Alexia.

* Mandubii. This country lies in the dioceſs of Langre, but has ſome dependance on that of Autun, according to Sanſon. Diodorus ſays, Aliſe was built by Hercules.

CHAP. XXX.

ALISE was not to be taken without a formal ſiege, becauſe it ſtands on the ſummit of a very high hill, whoſe bottom, on both ſides, is water'd by two ſeveral rivers: before the town is a valley, which extends about three miles in length, but every part beſides is ſurrounded by mountains of an equal height, placed at a moderate diſtance from each other. Under the walls, on that ſide of the town towards the eaſt, lay all the enemy's forces encamp'd,

The ſituation of Aliſe.

The Gauls encamp cloſe under the walls of the town.

WAR in GAUL.

who had fortified themſelves with a ditch, and a wall of ſtones heaped up eight foot high: the Roman lines were eleven miles in circuit; their camp lay in a convenient place, where they had built three and twenty turrets; in theſe ſentinels were placed to obſerve the enemy's motions by day, and in the night they were guarded by a continual watch and ſtrong garriſons.

The firſt line of circumvallation drawn by the Romans, included eleven miles; twenty-three towers built on it.

Whilſt we were employed about our works, there happened a ſkirmiſh on the plain (which we told you extended three miles) between our's and the enemy's horſe: perceiving his party over-powered, CÆSAR ſent the Germans to their aſſiſtance, and drew the legions out before the camp, to be in readineſs in caſe the enemy's foot ſhould make a ſally: our men encouraged to ſee the legions ready to relieve them, ſoon routed the enemy, who crowded ſo cloſe that they hinder'd each other's retreat, and ſtuck faſt between the gates of their camp: the Germans purſued them to their fortifications, where they put great numbers of them to the ſword, and ſome quitting their horſes, endeavoured to croſs the ditch, and get over the wall: whereupon CÆSAR commanded the legions, which were drawn out before the camp, to advance a little further. Nor were the enemy within the walls in leſs confuſion than thoſe without; believing we deſigned to force their camp, they ſounded an alarm; ſome fled into the town for ſafety, and VERCINGETORIX was obliged to ſhut the gates, leſt the camp ſhould be deſerted: ſo, after a great ſlaughter, the Germans returned with a conſiderable booty of horſes.

A ſkirmiſh on the plain before the town between the cavalry: the Gauls worſted.

The Germans return, after having made a great ſlaughter, with a conſiderable booty.

CHAP. XXXI.

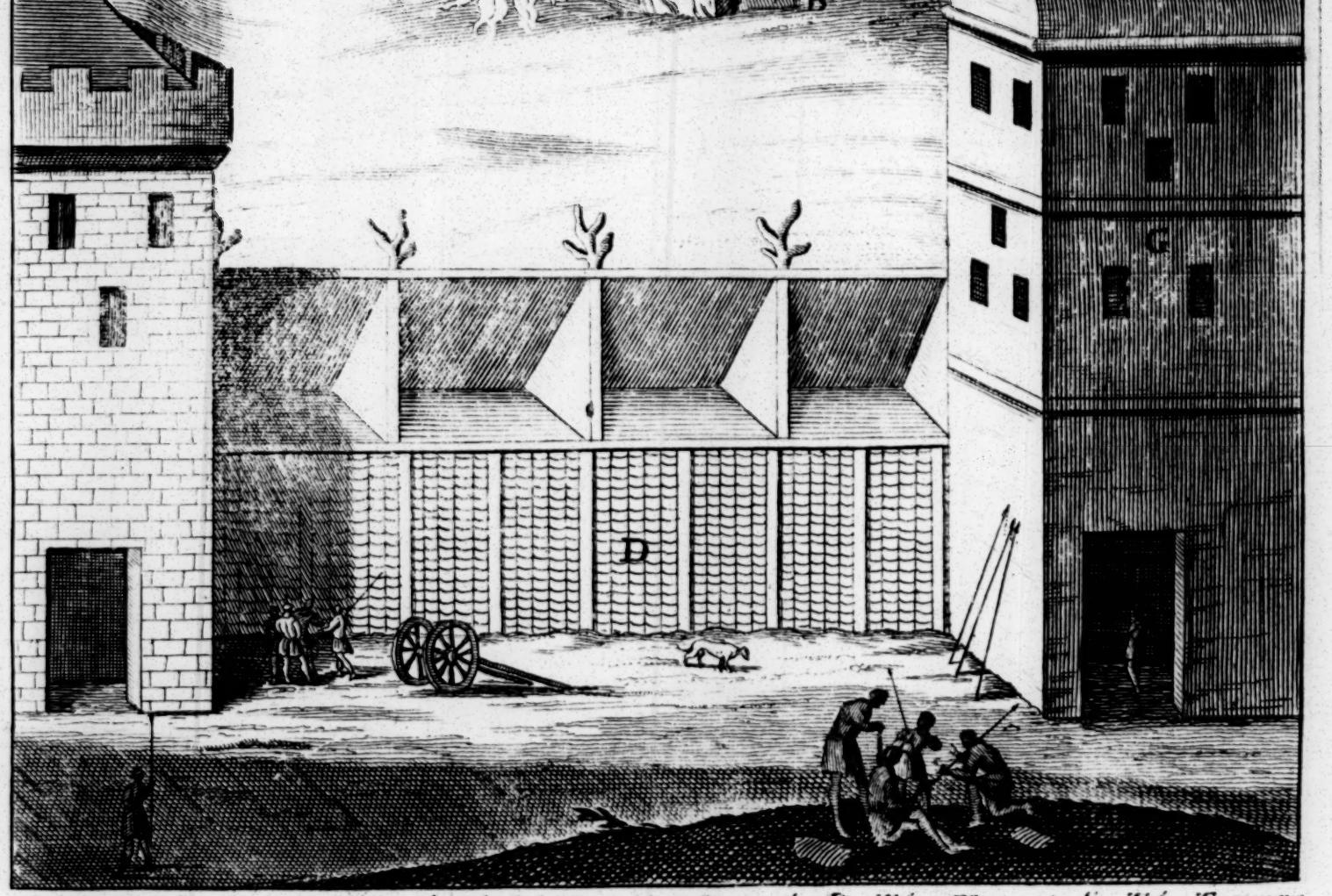
BEFORE our fortifications were compleat, VERCINGETORIX thought fit to diſmiſs all his cavalry by night: he commanded them at their departure, to return to their ſeveral countries, and raiſe all the men that were able to bear arms: he put them in mind of the ſervices he had done them, and conjured them not to abandon him as a ſacrifice to the enemy's rage, who had ſo well merited from the publick liberty; adding, that by computation he found he had only corn left for thirty days, which, by good huſbandry, might hold out a little longer; but if they were negligent in performing his commands, 80000 choſen men muſt periſh with him. Having given them theſe orders, he ſent them out privately,

Vercingetorix ſends away all his cavalry; orders them to bring along with them all that were able to bear arms.

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Usseldon.





A. Ufseldon. B. The fountain. C. The Burning Barrels. D. The Mount. G. The Towers
equall ye height of ye Fountain.

ly about ten at night, by the way where our works were not compleat. So ſoon as they were gone, he commanded the town, upon pain of death, to bring in all their corn, which he began to meaſure out very ſparingly; he diſtributed the cattle, which he had received in great numbers from the people of Duſemois, amongſt his ſoldiers; and received all the forces which were encamped under the walls into the town, deſigning there to expect relief from the confederates; and thus he reſolved to manage the war.

Cæſar's works at Alſe.

CÆSAR, having notice of his deſigns from the priſoners and deſerters, prepared theſe fortifications to diſappoint him: firſt he cut a ditch twenty foot over with perpendicular ſides, as broad at the bottom as the top; all the other fortifications were 400 foot further off the town than this ditch; for he thought it neceſſary to encompaſs ſo large a circuit of ground, that his works might not eaſily be ſurrounded on all ſides, nor ſurpriſed in the night; as likewiſe that the ſoldiers, who were employed about them, might be beyond the reach of the enemy's darts. Obſerving this diſtance, he drew two other ditches fifteen foot broad and deep, and filled up the innermoſt, which lay in a marſhy ground, with water from the river. Beyond theſe he cut a trench, and caſt up a rampier twelve foot high, which he ſurrounded with a breaſt-work of pales and hurdles, fixed ſharp forked ſtakes into the bank, to prevent the enemy from approaching where the rampier and breaſt-work joined, and ſurrounded the whole with turrets at eighty foot diſtance from each other.

A ditch twenty foot over with perpendicular ſides.

Two more ditches fifteen foot broad and deep, the innermoſt fill'd with water.

A rampier with a breaſt-work.

But perceiving our men, who were obliged to forage, and provide materials at the ſame time for ſo great a work, were often cut off when they wander'd too far from the camp; and that the Gauls, ſometimes making a vigorous ſally from ſeveral parts of the town together, attempted to force his lines, CÆSAR thought it neceſſary to make more additions to them, that they might be defended with the ſmaller number.

Cippi.

* Wherefore, having prepared ſeveral trunks of trees and ſtrong boughs, he cut them even at the top, and ſharpened every grain; then drawing another ditch about the town, five foot in depth, he planted as many rows

* It appears, by what follows after, that theſe Cippi were placed immediately next to the innermoſt ditch, which CÆSAR tells you had water in it, as the Lilia and Stimuli were between theſe and the great ditch twenty foot broad, which was the fartheſt toward the town.

WAR in GAUL.

of theſe trees in it, which he faſten'd to each other at the bottom, that they might not eaſily be pulled out; their tops ſtood up ſomething higher than the even ground, and they were ſo interwoven with each other, that it was impoſſible for the enemy, if they came that way, to avoid falling on the ſpikes, which the Romans called * Cippos.

Lilia.

Before theſe, in order of Quincunx, were pits dug three foot deep, † ſomething narrower at the bottom than the top; into theſe were driven ſtakes, about the thickneſs of a man's thigh, firſt hardened in the fire, and ſharpened at the end; they were rooted twelve inches deep in the earth, and only permitted to appear four fingers breadth above ground; the mouth of theſe pits were covered with ſmall twigs and oſiers to deceive the enemy; eight ſeveral rows of this work were made, at three foot diſtance from each other, which they called Lilia for the likeneſs they bore to that flower.

Stimuli.

Before theſe likewiſe were placed another kind of works, called Stimuli, which were poles with iron hooks at the end of them; and thoſe they drove into the earth up to the heads, all over the place, at a moderate diſtance from one another.

The ſame works he made outward.

Theſe works compleated, encompaſſing another ſpace of ground, as even as the nature of the place admitted, which extended fourteeen miles in circuit, he made the very ſame fortifications outwards; that if any accident ſhould require his abſence from the camp, it might eaſily hold out againſt a conſiderable number of the enemy's forces:

* Some old editions read this Cappos, which LIPSIUS has converted into Scapos, and I think not without reaſon, though VOSSIUS is very angry at him for it: Cippi were pillars ſometimes ſet up in memory of the dead; but oftner for land-marks, as they between the capitol and Flaminian way, which had this inſcription on it: ID. QUOD. INTRA. CIPPOS. AD CAMPUM. VERSUS. SOLI. EST. A. CÆSARE. AUGUSTO. REDEMPTUM. PRIVATO. PUBLICAVIT. You may obſerve in the following paragraph, CÆSAR ſays the Lilia were ſo called, for the likeneſs their figure had to the Lilly; now therefore ſuppoſing theſe Cippi or Scapi to have been called ſo upon the ſame account (which is but reaſonable to imagine) the cloſe branches of the trees, which were prepared for this uſe, will much ſooner claim kindred with Scapi or Scopi, the buſhy ſtocks on which cluſters of grapes grow, then with Cippi, pillars or land-marks, which were as often made of ſtone as wood.

† *Paulatim anguſtiore ad ſummum faſtigio*, which monſieur D'ABLANCOURT tranſlates narrower at the top, *Un peu etroites par le haut*. But then what will become of the likeneſs this ſort of work ſhould have to the lilly? LIPSIUS therefore would have this *ſummum* be converted into *imum*, which VOSSIUS oppoſes; for there is no occaſion to alter the text, ſince *ad ſummum ſcrobis*, may as well ſignify to the bottom of the pit, as *altum mare* the deep ſea. On this occaſion VOSSIUS has juſtly ridiculed URSINUS, for triſling about the various reading of this place; but, at the ſame inſtant, has thrown away above thrice the time, to confute LIPSIUS in a point of as little importance: ſo eaſily do the wiſeſt men over-look their own failings.

forces: and that his ſoldiers might run no more hazard in foraging than was neceſſary, he commanded both horſe and foot ſhould be furniſhed with thirty days proviſions. WAR in GAUL.

CHAP. XXXII.

WHILST theſe affairs were in agitation at Aliſe, the princes of Gaul held a general council, where it was not thought proper to comply with VERCINGETORIX's deſire, in ſending all that were able to bear arms; but reſolved that each ſtate ſhould furniſh a certain quota, leſt it ſhould be impoſſible to get proviſions for ſo confuſed a number, whom the officers could not poſſibly know, or govern by military diſcipline: wherefore thoſe of Autun, with their vaſſals, the * Seguſiani, Ambivareti, Aulerci, Brannovices (or Brannovij) were ordered to furniſh 35000: thoſe of Auvergne, with the free people of Quercy, Gevaudan and Velais, which were formerly their vaſſals, the like number: Sens, Franchecomte, † Berry, Xantonge, Roverge, and Chartres, each 12000: Beauvois and Limoſin, each 10000: Poictou, Turenne, Paris || Viverais, and Soiſſons, each 8000: Amiens, Metz, Hainault, Teroüenne, and Agen, 5000 each: Maine as many: Arras 4000: Vexen, Leiſeux, Eureux, and Liege, each 3000: Baſle and Burgundy 30000: Bretaigne, Normandy, and the other maritime countries, as thoſe of Cornoüalle, Auranches, Rhenes, Caux, Landreguet, Vannes, and Coutance, together 6000: but the people of Beauvois refuſed to furniſh the quota which was aſſeſſed them, ſaying, They would wage an independant war themſelves, for they ſcorned to be commanded by any one, till out of reſpect to COMIUS they complied ſo far as to ſend 2000. This COMIUS (as we have already taken notice) had been ſo faithful and ſerviceable to CÆSAR in his Engliſh expedition, that he freed his country from all impoſitions, reſtored them the uſe of their ancient laws and cuſtoms, and gave him the country of Teroüenne for his loyalty; but ſo great was

The Gauls hold a council:

Give orders for each ſtate to furniſh a particular quota for the relief of Aliſe.

Eleutheri.

Velauni.

Aulerci Cenomani.

* The Seguſiani we have already explained to be the Lionois; Ambivareti or Ambivariti, Sanſon places at Nevers; but who theſe Aulerci were, can hardly be imagined; 'tis certain, they cannot be the Aulerci mentioned before, becauſe of the diſtance of place; nor could any body ever yet determine, who the Brannovices or Brannovij were.

† Or rather the dioceſs of Bourges, which contains Berry, part of Burgundy and Touraine.

|| I have render'd this Viverais, according to VOSSIUS's opinion, who ſays the text ſhould not be Eleutheri Sueſſones but Helvij, Sueſſones, two different ſtates; but what could make monſ. D'ABLANCOURT miſtake Sueſſones for the Swiſs, I cannot conceive.

WAR in GAUL.

the univerſal deſire of the Gauls, at this inſtant, to recover their priſtine liberty and honour, that neither friendſhip nor gratitude were ſufficient to diſſuade any one from embarking in the publick cauſe, for the promotion whereof no man ſpared either money or labour. Having raiſed 8000 horſe, and 240000 foot, they reviewed them in Autun, where they choſe the general officers, the chief of which were COMIUS of Arras, VIRDUMARUS and EPOREDORIX of Autun, and VERGASILAUNUS of Auvergne, couſin-german to VERCINGETORIX; to theſe were added other officers, who were to aſſiſt at councils of war, choſen out of every country. Thus chearful, and big with expectation, they ſet forward to Aliſe, each man perſuading himſelf that the Romans would not have the courage to look ſo vaſt an army in the face, while frequent ſallies from the town ſhould render the ſucceſs dubious, and ſuch numbers of horſe and foot ſhould be held without.

They muſter their forces, 8000 horſe, and 240000 foot in Autun: chooſe Comius, Virdumarus, Eporedorix, and Vergaſilaunus generals. March full of hope to Aliſe.

CHAP. XXXIII.

IN the mean time the beſieged at Aliſe, having conſumed all their proviſions, the day being paſſed which was appointed for the return of their friends, and being wholly ignorant of what was doing in Autun, ſummoned a council to determine what methods they ſhould take in that extremity: ſeveral opinions were propoſed, ſome were for ſurrendring, and others were for breaking through the enemy, whilſt their ſtrength would permit: Amongſt the reſt I muſt not omit a ſpeech which is remarkable for its extraordinary and inhumane cruelty: it was made by CROTOGNATUS, a nobleman of Auvergne, whoſe authority was equal to his birth. "I ſhall not, ſays he, trouble myſelf with their opinion, who colour ignoble ſervitude with the gentle name of ſurrender; men unworthy to be accounted citizens, much more to ſit in this auguſt aſſembly: rather let me join with thoſe who talk of ſallies, in whoſe advice, you all agree, appear remains of the ancient Gallic virtue. Yet I muſt tell you, what you miſtake for courage, is only the effect of that effeminacy, which knows not how to ſuffer want; for many of their own accord have welcomed death, whoſe patience would not have ſupported them under pain: however, for my part, I ſhould readily ſubmit to their opinion, if our lives only depended on the event of this

The beſieg'd hold a council of war.

Crotognatus his ſpeech.

affair; for I always had a particualr regard for honour: but the whole kingdom of Gaul, which we have engaged in our quarrel, muſt receive its deſtiny from our reſolves. Should fourſcore thouſand men be ſlain in this place, what courage, think you, could their friends and relations have, to engage the enemy almoſt upon their carcaſſes? Far be it from us, therefore, to ruin thoſe who have chearfully embraced all dangers for our preſervation; let not our raſhneſs or inbecillity of mind undo our native country, and plunge it into perpetual bondage. Why ſhould we deſpair of the faith and conſtancy of our allies, becauſe they have not been punctual to their day? ſurely it ſhould not be taken for an argument of the Romans courage, that they daily enlarge their outward works; if therefore they have intercepted our couriers, let them witneſs for the approach of our friends, who apprehending their return, labour both day and night to compleat their fortifications. If you would follow my advice, let us imitate the example of our anceſtors, who in that far more dangerous war, with the Cimbers and Teutons, being ſhut up within their towns, and reduced to the ſame neceſſity, did not ſurrender, but ſuſtained themſelves by the bodies of thoſe, whoſe age had rendered them unuſeful for the war: and if antiquity had not furniſhed us with ſo glorious a precedent to follow, we ought to have made one ourſelves, for the ſake of our publick liberty, and the inſtruction of poſterity. Gaul never was engaged in a more dangerous war, never laboured under greater extremities, than when ſhe was harraſſed by theſe Cimbers; yet at length they quitted their country, and marched to another, leaving us our land, our cuſtoms, laws and liberties intire. But what deſign brought the Romans hither? except the envy of ſubduing a renown'd and warlike people, poſſeſſing their country, and making them perpetual ſlaves: for they never yet made war upon any other account. If you are ignorant of their tranſactions in remoter countries, caſt your eyes upon the neighbouring Gaul, which is reduced to a province, deprived of its laws and cuſtoms, and labours under an eternal yoke of arbitrary power."

WAR in GAUL.

The matter being put to the vote, it was firſt reſolved that the ſick and aged ſhould quit the town, and that all other methods ſhould be tried, before thoſe propounded by CROTOGNATUS; whoſe advice, however, they deſigned to put in practice, rather than ſubmit to a treaty or ſurrender.

They reſolve to expel the ſick and aged out of the towns

WAR in GAUL.

ſurrender. Thus the natives of Duſemois, who had received them into Aliſe, were expelled their own city, together with their wives and children, approaching the Roman lines, with tears in their eyes, they moſt humbly begg'd to be receiv'd as ſlaves, and ſaved from periſhing by famine: but CÆSAR, having diſpoſed a guard all about the works, refuſed them entrance.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The confederates arrive at Aliſe.

IN the mean while COMIUS, and the other general officers, with all their forces, were arrived at Aliſe, and had lodged themſelves upon a hill, not above 500 paces from our works. The day after, drawing out all their cavalry, they filled the valley, which as we have already ſaid, extended three miles in length; and ranged their infantry, not far from the ſame place, upon the riſing ground. Aliſe commanded a view of all the country round, the beſieged ſoon diſcovered their allies; met together, joyfully congratulated each other on their arrival, and drawing out all their forces before the town, began to fill up the firſt ditch with mould and faſcines, and prepare all other materials for a vigorous ſally.

The beſieg'd perceiving they are come, prepare for a ſally.

Cæſar orders the cavalry to ſally out upon the enemy.

CÆSAR having diſpoſed his army on both ſides the works, that every ſoldier might know, and be ready to maintain his particular poſt, commanded the cavalry to ſally out upon the enemy. From thoſe parts of the camp which lay upon the higher ground, might eaſily be ſeen what was done in the field; and the whole army were mighty intent on the ſucceſs of the engagement. The Gauls had intermixed ſmall numbers of light-armed foot and archers among their horſe, to aſſiſt them, and ſuſtain the attack of our troops; who wounded ſeveral of our cavalry unawares, and obliged them to quit the battle: whereupon the Gauls, believing ſucceſs enclined to their ſide, becauſe our men were oppreſſed by their numbers, encouraged each other by a joyful ſhout, which was returned by the beſieged: the place where the conflict was, lay open to the view of both armies; neither noble nor cowardly actions could be concealed; ſo the deſire of applauſe, or fear of ignominy, ſpurr'd on each ſide to do their utmoſt. Victory had now continued dubious from noon till almoſt ſun-ſet, when the Germans in cloſe united ranks made a furious charge upon the enemy, put them to flight, ſurrounded their archers, and cut them to pieces;

The Germans charge the enemy, and rout them.

our


AMAP OF
ROMAN EM
according to
Ortelius
BRITANNICÆ INSULÆ
Hebrides Ins
Orcades
Oceanus GERMANICUS
HIBERNIA
GER
MANIA
Oceanus Britannicus
Oceanus Cantabricus
Aquitania
GALLIA
Helvetii
Pannonia
Noricum
DACIA
Mare Inferum
HISPANIA
Balcares Insulæ
MARE
MEDITERR
OCEANUS ATLANTICUS
Fretum Gaditanum
Numidia
MAURITANIA CÆSARIENSIS
TINGITANA
Atlas major mons
AFRICA MINOR
Sicilia
Sardinia
GRECIA
Macedonia
Boreum prom
Syrtis magna
Leptis Magna
Insulæ Fortunatæ
Vacuum prom
Bocanum hermerum
Tamusia
Durcja
20
30
40
50
60

AP OF THE
AN EMPIRE
cording to
Ortelius



our men purſued the Gauls ſo cloſe, they gave them no leiſure to rally, till they were arrived at their camp; upon which the beſieged, almoſt deſpairing of victory, returned very melancholy to the town again.

After this diſappointment the Gauls allowed themſelves one day's reſpite, during which time they prepared great plenty of facines, ſcaling-ladders and iron hooks; then leaving their camp about midnight, with great ſilence, they came to our outward works: ſo ſoon as they were arrived there, ſetting up a ſhout, to give their allies in the town notice of their approach, they began to fill up the ditches with their facines, to diſlodge our men from the rampier with ſlings, ſtones and arrows, and to apply all other things neceſſary for a ſtorm: VERCINGETORIX, hearing their ſummons, ſounded an alarm, and led all his forces out of the town. Our men, who had their ſeveral poſts allotted them, repaired to the fortifications, and ply'd the enemy cloſe with their ſlings, darts, bullets and engines: it was very dark, and many were wounded on both ſides; but M. ANTHONY and C. TREBONIUS took care to draw out parties from the farther caſtles, to relieve the ſoldiers under their command, who were the moſt preſſed by the enemy.

The Gauls attempt to force the Roman works a ſecond time, but in vain.

Whilſt the Gauls were at the greateſt diſtance from the works, they did more execution with their darts than when they came nearer; for then they run themſelves unawares upon the Stimuli, fell into the Lilies, and were wounded with the ſpikes, or were killed by the piles that were caſt from the rampier and turrets. Many wounds had been received on both ſides, and no part of our fortifications forced, when day-light appearing, the Gauls were apprehenſive they ſhould be flank'd by a ſally from the higher ground, and therefore retreated; but the beſieged had ſpent all this time in filling up the firſt ditch, and were informed of their allies retreat, before they could come near the works themſelves, therefore returned again to the town without effecting any thing.

CHAP XXXV.

THUS twice repulſed with loſs, the Gauls began to conſult what methods they ſhould take; and having adviſed with thoſe that knew the ground, from them they were informed of the nature of our works, the ſituation of our higher camp, and learnt that on the north ſide of Aliſe

The Gauls conſult about a third attack.

WAR in GAUL.

Aliſe lay ſo large a hill, that the Romans could not encompaſs it within their works, but were obliged to take up their quarters there upon an uneven ground; that this place was guarded by the lieutenants C. ANTISTIUS RHEGINUS, and C. CANINIUS REBILUS, with two legions: whereupon having ſent out their ſcouts for further knowledge of the place, their general drew out 55000 choſen men, from amongſt thoſe ſtates that are eſteemed the moſt warlike, privately reſolved what means were moſt proper for the management of this deſign, and appointed the time for the aſſault about noon: VERGACILAUNUS of Auvergne (VERCINGETORIX's relation) one of the four principal commanders, who had the charge of this party, leaving the camp about nine o'clock, finiſhed his journey before day; and poſting his troops behind a hill, ordered the ſoldiers to refreſh themſelves after their march. When noon approached he went to RHEGINUS's quarters, at the ſame inſtant the enemy's cavalry approached our works, and the reſt of the army ſhewed themſelves drawn up in order of battle before their camp. Which VERCINGETORIX beholding from the tower of Aliſe, ſailed out of the town, carrying along with him a great many facines, long poles, penthouſes, hooks, and ſuch other inſtruments he had prepared for that purpoſe; the diſpute was maintained on every ſide at once, for the Gauls left nothing unattempted to accompliſh their deſire, ſtill flocking to thoſe parts of the works which appeared to be weakeſt. The Roman forces were obliged to divide themſelves into ſeveral parties, nor would the ſmallneſs of their number eaſily permit them to be preſent in all places at once: it was no ſmall diſcouragement to them to hear the noiſe behind their backs, conſidering their ſafety depended on other mens courage; for all people are moſt apprehenſive of the dangers which they cannot ſee. CÆSAR having poſted himſelf in a convenient place, from whence he might deſcry what was done in all parts, detach'd freſh ſupplies to ſuſtain thoſe that were over-charged, and encouraged the whole army, telling them, that was the only time to give proofs of their virtue, for if the Gauls were not able to force their lines, they would certainly deſpair of ſucceſs, and the Romans might expect an end of their labours. The chief ſtreſs of the battle lay at the higher fortifications, where VERGASILAUNUS was engaged; which, though a very ſmall place, was of great importance, becauſe of its declivity. Some of the enemy's

Vergaſilaunus with 55000 choſen men goes to attack Antiſtius's quarters.

The Gauls within and without at the ſame time aſſault the Roman works.

Cæſar relieves his men, and encourages them to fight.

my's forces were employ'd in throwing darts, whilſt others caſting themſelves into a teſtudo, approach'd the works, freſh men ſtill relieving the weary. They had ſoon thrown up a mount, which did not only furniſh them with an aſcent, but covered and entirely defeated the uſe of thoſe works the Romans had made in the ground. In fine, our men had been ſo long employed, that they had neither ſtrength nor weapons left; wherefore CÆSAR ſent LABIENUS with ſix cohorts to their aſſiſtance, commanding him, if he found himſelf unable to maintain the works, to ſally out upon the enemy, but not otherwiſe. He himſelf went in perſon to encourage the reſt of the army, aſſuring them, that upon that hour's ſucceſs depended the reward of all their former toils. The beſieged having already in vain attempted the lower fortifications, were reſolved to try their fortunes in the higher and uneven ground; thither therefore they brought all the inſtruments they had got ready, drove our men by ſhowers of darts from the turrets, levelled the way with facines, raiſed a mount, and from thence began to break down the rampier and breaſt-works. So ſoon as CÆSAR had notice of their effort, he firſt detached young BRUTUS with ſix cohorts to maintain the place; after him lieutenant FABIUS with ſeven more, and at laſt, when the diſpute grew very warm, went thither himſelf in perſon with another ſupply: Having renew'd the fight with freſh vigour, and repulſed the enemy, he march'd to the place whither he had ſent LABIENUS, with four cohorts, which he drew out of the next turrets, commanding one party of horſe to follow him, and another to take a circuit round about the outward works, and attack the enemy in the rear. In the mean time LABIENUS, finding neither ditches nor the rampier were ſufficient to defend him againſt the enemy's aſſault, had drawn out thirty-nine cohorts from the neareſt quarters thereabouts, and ſent CÆSAR word what he thought neceſſary to be done; upon which he made what haſte he could to be preſent at the engagement. His arrival was ſoon perceived by the colour of his garments, which he uſed to wear in battle, and the troops of horſe and cohorts which he had ordered to follow him being diſcovered from the higher ground, the fight began; they ſet up a ſhout on both ſides, which was returned from the rampier, and all the fortifications round: the Romans having caſt their piles, fell upon the enemy ſword in hand; the cavalry which were ſent about, ſoon ſhew'd

Labienus detached to the relief of Antiſtius.

The beſieg'd vigorouſly attempt the higher works.

Cæſar ſends Brutus and Fabius to maintain the place; comes thither himſelf.

The enemy repulſed, Cæſar goes to Labienus.

Labienus ſallies out upon Vergaſilaunus's party.

WAR in GAUL.

ſhew'd themſelves in the enemy's rear, more cohorts came up to our aſſiſtance, and the Gauls were routed: our horſe purſued and ſlew great numbers of them, amongſt the reſt SEDULIUS, prince and general of Limoſin; VERGASILAUNUS was taken priſoner, ſeventy-four ſtandards were brought to CÆSAR, and very few of the 55000 eſcaped. The beſieged, beholding with deſpair the rout and ſlaughter that was made amongſt their allies, retreated from the works. On the news of this bad ſucceſs, all the Gauls deſerted their camp, and had not our ſoldiers been fatigued by perpetual labour, and relieving each other, their whole army might eaſily have been cut to pieces: however, about midnight CÆSAR detached the cavalry to purſue them, who falling in with their rear, took many priſoners, and ſlew great numbers, but the reſt eſcaped to their ſeveral countries.

Routs him.

Sedulius of Limoſin ſlain.

Vergaſillaunus taken priſoner.

The beſieg'd on this defeat retire from the works, and the Gauls without deſert their camp.

CHAP. XXXVI.

THE day after, VERCINGETORIX having ſummoned a general council, reminded the beſieged, "That he had not undertaken that war for his own private intereſt, but for the ſake of the publick liberty; however, ſince the power of fortune was not to be reſiſted, he would freely ſubmit to be ſacrificed himſelf for an attonement to the Romans, whether they ſhould think fit to demand his head, or to have him delivered alive into their power." Upon which they ſent embaſſadors to know CÆSAR's pleaſure, who ordered them to ſurrender their arms, and deliver up all their noblemen. They obeyed his commands, bringing VERCINGETORIX amongſt the reſt. CÆSAR, ſitting in the fortifications before the camp, diſtributed the priſoners among his ſoldiers for a booty, excepting only the natives of Autun and Auvergne, hoping by their means to recover the other ſtates. This affair thus ended, he marched directly to Autun: on his arrival the country ſubmitted, and thoſe of Auvergne did the like by their embaſſadors: he demanded a conſiderable number of hoſtages from them both, and returned them about 20000 captives; then ſent his legions into winter-quarters. LABIENUS, with two legions and the horſe, he ſent to Franchecomte, joining M. SEMPRONIUS RUTILIUS with him for an aſſiſtant: C. FABIUS and L. MINUTIUS BASILIUS, with two other legions, he placed at Rheims, to prevent any inſurrections at Beauvois:

Vercingetorix calls a general council.

The beſieg'd ſend embaſſadors to treat of a ſurrender.

Aliſe ſurrenders at diſcretion.

Vercingetorix deliver'd up.

Cæſar marches to Autun, which ſubmits, with Auvergne.

Cæſar returns them 20000 captives. Sends his legions into winter-quarters.

vois: C. ANTISTIUS RHEGINUS he detached to the country of Nevers; T. SEXTIUS to Berry; and C. CANINIUS REBILUS to Rouverge; each with a ſingle legion: Q. TILLIUS CICERO and P. SULPICIUS he detached to Chalon and Maſcon, upon the river Soan, in the country of Autun, to take care for proviſions; quartering himſelf at the capital of the ſame ſtate. So ſoon as the ſenate were informed by advice from CÆSAR of this ſummer's campaign, they proclaimed a publick thankſgiving of twenty days for his ſucceſs. WAR in GAUL. Matiſcon.

A SUP-

A SUPPLEMENT TO C. J. Cæſar's Commentary OF HIS WAR in GAUL.

THE EIGHTH BOOK.

Vide Suet. Tranquil. in Vita Julij.

By ſome attributed to A. Hirtius Panſa, *by others to* Oppius.

The author's preface to his book. New commotions in Gaul. Berry and Chartres laid waſte by CÆSAR. *Beauvois and ſeveral other ſtates ſubdued. Rebellion in Poictou, Chartres, Normandy and Britain, quell'd by* C. FABIUS. *A victory obtained by* CANINIUS. USSELDON *taken by* CÆSAR. COMIUS *defeated and pardoned. The following year, the whole kingdom of Gaul being quieted,* CÆSAR's *enemies at Rome conſpire againſt him.*

Hirtius's preface.

IN compliance to your repeated deſires, I have at laſt, BALBUS, undertaken a very difficult taſk, and continued our CÆSAR's incomparable memoirs of his wars in Gaul, and thoſe of ALEXANDRIA, which he left imperfect, not only to the end of the civil war, but of his life; fearing you ſhould believe my daily refuſals proceeded from idleneſs, rather than a juſt ſenſe

ſenſe of my own diſability. I wiſh my readers may conſider with how much reluctancy I embark'd in this affair, and not impute it either to my folly or arrogance, that I have preſumed to place my writings between thoſe of CÆSAR, whoſe commentaries, though only deſigned by him to preſerve the memory of ſo many glorious actions, for the benefit of other hiſtorians, could never yet be equall'd by the moſt accurate writers: and are ſo much eſteemed by all mankind, that they have rather deprived future authors of the opportunity, than furniſhed them with materials for compiling a larger hiſtory. But we, BALBUS, have more reaſon to admire him than the reſt of the world, who only know how polite and correct his performances are, whilſt we are acquainted in how ſhort a time he compoſed them. CÆSAR was as happy in the true knowledge of his own counſels and deſigns, as in an elegant ſtile: but for my part, I neither had the good fortune to be preſent at the Alexandrian nor African wars; which though I have been partly informed of from his diſcourſe, yet we give a very different attention to thoſe things, whoſe novelty attract our admiration, and thoſe we deſign to atteſt to poſterity. But I ſhall add no more on this ſubject, leſt any one ſhould miſconſtrue my excuſes for pride, and believe me guilty of the vanity to think myſelf comparable to CÆSAR, whilſt I am alledging all the reaſons I can invent to the contrary.

WAR in GAUL.

CHAP. I.

GAUL was now again reduced, and CÆSAR deſigned to refreſh his ſoldiers in winter-quarters, after the laſt ſummer's fatigue, which had not allow'd them a moment's reſpite from the war, when he was informed that ſeveral ſtates were at the ſame inſtant conſpiring about a new revolt. The reaſon reported for the ground of this reſolution was, that the Gauls were convinced no power they were able to bring into the field, was ſufficient to reſiſt the Roman army entire; but hoped, if ſo many countries revolted at once, the Romans could neither have time, nor forces enough to ſubdue them all: nor ought that ſingle ſtate, to whoſe lot it ſhould happen, refuſe to ſubmit to any inconvenience, ſo the reſt might be enabled, by that diverſion, to recover their liberty.

Several ſtates revolt.

Leſt the Gauls ſhould be confirmed in this opinion, CÆSAR leaving M. ANTONY the treaſurer to command

WAR in GAUL.

his winter-quarters, quitted Autun the laſt of December, and went with a guard of cavalry to the twelfth legion, which he had lodged in Berry, on the confines of Autun: and having joined the eleventh legion, which lay not far off, leaving two cohorts for a guard to his baggage, he ravaged the moſt fruitful parts of Berry; which being a large country, and having many towns, could not be awed into obedience, and deterred from conſpiracies by a ſingle legion.

Cæſar marches into Berry.

Lays the country waſte.

It happened, by CÆSAR's ſudden arrival, as of neceſſity it muſt, that they who were unprovided and diſperſed in the fields, were ſurprized by the horſe, before they could make their eſcape into their towns: for he had taken care to prohibit burning of their houſes, the uſual ſign of an invaſion, leſt he ſhould want corn or forage if he went too far into the country, and the enemy ſhould have warning to take care of themſelves. Many thouſands of the natives were taken, and others, upon the Romans firſt coming, fled for ſhelter to the neighbouring ſtates, depending either upon their ancient acquaintance, or the intereſt which their conſpiracy had united. But CÆSAR diſappointed them; for he arrived ſo unexpectedly, by long marches, in all the countries they had retired to, that he allow'd them no time to provide for themſelves, much leſs to take care of their neighbours: by which diſpatch he confirmed his friends in their fidelity, and obliged the wavering to accept of peace. At laſt the people of Berry, perceiving CÆSAR, on delivery of hoſtages, had pardoned and received the other ſtates into protection, were glad to embrace the merciful opportunity for regaining his favour, and followed their neighbours example.

Takes ſeveral priſoners.

Some fly for refuge to the neighbouring ſtates.

Berry ſubmits.

CÆSAR promiſed each ſoldier, as a reward for the hardſhips they had undergone in this expedition, by the ſeaſon, the difficulty of the roads, and the intolerable cold, the ſum of 200 ſeſterces; to every centurion 2000, inſtead of plunder; and having ſent the legions back to their quarters, after forty days abſence, returned to Autun. Here he was diſtributing of juſtice, when embaſſadors from Berry came to pray aſſiſtance againſt the people of Chartres, who had invaded their country. Immediately on advice of theſe commotions, though he had not reſted above eighteen days, having drawn out the ſixth and fourteenth legions from their quarters on the banks of the Soan (where he had poſted them, as you may obſerve

Cæſar rewards his ſoldiers for the hardſhips they had ſuffered in this expedition, and returns to Autun.

The people of Berry deſire aſſiſtance againſt thoſe of Chartres.

ſerve in the former commentary, to take care of provi- WAR in GAUL.
ſions) he march'd againſt the people of Chartres; who upon the firſt notice of our approach, being terrified with the puniſhment that others had met with, deſerted thoſe little towns and villages, which they had run up after the deſtruction of their more conſiderable buildings, to defend them from the winter's cold, and diſperſed themſelves into ſeveral parts of the country. CÆSAR being loth his ſoldiers ſhould endure the ſharp ſtorms, which frequently happened at that ſeaſon, took up his quarters at Orleans, diſpoſing part of his army in thoſe houſes which the Gauls had rebuilt, and thatch'd the barracks with ſtraw, which the natives had left imperfect, to ſhelter the reſt. But he diſperſed his cavalry and auxiliary foot with good ſucceſs into all parts where he was informed the enemy were fled; for our men often returned with conſiderable booties. The natives thus oppreſſed by the cold of the ſeaſon, being driven from their houſes, not daring to continue long in any place for fear of our parties, and finding no protection in the woods from the ſharpneſs of the weather, were diſperſed; ſeveral of them loſt their lives, and the reſt took refuge in the neighbouring countries.

Cæſar marches againſt Chartres.

The people quit their towns, and diſperſe themſelves.

Cæſar encamps at Orleans.

Diſperſes his cavalry into the country.

CHAP. II.

CÆSAR thought he had done enough for the ſeaſon of the year, in diſperſing the enemy's forces to prevent a war; but conſidering how much it imported him to take care that the rebels ſhould not be able to make any conſiderable head the next ſummer, left C. TREBONIUS, with two of the legions he brought along with him, at Orleans: and being informed by ſeveral meſſengers from Rheims, that the people of Beauvois (who are more renown'd for warlike virtue than any other ſtate of the Belgæ) with ſome of their neighbours, under the conduct of CORREUS of Beauvois, and COMIUS of Arras, were raiſing a conſiderable army, and marching to a general rendezvous, in order to invade the borders of Soiſſon, which belonged to the country of Rheims; he thought it did not only concern his honour, but intereſt, not to permit ſuch faithful allies as thoſe of Rheims to ſuffer, who had merited ſo well from the Roman empire: Wherefore drawing the eleventh legion again out of their quarters, he ſent orders to C. FABIUS, that he ſhould march with

Cæſar leaves Trebonius with two legions at Orleans, and marches againſt the people of Beauvois.

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the two legions under his command to Soiſſons, and likewiſe writ to Labienus for one of his. So as his garriſons lay moſt convenient, when neceſſity required, he ſometimes obliged one, ſometimes another, to quit their quarters, allowing himſelf no intermiſſion from fatigue.

Having drawn theſe forces together, he marched to Beauvois, and encamped in their territories, diſperſing his cavalry into all parts to get priſoners, from whom he might be informed of the enemy's deſigns. The horſe perform'd his orders, and brought him word, they could meet with very few in their houſes, though they had diligently ſearched all places; nor were thoſe they had ſurprized, left there to till the ground, but to ſupply the enemy with intelligence. From theſe CÆSAR was informed, that all the people of Beauvois, who were able to bear arms, with thoſe of Amiens, Eureux, Caux, Vexen and Arras, had retired to a high place, ſurrounded by a marſh, where they had encamped themſelves, having diſpoſed all their baggage in the remoteſt woods. That theſe forces were under the command of ſeveral officers, but had choſen CORREUS their generaliſſimo, becauſe he was moſt obnoxious to the Romans: that COMIUS, not many days before, having left the camp, was gone to Germany to ſollicit aſſiſtance from that nation, who were their neighbours, and a numerous people: that the enemy had reſolved, by conſent of all their generals, and the ardent deſire of the ſoldiers, in caſe CÆSAR ſhould come only with three legions, as was reported, to offer him battle, leſt they ſhould afterwards be obliged to engage him at a greater diſadvantage; but if he brought more forces along with him, to continue within their camp, to intercept his convoys, and prevent him from getting forage, which the ſeaſon of the year had rendered ſcarce.

Cæſar gets intelligence of the enemy's deſign.

Correus and Comius chief commanders of the rebels.

This advice being confirmed from many hands, CÆSAR found their deſigns well laid, and very different from thoſe reſolves which the raſhneſs of the barbarous Gauls uſed formerly to produce. Wherefore he reſolved to leave nothing uneſſay'd for drawing the enemy to an engagement as ſoon as poſſible, by the contempt of his ſmall numbers. The ſeventh, eighth, and ninth legions were veteran troops of extraordinary courage, and the eleventh conſiſted of choſen men, all hopeful youths, which had made eight ſeveral campaigns, yet were not eſteemed comparable to the reſt for valour or experience. Calling a council, he communicated the advices he had received to all

all the officers, and encouraged them to behave themſelves manfully; then drew up his army, that he might entice the enemy to a battle, by ſeeing he had only three legions; the ſeventh, eighth and ninth legions he placed before the baggage, which was never great amongſt the Romans, and ordered the eleventh to bring up the rear, that the enemy might not diſcover more forces than they expected. By this diſpoſition he modelled his army almoſt into an exact ſqaure, and arrived within ſight of the Gauls before they expected him: who perceiving our forces march ſo ſuddenly to them in battle-array, altered the reſolution which had been reported to CÆSAR; either fearing the ſucceſs of the fight, being ſurpriſed at our approach, or deſirous to attend the firſt motions from us; and drew up in order of battle before their camp, without deſcending from the higher ground. CÆSAR was very deſirous to engage the enemy, but conſidering their numbers, and the diſadvantage of the riſing ground, which extended farther in aſcent than the breadth of the valley below, he thought it convenient to encamp directly over-againſt them. Round about the place where he had poſted himſelf, he drew two ditches, each fifteen foot deep, with perpendicular ſides; behind them he caſt up a rampier twelve foot high, garniſhed with a breaſt-work proportionable to it, and ſeveral turrets of three ſtories, joined to each other by gallaries, which likewiſe had their little parapets of oſiers, that the enemy might be repulſed by two ſeveral rows at the ſame inſtant: and as thoſe in the galleries were defended by their height from the enemy, and enabled to caſt their piles the greater diſtance; ſo they on the rampier were ſcreen'd by the gallery from thoſe darts which might otherwiſe have fallen upon their heads: over the gates he built higher towers than in any other place.

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Cæſar draws up his army as cloſe as he can, to entice the enemy to an engagement; and marches towards them in order of battle: But they decline the fight.

Cæſar encamps over-againſt them. His fortifications.

CÆSAR had two deſigns in making theſe fortifications, for he hoped the ſtrength of his works might perſuade the enemy he was afraid of them, and he was aſſured his camp might be defended by a ſmall number, when he ſhould be obliged to make a long excurſion for corn or forage. In the mean time there happened ſmall ſkirmiſhes between both camps, ſometimes our auxiliary Gauls and Germans, and ſometimes the enemy, croſſing the moraſs, purſued each other eagerly by turns, the prevailing party obliging the weaker to retire towards their camp. Here it happened, as of neceſſity it muſt, that

Small ſkirmiſhes between both camps.

WAR in GAUL.

our ſoldiers going out every day to forage in remote and ſtraggling places, were ſometimes ſurprized by the enemy; which loſſes of carriages and ſervants, though inſignificant to us, yet puffed up the fooliſh Gauls with pride, which was not a little encreaſed by COMIUS's return with the ſupplies he raiſed in Germany; and though he only brought 500 horſe, yet they valued themſelves extremely upon their arrival.

The Roman foragers ſometimes intercepted.

Comius returns to the enemy with 500 horſe from Germany.

CHAP. III.

Cæſar ſends orders to Trebonius to bring him three legions.

CÆSAR obſerved the enemy had continued a long time within the moraſs, and their other natural fortifications: and conſidering he could not force their camp without ſtruggling with great diſadvantages, nor block them up without a more conſiderable army, he writ to TREBONIUS to draw out the thirteenth legion, which he had quartered in Berry, with lieutenant T. SEXTIUS, and make what expedition he could to his aſſiſtance with that and the other two legions under his own command.

In the mean while he detached the cavalry of Rheims, Langre, and the other countries, from whence he had received great numbers, by turns, for a guard to his foragers, to defend them from the aſſaults of the enemy. This he did ſeveral days ſucceſſively, 'till daily practice had diminiſhed their care, as always happens to continued ſucceſs. Thoſe of Beauvois having notice of the place where our cavalry were daily poſted, choſe a ſelect number of foot, and diſpoſed them in the woods thereabouts, ſending a ſmall party of horſe thither the day after to draw our men into the ambuſh, that they might be ſurrounded on every ſide. This ill fortune fell upon the cavalry of Rheims, whoſe turn it was that day to guard the foragers; perceiving the enemies inferior to themſelves in number, they purſued them with too much ardour, till they were encloſed by the foot: being thus diſordered, they were obliged to retire with more precipitation than is uſual in time of battle, after the loſs of VERTISCUS their prince and general, who was ſo much ſuperanuated, he could hardly ſit on horſe-back; yet, according to the cuſtom of his country, he would neither excuſe himſelf by his age from accepting the command, nor permit them to engage without him. The enemy were mighty proud of this ſucceſs, thinking they had done wonderful exploits,

The enemy lie in ambuſh for the Roman foragers.

The cavalry of Rheims, that day appointed to guard the foragers, are defeated, and Vertiſcus their general kill'd.



A. Brindisi B. The Haven. C. The Mounts & floats
up the Mouth of the Haven. D. The Island ove



& sloats of Timber Cæsar cast into the Sea to block
and over against the Haven.

ploits, becauſe they had killed the prince and general of Rheims. But by this diſaſter our parties learned more caution and vigilance, and not to purſue a routed enemy too eagerly. WAR in GAUL.

Daily ſkirmiſhes went forward, in the ſight of both armies, where the fords and paſſages of the moraſs gave the combatants an opportunity of engaging. The Germans, whom CÆSAR had ſent for to fight amongſt the cavalry, boldly paſſing the marſh, put thoſe few that reſiſted to the ſword, and purſued the reſt ſo warmly, that not only they who had firſt engaged them man to man, and thoſe who had been wounded at a diſtance; but even the parties which were diſpoſed at a greater diſtance, to ſuſtain them, baſely fled to the higher ground, without looking behind them, 'till they had arrived at their camp, or farther: which put their whole army into ſo great a conſternation, that it could hardly be determined, whether they were more inſolent after a trifling ſucceſs, or depreſſed by the leaſt turn of fortune.

The Germans ſkirmiſh with, and defeat a party of the enemy.

Drive them up to the gate of their camp.

CHAP. IV.

AFTER they had lodged ſeveral days in the ſame camp, the generals of Beauvois had notice of C. TREBONIUS's approach with the legions; and fearing they ſhould be beſieged, like their countrymen at Aliſe, ſent away the aged, weak, and unarmed by night, with the whole baggage of their army. But before this confuſed and troubleſome party could ſet forward, the day appeared (for the Gauls when they carry the lighteſt baggage, are always attended with a mighty number of carriages) and the enemy were obliged to poſt their forces in order of battle before their camp, to ſecure the retreat of their baggage. But CÆSAR thought it not convenient, either to provoke them to fight at ſo great a diſadvantage of place, when they were already in a poſture of defence, nor yet to keep ſo great a diſtance, as to give them an opportunity of decamping without danger. But that the difficulty of paſſing the moraſs, which divided the two camps, might not retard the enterprize, he caſt a bridge over it, to the ſide of a hill, which he perceived was parted from the enemy's camp only by a ſmall valley; and having paſſed his legions over, ſoon gained the even ground on the ſummit, which was fortified on two ſides by a ſteep deſcent. He marched in good order to the extremeſt

The enemy on notice of Trebonius's approach, ſend away their baggage.

Cæſar endeavours to prevent their retreat.

Gains the ſummit of a hill near their camp.

WAR in GAUL.

tremeſt ridge, and drew up his legions in a place, from whence, by the help of his engines, he could ſhoot darts amongſt the thickeſt of the enemy.

The Gauls, confiding in the ſtrength of their poſt, reſolved to engage our forces, if we ventured to aſcend their hill; yet durſt not file off by degrees, for fear of being attacked whilſt they were in diſorder, and therefore continued ſtill in the ſame poſture: which CÆSAR perceiving, commanded twenty cohorts to be always in readineſs, and removing his tents thither, ordered the place to be fortified. When his works were compleat, he drew the legions up before the rampier, and appointed the cavalry their particular ſtations, where they were to expect his further orders, with their horſes bridled. The enemy perceiving we were ready to purſue them, and that they could not conveniently lodge in that place the next night, or continue there any longer without * proviſions, reſolved to take this method to ſecure their retreat: they handed the faſcines and truſſes of ſtraw, on which they ſat, to each other, whereof they had plenty († for CÆSAR has already taken notice in his former commentaries, that the Gauls ſit down when they are drawn up in order of battle) and placed them before the front of their army till the evening; then, upon a ſignal given, ſet them all on fire together; and ſo ſoon as the flame was ſufficient to ſcreen them from the ſight of the Romans, they ran away as faſt as they could.

Keeps his men in readineſs to purſue them.

The Gauls ſtratagem to ſecure their retreat.

Though CÆSAR could not perceive the enemy's departure becauſe of the fires, yet ſuſpecting they had made them to gain an opportunity of retreating, he advanced a little further with the legions, and ordered the cavalry to purſue; marching ſlowly after them himſelf, becauſe he apprehended the Gauls were poſted not far off, and deſigned to draw him into an ambuſcade: moſt of the horſe were afraid of venturing through the ſmoak and flames, and

* Inſtead of Cibariis, which is the vulgar lection, ſome criticks read Periculo: for my part, I know no reaſon for rejecting the word, ſince HIRTIUS tells you before, they had ſent away all their baggage.

† HOTTOMAN thinks this place has reference to the eighth chapter of the third book, where CÆSAR, giving an account of FABIUS's ſtratagem againſt the Gauls of Coutance, ſays, *Velut explorata victoria, ſarmentis virgultiſque collectis, quibus foſſas Romanorum compleant; ad caſtra pergunt:* which VOSSIUS, in my opinion, very juſtly oppoſes; for here is not a ſyllable of the Gauls cuſtom of ſitting; and I can underſtand no more by this place, but that they provided plenty of faſcines to fill up the Roman trenches: therefore, either ſomething is loſt of CÆSAR's former commentaries, or this muſt be a groſs corruption of the text; which I am rather inclined to believe, becauſe it is not probable an army ſhould ſit down when the enemy is drawn up in order of battle, and ready to charge them

and they who were ſo hardy to enter, not being able to ſee ſo far before them as their horſes ears, returned again for fear of being ſurprized, and gave the enemy time to retreat. By this ſtratagem, which had an equal mixture of cowardice and craft, they eſcaped without any loſs to a mighty ſtrong place about ten miles further off, where they encamped; and laying ſeveral ambuſcades of horſe and foot, mightily incommoded the Roman foragers.

The Gauls retreat.

CÆSAR having received many loſſes of this nature, was at laſt informed by a certain priſoner, that the enemy's general CORREUS, having choſen 6000 of his beſt infantry, and 1000 horſe, had diſpoſed them in a place where he expected the Romans would come to forage, becauſe of the plenty of corn and graſs in that field. Upon this intelligence CÆSAR drew out more legions than uſual, and ſending the cavalry before, intermixed with light-arm'd infantry, followed after with the legions as faſt as he could.

Correus, with 6000 foot, and 1000 horſe, lies in ambuſh for the Roman foragers.

On notice of it, Cæſar ſends the cavalry and light-arm'd foot before, following after with the legions.

The Gauls in ambuſcade had choſen a field for their deſign, which did not extend above a mile in length any way, beſet on every ſide as with toils, either by thick woods, or a very deep river. This place they had ſurrounded; but our cavalry being already forewarned of the enemy's deſign, marched reſolutely in good order to the place prepared to engage the enemy, becauſe they knew they ſhould be ſuſtained by the legions. On their arrival, CORREUS thinking fortune had bleſs'd him with the opportunity he wiſh'd for, firſt appearing with a ſmall party, attacked our foremoſt ranks: our men bravely ſuſtained the charge, not flocking too cloſe together, as often happens through fear in ſkirmiſhes between the horſe to their own diſadvantage: the reſt of the enemy's horſe that lay in the woods, perceiving we engaged their foremoſt party in ſmall ſquadrons, and prevented their ſurrounding us, came up to the aſſiſtance of their general; upon which the diſpute grew warm on both ſides: victory had for ſome time continued dubious, when the enemy's foot advancing to their aſſiſtance, obliged our horſe to give way; but the light-armed infantry, who had been ſent before the legions, came up to ſuſtain them, and mixing themſelves among the horſe, ſtopp'd the enemy's career. Thus the battle was equal again on both ſides, and our men became bolder, having ſo well ſtood the ſhock of the enemy's firſt charge, without being

Correus with a ſmall party firſt attacks the Roman cavalry.

The diſpute grows warm on both ſides.

WAR in GAUL.

ing ſurprized by the ambuſcade. In the mean while the legions approached, and both parties had notice by their ſcouts, that CÆSAR was marching with his forces in order of battle; whereupon our men, depending on the aſſiſtance they expected from the cohorts, renew'd their charge with freſh vigour, fearing delay ſhould let them in for a ſhare of that glory, conqueſt would entitle them to. The courage of the Gauls began to fail them, and in vain they looked about on all ſides for ſome way to eſcape; for all the avenues being ſtopped up, themſelves were caught in the trap they had prepared for the Romans: being overcome, routed, and having loſt the greateſt part of their number, they ran with confuſion whither chance directed them, ſome to the woods, and others to the river; but were purſued by our men and put to the ſword. Yet CORREUS, whoſe mind was too great to ſtoop to any misfortune, could neither be perſuaded to quit the field, take refuge in the woods, or accept of quarter; but fighting obſtinately, and wounding ſeveral of our men, at laſt provoked the haughty victors to diſpatch him with their darts.

Correus routed.

His courage.

He is kill'd.

CHAP. V.

AFTER this defeat, CÆSAR believing the enemy, on advice of their loſs, would immediately remove their camp, which was not above eight miles diſtance from the place where the action happen'd, reſolved to purſue his ſucceſs; and notwithſtanding the river obſtructed his march, he paſſed it with his forces. The people of Beauvois, and their confederates, having notice from ſome few, who by the ſhelter of the woods had eſcaped (though wounded) out of the battle, that all things had gone againſt them; that CORREUS was kill'd, their horſe, with the beſt of the infantry cut off, and that the Romans were almoſt at their camp, immediately called a council by ſound of trumpet, and unanimouſly agreed to ſend embaſſadors and hoſtages to CÆSAR.

Cæſar purſues his good ſucceſs.

Marches towards the enemy's camp.

They ſend embaſſadors to ſue for peace.

COMIUS of Arras, perceiving what would be the reſult of this council, fled to the Germans, from whom he had brought ſome auxiliary troops. He was no ſooner gone, but they ſent embaſſadors to CÆSAR, "intreating him that he would be ſatisfied with the puniſhment they had already received; for had they been in his power, they were perſuaded his wonted mercy would not have inflicted

Comius flies into Germany.

The embaſſadors of Beauvois their ſpeech.

flicted ſo ſevere an one upon them: that the people of Beauvois were already ruined, by the loſs of their cavalry and choſen footmen; for hardly enough had eſcaped to bring news of the ſlaughter: however they had received this benefit from their damage, that the author of their rebellion was killed; for as long as he ſurvived, the ſenate were never an equal ballance for the common people."

Cæſar's anſwer.

CÆSAR gave their embaſſadors audience, but reminded them, "That in the former year, when Beauvois and the other cities of Gaul revolted, they were the moſt obſtinate of all their countrymen, and could not be induced to ſurrender by the example of their neighbours: that it was an eaſy matter to tranſer the blame upon the dead; but he was very well ſatisfy'd, no ſingle perſon could, without the conſent of the ſenate, noblemen and country, wage war by the weak aſſiſtance of the common people: however he was contented with the puniſhment they had drawn upon themſelves."

The embaſſadors return, and ſend hoſtages.

The night after the embaſſadors returned with this anſwer to their countrymen, who immediately ſent hoſtages. Whereupon the other countries, who waited for the ſucceſs of this embaſſage, did the like; in fine, all except COMIUS ſubmitted, whom fear would not permit to truſt his perſon in any one's power; for the year before, whilſt CÆSAR was in Lombardy, LABIENUS underſtanding that COMIUS ſollicited ſeveral ſtates to rebel, and had enter'd into a conſpiracy againſt CÆSAR, thought it lawful to reward his treachery by any means, on other occaſions not juſtifiable: and becauſe he judged 'twould be to no purpoſe to ſend for him to his quarters, leſt a vain attempt might have render'd him more cautious, he ſent C. VOLUSCENUS QUADRATUS to kill him, under pretence of a conference; picking out ſome centurions to attend him in the enterprize. When they came to the interview, and VOLUSCENUS had taken COMIUS by the hand, one of the centurions, as if ſurprized at ſome extraordinary accident, attempted to kill him, but was prevented by his friends; however, the firſt blow gave him a terrible wound in the head: ſwords were immediately drawn on both ſides, though neither party were ſo eager to engage as to make their eſcape; the Romans, becauſe they thought COMIUS was already mortally wounded; and the Gauls, becauſe they were apprehenſive of an ambuſcade, fearing we had more ſoldiers there

The aſſaſſination of Comius.

WAR in GAUL.

there than had yet appeared. Upon which, 'tis reported, COMIUS vow'd never to hold further commerce with any Roman.

CHAP. VI.

Cæſar divides his army.

CÆSAR having now ſubdued the moſt couragious ſtates of Gaul, and perceiving there was no country left which preſumed to take up arms againſt him, but that ſome had left their towns and country to avoid the preſent ſubjection to the Roman empire, reſolved to divide his army into ſeveral ſquadrons. M. ANTHONY the treaſurer, with the eleventh legion, he ordered to attend him; C. FABIUS, with twenty-five cohorts, he ſent to the fartheſt parts of Gaul, being informed ſome of the ſtates there were up in arms, becauſe he thought C. CANINIUS REBILUS's two legions were not ſufficient to keep them in obedience. T. LABIENUS he ordered likewiſe to attend him, and ſent the twelfth legion into winter-quarters under his command into Lombardy, to defend the Roman colonies there, leſt they ſhould meet with the ſame misfortune which had befallen the people of Trieſte the year before, who were plunder'd by a ſudden incurſion of the Gauls. He marched himſelf to harraſs AMBIORIX's country; for though he deſpaired of reducing him into his power, becauſe he continually fled before him, yet he thought it imported his honour to lay his country waſte, deſtroy his towns, cattle, and ſubjects; that if any ſhould chance to ſurvive the ſlaughter, AMBIORIX ſhould not dare to return to his country, for fear of their reſentment, for the calamities he had brought upon them.

Sends Fabius to the fartheſt parts of Gaul.

Sends a legion to guard Provence.

Gallia Togata.

Tergeſtini.

Cæſar marches to harraſs Liege.

When he had diſperſed his army into every part of Liege, and fill'd all places with ſlaughter, fire and rapine, having kill'd and taken great numbers, he ſent LABIENUS with two legions to Treves, whoſe inhabitants bordering on the Germans, with whom they had perpetual war, bear a great reſemblance to them in their rough and unpoliſhed tempers, and never obey but when obliged to it by a ſtanding army.

Sends Labienus to Treves.

CHAP. VII.

Dumnacus beſieges Duracius in Poictiers.

IN the mean time lieutenant C. CANINIUS, having notice from DURACIUS, who had always continued faithful

ful to the people of Rome, that great numbers were up in arms on the borders of Poictou, and that part of his country had revolted, immediately marched towards Poictiers. So ſoon as he was arrived within a ſmall diſtance of the town, he was informed by ſome priſoners, that DURACIUS was beſieged in Poictiers by DUMNACUS general of Anjou, with ſeveral thouſand men: but thinking his two legions not ſufficient to encounter the enemy, he encamped in an advantageous place. DUMNACUS having notice of his approach, quitted the ſiege, and marched to aſſault his camp: but having ſpent many days to no purpoſe, and loſt ſeveral men, without being able to force CANINIUS's trenches, he returned again to inveſt Poictiers.

WAR in GAUL.

Caninius marches with two legions to his aſſiſtance;

but is beſieged himſelf in his camp.

The Gauls retire to beſiege the town again, not being able to force his trenches.

About the ſame time C. FABIUS, having reduced ſeveral countries, and received hoſtages for their obedience, had notice from CANINIUS of the poſture of affairs in Poictou; upon which he marched to the Relief of DURACIUS: but DUMNACUS being informed of his deſign, and deſpairing of ſafety, if he ſhould be obliged at the ſame time to encounter with the Romans without, and the beſieged within, immediately left Poictiers; nor did he think himſelf ſecure till he had croſſed the Loire, which was not to be paſſed without a bridge. FABIUS, though he had not yet arrived within ſight of the enemy, nor joined CANINIUS, having fully informed himſelf how the country lay, believed the enemy muſt of neceſſity fly the ſame way they had taken; wherefore he made towards the bridge, ſending his cavalry before, with orders to march no farther beyond the legions than they could conveniently return again without damage to their horſes, to encamp with the foot at night: they obeyed his commands, followed, and attacked the enemy, falling upon them whilſt they were frightened, flying, and loaden with their baggage, killed ſeveral, gained a conſiderable booty, came off with glory, and returned to the camp. The night following FABIUS ſent the horſe before, with orders to engage the enemy, and find them employment till he ſhould come up to their aſſiſtance. Accordingly Q. ATIUS VARUS, commander of the horſe, a man of ſingular valour and conduct, having encouraged his ſoldiers, purſued the enemy; part of his troops he diſpoſed into convenient places, and engaged the Gauls with the reſt. The diſpute was ſharp on both ſides, for the enemy's horſe, being perpetually relieved by the foot, fought briſkly;

Fabius marches to aſſiſt Caninius.

Dumnacus raiſes his ſiege, and flies croſs the Loire.

Fabius purſues him.

Sends the cavalry to fall upon Dumnacus's rear.

Does the like a ſecond time, and orders them to keep the Gauls in play till he comes up to them.

WAR in GAUL.

briſkly; and believing they ſhould have no greater numbers to encounter with than in their former ſkirmiſh, flattered themſelves that they had obtained a lucky opportunity for defeating our horſe: but the Romans, contemning thoſe they had worſted but the day before, remembring the legions were coming to their aſſiſtance, ſcorning to retire, and being ambitious to engroſs the whole glory of the victory to themſelves, returned the charge of the enemy's foot with equal vigour.

The conflict had been obſtinately maintained on both ſides, for a while, when DUMNACUS drawing his army into good order, appointed the foot to relieve the cavalry by turns; but on a ſudden beheld our legions marching in cloſe ranks to the aſſiſtance of our horſe: upon which the enemy's cavalry were ſo frightened, their foot ſo ſurprized, that forcing their way through their own baggage, every man endeavoured to eſcape by flight. But our party, who but juſt before had bravely engaged them, whilſt they made reſiſtance, having now obtained the victory, ſet up a joyful ſhout on all ſides, and purſuing the enemy every way as far as their horſes could carry them, or as long as their arms could do execution, made a dreadful ſlaughter amongſt the Gauls; for having killed above 12000 armed men, or ſuch whoſe fear had made them throw down their weapons, we took their baggage entire.

The Gauls fly; many of them killed and taken priſoners.

Their entire baggage taken.

But CANINIUS being informed that DRAPES of Sens, who in the firſt revolt of Gaul, having aſſembled from all parts men of deſperate fortunes, ſlaves, out-laws, and thieves, had intercepted the Roman convoys; together with LUTERIUS of Quercy, who attempted (as is already obſerved in the former commentaries) during the ſame rebellion, to make an inroad into the Roman province; having both eſcaped the ſlaughter, were marching with about five thouſand men, the remains of the laſt defeat, upon the like deſign: he followed them with two legions, leſt the Roman province might receive any diſgrace from her fear of theſe rapparees, or the damage ſhe might receive from their thefts. C. FABIUS, with the reſt of the army, marched towards Chartres, and thoſe other countries which he underſtood had been aſſiſting to DUMNACUS in the late rebellion; not doubting but this defeat had taught them that ſubmiſſion, which time and DUMNACUS's advice might aboliſh: his diſpatch and ſucceſs in this enterprize were equal, for the people

Caninius purſues Drapes and Luterious.

Fabius marches to Chartres,

people of Chartres, who, though often harraſſed, had never yet entertained any thoughts of peace, upon his arrival ſubmitted, and delivered hoſtages: All the ſtates of Bretagne and Normandy, which lie in the extreme parts of Gaul, towards the ſea, influenced by their example, did the like without delay. So DUMNACUS being expelled his country, wandering and lurking here and there alone, was forced to ſeek refuge in the fartheſt parts of Gaul.

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which ſubmits.

So do Bretagne and Normandy.

CHAP. VIII.

BUT DRAPES and LUTERIUS, finding CANINIUS purſued them with his legions, and that it would be impoſſible for them either to enter the province, or plunder the country up and down, without danger, made a halt in Quercy, where LUTERIUS had, during his more proſperous days, bore a conſiderable ſway amongſt his countrymen, and been highly eſteemed by the common people, for being the firſt author of all commotions. Here he ſurprized Uſſeldon, which formerly belonged to him; and poſſeſſing it with his own and LUTERIUS's troops, ſoon brought the townſmen to join with him in the rebellion.

CANINIUS quickly arrived at this place; but finding it fortified on all ſides by craggy rocks, ſo ſteep, that it would be difficult for any man to aſcend them in armour, though no body were in the town to oppoſe him; and knowing that the inhabitants had very conſiderable effects, which they could not convey away without falling into the hands of his legions, much leſs of his cavalry, he divided his cohorts into three parts, and diſpoſed them in ſeveral quarters on three eminent places, from whence he deſigned by degrees to draw a line of circumvallation about the town.

Caninius arrives at Uſſeldon, divides his forces into three parts, and beſieges the town.

Which the beſieged perceiving, began to dread the ſame fate their countrymen met at Aliſe, eſpecially LUTERIUS, who having felt the ſmart of that blockade, adviſed them by all means to make ſufficient proviſion of corn: They took his counſel, reſolved to leave part of their forces to guard the town and their baggage, and to march with the reſt to fetch in corn: accordingly, by general conſent, leaving 2000 in the place, the reſt marched out of the town under the command of DRAPES and LUTERIUS. Theſe foragers having ſtay'd ſome time in the

The beſieged ſend out their army to fetch in corn.

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the country of Quercy, one part whereof was willing to ſupply them, and the other not able to oppoſe their taking whatever they had occaſion for, they ſoon provided themſelves with a great quantity of corn. In the mean while the beſieged, ſometimes ſallying out in the night, aſſaulted our turrets; wherefore CANINIUS delayed his works, leſt he ſhould not be able to compleat them, or be obliged to diſpoſe feeble garriſons in ſeveral places.

DRAPES and LUTERIUS, having got abundance of corn, took up their quarters about ten miles diſtant from the town, that they might have an opportunity of conveying their proviſions by degrees into Uſſeldon: each took his ſeveral office; DRAPES was to ſtay in the camp with part of the army, and LUTERIUS with the reſt to convoy the proviſions to the town. Having diſpoſed parties along the road for a guard, he ſet forward about four in the morning by narrow ways through the woods. The out-guards of our camp hearing a noiſe that way, ſent out their ſcouts to diſcover the occaſion; who, at their return, informed CANINIUS of the enemy's motions: upon which, drawing thoſe cohorts which were ready armed out of their turrets, he ſet upon the enemy's carriages juſt before break of day; who being mightily ſurprized at ſo ſudden an attack, fled for refuge to their convoy; which the Romans perceiving, fell furiouſly upon the enemy, and refuſed to grant any man of them quarter: but LUTERIUS with a few followers, having made his eſcape, returned not to the camp again.

Luterius marches with a convoy towards Uſſeldon.

Is intercepted by Caninius.

Moſt of the cavalry killed or taken.

After this ſucceſs, CANINIUS had notice from ſome priſoners, that DRAPES was encamped not ten miles off with another part of their forces: this intelligence was confirmed by many hands; wherefore believing that one genereal being already routed, the other being ſurprized, might eaſily be defeated (for fortune had been ſo favourable to him, not to ſuffer any one to eſcape the ſlaughter, to carry news of the action to DRAPES) he reſolved, ſince there could not be any danger in it, to try the experiment. He ſent therefore all his cavalry, with the nimble German foot before; and leaving one legion behind with the baggage in the three camps, followed after with the other himſelf. When he was arrived near the enemy, his ſcouts informed him, that they had encamped themſelves, according to the cuſtom of the Gauls, upon the banks of a river, and that his cavalry with the German foot, had ſurprized, and ſet upon them unawares; upon

Caninius marches to attack Drapes.

which he marched to their assistance in order of battle. On a signal given, our men possessed themselves of the higher ground, which our cavalry and the Germans perceiving, by the colours of the legion, fought vigorously, and our cohorts pouring down upon the enemy, either killed or took them all prisoners, obtained a considerable booty, and surprized their general DRAPES. This affair so fortunately dispatched, scarce any Roman soldier having received a wound, CANINIUS returned again to the siege; and having defeated his outward enemy, for fear of whose forces he had desisted from carrying on his works, now commanded them to be compleated on all sides; and the next day after, C. FABIUS coming to his assistance, took a part of the town to invest.

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Routs his army, and takes him prisoner.

Returns to the siege.

Fabius comes to his assistance.

CHAP. IX.

CÆSAR, in the mean time, leaving M. ANTONY, the treasurer, in Beauvois, with fifteen cohorts, to prevent any new insurrections in Belgium, went himself to other countries, from whom he demanded great numbers of hostages; and encouraged those who were fearful, to continue faithful in their allegiance. When he came to Chartres, where in his commentaries he has taken notice the revolt began, finding they were most afraid, because they were conscious of the treason they were guilty of, that he might the sooner free them from their apprehensions, he demanded them to deliver up GUTURVATUS to justice, who had been the author of that rebellon. Though this unfortunate man durst not confide in his own countrymen, yet he was so diligently sought after, that he was soon brought to the Roman camp: and CÆSAR, contrary to his nature, was obliged by the soldiers (who alledg'd GUTURVATUS had been the cause of all those dangers and misfortunes they had suffered during the late war) to condemn him to be whipped to death, and then beheaded.

Cæsar marches to Chartres.

Demands Guturvatus, who is delivered up and put to death.

Here he was informed, by frequent advices from CANINIUS, of the success he had had against DRAPES and LUTERIUS, and what resolutions the people of Usseldon had taken. Now though he despised the smalness of their numbers, yet he thought it necessary to inflict a severe punishment upon them for their contumacy, lest the whole kingdom of Gaul should fancy they had constancy enough at least, though not sufficient force, to oppose the Romans;

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mans; and other ſtates, following their example, ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of fortified places, and aſſert their liberty; eſpecially ſince the Gauls knew his commiſſion expired the next year, and had nothing to apprehend, if they could but hold out one winter. Wherefore ordering lieutenant Q. CALENUS to follow after him by moderate marches, he went before with all the cavalry as faſt as he could to CANINIUS: being arrived there beyond all mens expectation, he perceived the town was ſo well inveſted, it was impoſſible the enemy ſhould make their eſcape; but being informed from the deſerters, that the beſieged had plenty of corn, he attempted to cut off their water. There was a river that divided the plain below, which almoſt ſurrounded the craggy hill whereupon Uſſeldon was built on every ſide; the nature of the place prevented his averting the ſtream another way, for it ran ſo very low, that no ditch could be contrived to drain it: but the deſcent to this river was ſo ſteep, that the beſieged could neither come at it, nor return again, without being wounded, and endangering their lives, if the Romans oppoſed them. Which CÆSAR perceiving, diſpoſed a party of archers, ſlingers, and ſome engines, over-againſt the places where the eaſieſt deſcent lay, to prevent the beſieged from coming to the river; which obliged them afterwards to fetch water at the ſame place.

Cæſar marches to the ſiege of Uſſeldon.

Cæſar cuts the beſieged off from the uſe of the river.

Cloſe under the walls of Uſſeldon, where, for the ſpace of three hundred foot together, the town was not ſurrounded with the river, guſhed out a plentiful fountain: whilſt all men were deſirous to cut off this ſpring from the enemy, CÆSAR alone found out the means, though not without danger. Directly over-againſt the hill, with great labour, and perpetual ſkirmiſhing, he began to raiſe vines, and caſt up a mount; but the beſieged deſcending from the higher ground, engaged our men at a diſtance, without danger, and wounded ſeveral that preſſed too eagerly forward: yet the Romans, not deterred by theſe diſadvantages, proceeded in their works, endeavouring to ſurmount the difficulty of the aſcent by their labour; at the ſame time we made mines to the head of the fountain, which was the only work to be done without danger or ſuſpicion. We caſt up a mount ſixty foot high, on which we raiſed a tower of ten ſtories, not to equal the walls, for that was impoſſible, but only the top of the ſpring. This work being perfected, engines were planted to play upon the acceſſes to the fount, which made it ſo dangerous

Cæſar endeavours to cut them off from the fountain.

Raiſes a battery to play upon the avenues.

dangerous for the beſieged to fetch water, that not only the catttle, but ſeveral men periſhed by thirſt. The enemy to prevent ſo great an inconvenience, filled ſeveral barrels with greaſe, pitch, and ſmall pieces of boards, and having ſet them on fire, rolled them down the hill upon our battery; fighting furiouſly at the ſame time, to divert the Romans by the danger, from extinguiſhing the fire: our works immediately began to flame, for wherever they had thrown down theſe barrels, they ſet fire to that part of the mount of vines where they ſtuck; but our ſoldiers, notwithſtanding the danger of the fight, and diſadvantage of the ground, ſhewed their preſence of mind; for the action happened on an eminent place, conſpicious to the view of both armies, and great ſhouting was heard on both ſides; therefore every man, eſpecially the brave, caſt himſelf as far as he could, maugre the flames and ſhowers of darts, to ſignalize his virtue.

The beſieg'd roll fiery barrels down the hill upon the battery.

A hot diſpute.

CÆSAR perceiving many of his men were wounded, commanded his cohorts to aſcend the hill on every ſide at once, and raiſe a ſhout, as if they intended to ſcale the walls; upon which the beſieged being frighted, becauſe they knew not what we were doing, recalled their forces from our battery, to man the walls; which gave the Romans leiſure to quench the fire, and cut off ſuch parts of the works as were not to be extinguiſhed. Even after this they made an obſtinate reſiſtance, and for all they had loſt ſeveral of their men for want of water, reſolved to hold out: but at laſt the little ſprings being either drained by our mines, or averted from their uſual courſe, the fountain was immediately dried up; which made the enemy deſpair, and obliged them to ſurrender: for they did not believe this had been done by the Romans, but by the particular hand of heaven.

Cæſar's feint to decoy the beſieg'd from the battery. Its ſucceſs.

Uſſeldon ſurrenders.

CÆSAR being ſatisfied his mercy was already ſufficiently known to the world, that it would not be imputed to the cruelty of this nature, if he dealt more ſeverely by the people of Uſſeldon than he had by others; and finding no end of his trouble, if other ſtates ſhould follow their example, and revolt together, he reſolved to deter others from being guilty of the like offence, by their uſage; therefore pardoned their lives, but cut off all their hands that had bore arms againſt him, that their puniſhment might be the more remarkable.

Cæſar cuts off the beſieged's hands.

WAR in GAUL.

CHAP. X.

Drapes refuſes his meat, and ſtarves himſelf.

DRAPES, who, I have already told you, was taken by CANINIUS, either through grief and vexation to ſee himſelf confined, or fear of ſome heavier puniſhment, refuſed his meat a few days together, and ſtarved himſelf. LUTERIUS at the ſame time, who, as I have obſerved, eſcaped out of the ſkirmiſh, falling into the power of EPASNACTUS of Auvergne, a faithful friend to the Romans (for he was often obliged to change his quarters, and truſt himſelf to ſeveral people, becauſe he knew it dangerous to continue long in any place after he had rendered himſelf ſo odious to CÆSAR) without the leaſt heſitation he delivered him up to juſtice.

Luterius delivered up by Epaſnactus.

Labienus's ſucceſs in Treves.

In the mean while LABIENUS's cavalry had met with good ſucceſs in Treves, where they killed ſeveral of the natives and Germans, who were always ready to aſiſt againſt the Romans, and took ſeveral of their chief officers priſoners; amongſt which number was SURUS of Autun, a man of equal birth and courage, and the only perſon of his country then in arms againſt the Romans.

Cæſar marches into Gaſcoigne.

The country ſubmits.

CÆSAR perceiving how well his affairs ſucceeded in all parts, and conſidering that the former ſummers expeditions had ſubdued the Celtick and Belgick Gauls, but that he had never viſited Gaſcoigne in perſon, having only made ſome ſmall acquiſitions there by P. CRASSUS, marched thither with two legions, to paſs the reſt of the ſummer there. This, like his other deſigns, he accompliſhed with as much ſucceſs as diſpatch; for all the ſtates of Gaſcoigne ſent embaſſadors to him, and delivered hoſtages.

Cæſar goes to Narbon.

Sends the legions into their winter-quarters.

This affair thus accompliſhed he went with a guard of cavalry to Narbon, and diſtributed his army under the command of his lieutenants into their winter-quarters; four legions with M. ANTONY, C. TREBONIUS, P. VATINIUS, and Q. TULLIUS, he detached to Belgium; two others he quartered in Autun, which he knew to be the moſt powerful country in Gaul; two more he ſent to Tours, on the borders of Chartres, to keep the maritime countries on that ſide in obedince; and two he placed in Limouſin, near the borders of Auvergne, that no part of Gaul might have an opportunity of rebelling.

Holds a convention of the ſtates in his government, then returns to Arras.

Having ſpent a few days at his government, held the convention of the ſtates, determined the differences of the people, and rewarded the meritorious (for he had a great

deſire

desire to know how every man behaved himself during the general revolt of the Gauls, which he had suppressed by the sole fidelity and assistance of the province) he returned to Belgium, and took up his winter-quarters at Arras. WAR in GAUL. Nemetosenna.

CHAP. XI.

HERE he was informed that COMIUS of Arras had had an engagement with his cavalry; for when ANTONY came to take up his quarters in Arras, which continued loyal, COMIUS, who after the wound we mentioned, always used to be ready to head any rebellion his country were inclined to, that he might not be far out of the way, so long as the people continued in obedience to the Romans, supported himself and his cavalry by plunder, intercepting several convoys of corn which were going to the Roman garrisons. C. VOLUSENUS QUADRATUS, commander of the horse under ANTONY, was quartered with him, and detached by him to pursue the enemy's cavalry. VOLUSENUS very readily accepted the office; for besides the constant desire he had of glory, he bore a mortal hatred to COMIUS: wherefore having laid several ambuscades, he often abtained advantages over him. But at last the dispute growing very warm, and VOLUSENUS desiring to apprehend COMIUS, he pursued too ardently with a few followers; the other fled as eagerly, till he had drawn him from his party; then on a sudden, conjuring his men not to suffer the wound he had received from the Romans treachery to go unrevenged, he faced about, and out-riding the rest of his company, made towards VOLUSENUS: his men followed after, and being much superior in number to ours, obliged them to retreat: during the pursuit, COMIUS clapping spurs to his horse, ran with a full career against QUADRATUS, and struck him through the thigh with his spear. Our men perceiving their captain was wounded, rallied again, forced the enemy to give ground, and charged so briskly, that they wounded several, and routed the rest; some were dismounted in the pursuit, and trodden under foot, others taken prisoners, which misfortune COMIUS escaped by the swiftness of his horse: but VOLUSENUS, being dangerously wounded, almost beyond hope of recovery, was carried back to the camp. COMIUS having thus either revenged the injury he had received, or lost the greatest part of his men, sent embassa-

Volusenus sent to pursue Comius.

Comius wounds Quadratus.

Comius and his party routed.

WAR in GAUL.

Comius surrenders.

dors to ANTONY, to let him know he would deliver hoſtages for his future obedience, would live where, and in what manner he ſhould think fit to preſcribe, provided he would ſo far indulge his fear, as not to oblige him to behold the face of any Roman. ANTONY thought his apprehenſions ſo juſtly grounded, that he accepted his hoſtages, and granted his deſire.

CHAP. XII.

Hirtius's proem to the laſt campaign.

CÆSAR, I know, has divided each year's campaign into a ſeveral book, which I did not think convenient, becauſe the next year, under the conſulat of L. PAULUS and C. MARCELLUS, nothing memorable was tranſacted in Gaul: however, that the world might not be ignorant where CÆSAR and his army were during this time, I have added a ſhort account to the preſent commentary.

Whilſt CÆSAR paſſed his winter in Belgium, he made it his chief buſineſs to keep the ſeveral ſtates in amity, to take away all hopes of another revolt; for he deſired to bring the country into ſo peaceable a condition, that he ſhould not be obliged to make war at his departure, leſt when he marched his army away, there might be ſome embers left, which the Gauls would willingly blow up, when they apprehended no preſent danger. Wherefore treating each country very honourably, making the noblemen conſiderable preſents, and impoſing no new taxes, he eaſily kept the kingdom of Gaul (already tired out with ſo many, and ſo ſucceſleſs efforts, in obedience, by his gentle uſage.

Cæſar goes into Lombardy.

The winter being over, contrary to his cuſtom, he took poſt for Lombardy, to viſit the chief towns, and Roman colonies there, to whom he had recommended his treaſurer M. ANTONY's ſuit for the prieſthood, doing his utmoſt endeavour to gain the people's affections by his affable carriage, as well for the advantage of his particular friend, whom he had ſent not long before, to put up for that office, as to oppoſe a ſmall faction, who deſigned to diminiſh CÆSAR's credit, by repulſing ANTONY. And though he was informed upon the road, before he arrived in Lombardy, that his friend was already made Augur, however he thought it neceſſary to continue his journey, that he might return the chief towns and colonies thanks for appearing and voting for ANTONY; as likewiſe to make intereſt with them for the honour he deſigned to be

candidate

candidate for himſelf the enſuing year; becauſe his enemies proudly boaſted, that SERVIUS GALBA had been diſappointed of the conſulat, notwithſtanding the majority of votes in his behalf, for being a profeſſed friend to CÆSAR, under whom he had ſerved as a lieuterant; but L. LENTULUS and C. MARCELLUS had been created conſuls, on purpoſe to ſtrip him of all his honours and dignities. WAR in GAUL.

CÆSAR was received with wonderful reſpect and affection wherever he came, for this was the firſt time of his return from the general revolt of Gaul; nothing was omitted that the people could invent for the ornament of the gates, roads and ways which he was to paſs through; ſacrifices were offered up in every place; all the people came out to meet him with their children; the temples and market-places were adorned with carpets, and you would have imagined preparations had been made for a glorious triumph; ſo great was the magnificence of the richer, and deſire of the poorer ſort, to expreſs their ſatisfaction. He is received with great demonſtrations of joy.

Having quickly viſited all parts of Lombardy, he returned with great diſpatch to Arras, and drawing his legions out of their quarters to the borders of Treves, went thither to review them: after which he made T. LABIENUS governor of Lombardy, that he might the eaſilier obtain his ſuit for the conſulat; travelling from place to place the reſt of the ſummer, as he thought convenient for his health. He makes Labienus governor of Lombardy.

Though he was often informed that LABIENUS was ſollicited by his enemies, and aſſured there was a deſign carried on at Rome by a ſmall faction, to take away part of his army from him, by virtue of a decree from the ſenate, yet he neither gave credit to what was reported of LABIENUS, nor could be induced to do any thing contrary to the ſenate's authority: for he doubted not but he ſhould gain his deſires, provided the ſenators were permitted to give their votes freely; becauſe C. CURIO, tribune of the people, who had undertaken the defence of CÆSAR's cauſe and dignity, had often propounded to the ſenate, ſince they had apprehenſions of CÆSAR's army, that he and POMPEY too, whoſe over-grown power did not a little awe the courts, might both diſband their force, and lay down their arms, that the city might be entirely free: nor did he only propound this, but began to put it to the vote; but the conſuls, and POMPEY's The factions at Rome againſt Cæſar.

WAR in GAUL.

friends, to prevent any further progreſs, interpoſed in the matter, and broke up without coming to any reſolution.

This was a ſtrong argument of the ſenate's favour to CÆSAR, and agreeable to their former juſtice; for when MARCELLUS the year before, to diminiſh CÆSAR's credit, contrary to the edict of POMPEY and CRASSUS, propoſed ſending a ſucceſſor to CÆSAR's province before his commiſſion was expired; after the ſenate had given their votes, MARCELLUS, who ſtrove to obtain credit at CÆSAR's expence, departed with a denial, and the houſe went upon other matters. Yet this did not diſcourage his enemies, but rather was a ſpur to their envy, and made them endeavour, by ſtrengthening their party, to oblige the ſenate to comply with their deſigns.

The ſenate decree Pompey and Cæſar ſhall each ſend a legion to the Parthian war.

Not long after the ſenate decreed, that POMPEY and CÆSAR ſhould each detach a legion to the Parthian war; yet it plainly appeared this order was wholly levied againſt CÆSAR, for the firſt legion POMPEY had formerly furniſhed him with, which was levied in CÆSAR's province, and ſent him as one of his own number, he now demanded again: yet CÆSAR, though all the world might ſee he was robbed of his army at his enemy's pleaſure, ſent POMPEY his legion again; and for his own part, in obedience to the ſenate's decree, ſent the fifteenth legion, which was quarter'd in Lombardy, to Parthia; and to ſupply its place, detached the thirteenth to Italy. After this he diſperſed his army into their winter-quarters; C. TREBONIUS, with four legions, he placed in Belgium; C. FABIUS, with as many, in Autun; for he thought it the ſecureſt way to keep the Gauls in ſubjection, to ſet a guard upon the courage of the Belgæ, and the authority of the Autunois.

After this, he went himſelf to Lombardy, where he was informed the two legions he had diſmiſſed, which according to the decree of the ſenate ſhould have been ſent to the Parthian war, were given, by the conſul C. MARCELLUS, to POMPEY, and quartered ſtill in Italy. Though this was an undeniable proof that CÆSAR's enemies prepared to make war upon him, yet he firmly reſolved to endure all things, ſo long as there was any hope left of compoſing the matter by a civil determination, rather than have recourſe to the ſword.

The End of CÆSAR's war with the Gauls.



C. J. CÆ-

C. J. CÆSAR'S COMMENTARY OF THE CIVIL WAR.

Becauſe this book begins abruptly, DIONYSIUS VOSSIUS *has, in his remarks collected out of* PLUTARCH, APPIAN *and* DION, *as much as was neceſſary to make a connection between this and the former commentary; which I have rendered into Engliſh, but marked with an inverted comma, to diſtinguiſh it from the text.*

The CONTENTS of the FIRST BOOK.

The cauſes of the civil war. CÆSAR *gains the poſſeſſion of intire Italy. Beſieges* POMPEY *in Brunduſium. Takes the town, but* POMPEY *eſcapes.* CÆSAR's *party prevails againſt* COTTA *in Sardinia, and* CATO *in Sicily.* CÆSAR *marches to Rome. Returns to Gaul. Then beſieges Marſeilles. His ſucceſs in Spain.*

VOSSIUS's ſupplement.

" CÆSAR having now ſubdued the whole kingdom of Gaul, for ſeveral reaſons went to his province; from whence he ſent deputies to Rome, to obtain the conſulat, and get his commiſſion renewed: when his demands were propounded, " POMPEY neither oppoſed nor furthered the motion, " for

Cæſar writes to Rome to get his commiſſion renew'd, and to obtain the conſulat.

CIVIL WAR.

" for though he was averſe to CÆSAR's intereſt, he had " not yet profeſſed himſelf his open enemy. But the " conſuls, LENTULUS and MARCELLUS, who had " already declared in favour of the oppoſite faction, left " nothing omitted to diſappoint him: nor was this the " only injury MARCELLUS did him, for CÆSAR had " lately planted a colony at Novo-Comum, and MAR- " CELLUS, not contented to deprive them of the free- " dom of Rome, committed their major, ordered him " to be whipped, and then diſmiſſed him to make his " complaints to CÆSAR; an ignominy never yet inflict- " ed on any Roman citizen. Whilſt theſe affairs were " in agitation, C. CURIO, tribune of the people, who " had done his utmoſt to ſerve the republick, and pro- " mote CÆSAR's cauſe, at laſt finding all his endeavours " in vain, fled from Rome to avoid the malice of his ad- " verſaries, and to inform CÆSAR of his enemies de- Curio comes to Cæſar. " ſigns againſt him. CÆSAR thought himſelf obliged to " go meet a perſon of CURIO's quality and merit, and His advice. " return him thanks for the many friendly offices he had " done him. CURIO adviſed him, ſince his enemies " openly prepared to make war upon him, immediately " to draw his army together, and reſcue the republick " out of the hands of that faction, whoſe tyranny ſhe " laboured under. But though CÆSAR was convinced " of the truth of CURIO's report, yet he reſolved to de- " monſtrate ſo particular a regard to the republick, that " no man might juſtly accuſe him for being the cauſe of " a civil war: therefore he only ſollicited for leave to " continue in the government of the Roman province of " Italy and Illyricum with two legions; which he did " to compriſe the differences betwixt him and his ene- " mies in an amicable manner, and preſerve the repub- " lick in peace. Theſe demands were ſo reaſonable, that " even POMPEY himſelf could not oppoſe them; but Cæſar writes to the ſenate. " at laſt, CÆSAR finding he could meet with no juſtice " from the conſuls, writ a letter to the ſenate, wherein " having briefly enumerated the meritorious actions he " had done for the republick, he intreated them that he " might have liberty to put up for conſul the enſuing " year, without appearing in perſon at Rome: he aſſured " them he ſhould not refuſe to diſband his army, if the " ſenate and people commanded him, provided POMPEY " would do the like; but ſo long as the other kept his for- " ces ſtanding, there was no reaſon he ſhould diſmiſs his

" ſoldiers,

" ſoldiers, and leave his perſon expoſed to the malice of
" his enemies. This letter he committed to CURIO's
" charge, who made ſo much haſte to deliver it, that he
" arrived at Rome (140 miles diſtant from the place he
" took horſe at) within three days, which was before
" the beginning of January, and e'er the conſuls had
" come to a final reſolution about CÆSAR's affair. How-
" ever he reſolved not to part with the letter, but in full
" ſenate, when the tribunes of the people were preſent,
" fearing it might be ſuppreſſed, if deliver'd at another
" time."

Curio delivers the letter.

CHAP. I.

THE conſuls having received * CÆSAR's letter, were unwillingly prevailed on by the importunity of the tribunes of the people, to ſuffer it to be read in open ſenate; but would not permit his demands to be put to the vote. The ſenate was held in the city, and the conſul L. LENTULUS, promiſed he would ſtand by the ſenate and people, provided they would deliver their ſentiments freely; but if they ſtood in awe of CÆSAR, or were deſirous to oblige him as formerly, he knew what methods to take, and would not regard their authority; for he could as eaſily find the means to render himſelf acceptable to CÆSAR as any of them. SCIPIO ſpoke much to the ſame purpoſe, adding, that POMPEY would not be wanting to the common-wealth, if the ſenate would ſtand by him; but if they would not take vigorous reſolutions, they might hereafter implore his aid in vain.

SCIPIO's harangue being made in the city, and POMPEY being not far off, it was believed he ſpoke his thoughts for him. But ſome declared their minds with more moderation, amongſt which number was MARCELLUS, who ſaid, in his opinion, it was not proper for the ſenate to deliberate on this affair, before they had levied a conſiderable army in Italy, under whoſe protection they might vote impartially. M. CALIDIUS was for ſending POMPEY to his government, to take away the occaſion of diſcord; for he ſaid, CÆSAR had reaſon to be jealous that

* Literis (a FABIO C.) redditis, &c. VOSSIUS is poſitive (a FABIO C.) muſt be an interpolation: and though they who have rendered CÆSAR into other languages, and the niceſt Latin criticks have acquieſced in this lection, yet it muſt certainly be a palpable error, for the letters were delivered to CURIO; for POMPEY was then proconſul, and could not come into the city.

CIVIL WAR.

that POMPEY kept the two legions, which had been taken from him, near the city, with a deſign to prejudice him. M. RUFUS differed but little from CALIDIUS, but they were all ſeverely reprimanded by LENTULUS, who poſitively refuſed to put CALIDIUS's motion to the vote: upon which MARCELLUS was ſo frightened, that he recanted what he had ſaid; ſo the majority of the ſenate being intimidated by the conſul's ſpeech, POMPEY's army and friends, at laſt unwillingly and with compulſion, ſubmitted to SCIPIO's motion: "That if CÆSAR did not to diſband his army by a day prefixed, he ſhould be proclaimed a traitor." But M. ANTONY and Q. CASSIUS, tribunes of the people, interpoſed their authority, to prevent the paſſing of this vote; upon which their prerogative was likewiſe diſputed; the debate was managed with abundance of heat, and he that ſpoke with moſt virulence, was highlieſt applauded by CÆSAR's enemies.

Cæſar ordered to diſband his army.

The Tribunes oppoſe it.

CHAP. II.

THUS the ſenate broke up in the evening, without coming to any reſolution; and POMPEY, having ſent for all thoſe of his faction, commended them that were forward; confirmed them in their reſolutions; reproved and encouraged the more moderate; ſent for many, who having formerly ſerved under him, obeyed his ſummons, in hopes of rewards and dignities; and commanded ſeveral out of the two legions, which had been returned by CÆSAR, likewiſe to attend his orders on the day for chooſing new magiſtrates. The ſtreets were crouded, and CURIO called out the tribunes of the people to be preſent at the election: but all the conſuls friends, POMPEY's dependants, and thoſe who bore CÆSAR any ancient grudge, flocked into the ſenate; by whoſe concourſe and votes, the weaker ſort were frightened, the irreſolute confirmed, and the majority deprived of the liberty of voting.

For the tribunes had a negative vote.

The tumults at the election of magiſtrates.

L. PISO the cenſor, and L. ROSSIUS the prætor, proffered to go to CÆSAR, and acquaint him with the ſtate of affairs, deſiring only ſix days reſpite to compleat their negotiation; and others demanded deputies ſhould be ſent to acquaint CÆSAR with the pleaſure of the ſenate; but were oppoſed by the conſuls ſpeech, by SCIPIO and CATO. The latter of theſe was moved by the old enmity he bore CÆSAR, and revenge for having been diſappointed

Cæſar's enemies.

Cato.

disappointed of the * office he put up for. LENTULUS, by the hopes of paying his debts, when he should obtain the command of armies, and the government of provinces, with the presents he expected from those monarchs for whom he should procure the title of friends to the Roman people, he had the vanity to boast amongst those of his own party, that he doubted not but to make himself a second SYLLA, and obtain the supream authority in the commonwealth. SCIPIO was prompted by the like expectations of armies and provinces, which he promised himself he should share with his son-in-law POMPEY; the apprehension of being called to account for his extortions, the flattery of his dependants, and the authority of his friends, who bore a considerable sway in the commonwealth, and courts of judicature. POMPEY was incited by CÆSAR's adversaries; and not knowing how to endure an equal in dignity, had broke off all manner of friendship with him, and joined with their common enemies, the greatest part whereof CÆSAR had contracted during his affinity with POMPEY. On the other hand, the reflection on that dishonourable action, to have converted those two legions to his own use, which should have been detached to the Asian and Syrian wars, induced him to contrive all means for promoting a civil war.

* The Prætorship.

Lentulus.

Scipio.

Pompey.

Thus all things were carried on with violence and confusion: CÆSAR's friends had not leisure to acquaint him with the posture of affairs, nor the tribunes to avoid the impending danger, by interposing that authority which SYLLA had left them, to defend the peoples liberty: in fine, they were obliged the seventh day after the entrance upon their charge, to provide for their safety; whereas the most seditious tribunes, before that time, were never obliged to render an account of their actions, till the eighth month of their administration. POMPEY's faction had recourse to that rigid decree of the senate, which never used to be put in execution, but when the city was on fire, and all things in a desperate condition: "That the consuls, prætors, tribunes of the people, and proconsuls, should take care to preserve the commonwealth from danger." The order for enforcing this decree bore date the seventh of January; so that during the five first days of LENTULUS's consulship, whilst it was lawful for the senate to sit (except two which had been allowed for the election of magistrates) dreadful resolves were pronounced against CÆSAR and the tribunes of the people, men of great worth

The senate's decree.

CIVIL WAR.

The tribunes fly to Cæſar in a cart, diſguis'd like ſlaves.

worth and quality: whereupon they fled to CÆSAR, who was then at Ravenna, expecting a ſuitable anſwer to his modeſt demands, which he hoped might have reduced all differences to a peaceable ſtate amongſt men of the ſmalleſt equity.

CHAP. III.

A ſenate held without the city.

THE day after, the ſenate aſſembled without the walls of the city; where POMPEY, according to the inſtructions he had already given SCIPIO, applauded their conſtancy and reſolution; acquainted them with the number of his forces, that he had ten legions already in arms to defend them; aſſured them he was very well ſatisfied CÆSAR's army were not well affected to him, and that it was not in his power to perſuade them to follow, or aſſiſt him. After this, he propoſed ſeveral other things to the determination of the ſenate; firſt, that forces might be levied throughout all Italy; that FAUSTUS SYLLA might be ſent proprætor to Mauritania; that POMPEY might have money delivered to him out of the publick treaſury; and that king JUBA might have the title of friend and ally to the people of Rome. But MARCELLUS oppoſed the laſt of theſe; and PHILIPPUS, the tribune of the people, prevented the paſſing of SYLLA's commiſſion: but the other motions were agreed to. Two conſular provinces were decreed to thoſe who had formerly diſcharged that office, SCIPIO got the government of Syria, and DOMITIUS of Gaul: but PHILIPPUS's and MARCELLINUS's pretenſions were over-ruled by the prevailing faction. All the reſt were prætorian provinces, to which governors were ſent without the privity, or approbation of the people; for having taken the uſual oath, they departed to their ſeveral commands in a military habit, without further ceremony. The conſuls left Rome, private men had Lictors marched before them in the city and capitol, an unprecedented action, abſolutely contrary to the practice of former ages. New levies were made through all Italy; each municipal town was commanded to furniſh a certain quantity of arms and money; nor were the temples free from this tax, which made no diſtinction between divine and human things.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

CÆSAR, having notice of theſe affairs, made a ſpeech to his ſoldiers, wherein "he gave them an account how induſtrious his enemies had always been to injure him; that they had made a difference between him and POMPEY, who envied CÆSAR's glory and good fortune, though he always promoted POMPEY's honour. He complain'd of that innovation in the ſtate, that the authority of the tribunes of the people ſhould be oppoſed by arms, and depreſſed by thoſe, who not many years before reſtored it; for even SYLLA himſelf, who ſtripp'd the tribunes of ſo many prerogatives, yet left them a negative vote; which POMPEY, who pretended to renew their ancient liberties, would now deprive them of. That the decree for the magiſtrates to provide for the ſafety of the republick, whereby all people were obliged to repair to their arms, was never known to be put in practice, but in caſes of imminent danger, when pernicious laws were made; the tribunes rebelled; the people revolted, and the temples, or places of ſtrength, were poſſeſſed by enemies of the ſtate; crimes which poſterity had been deterred from by the fate of SATURNINUS and the Gracchi. But there was no ſuch affairs in agitation then, nor even thought of, no law was publiſhed, no conſpiracy was going forward, nor any revolt made. Wherefore he deſired them, that they would defend the honour and reputation of their general againſt the malice of his enemies, under whoſe command they had ſerved nine years, gained ſo many battles, and ſubdued the Gauls and Germans." The ſoldiers of the thirteenth legion, which was then preſent, unanimouſly cried out, that they would defend their general and the tribunes: for this legion he had ſent for to attend him at the beginning of the troubles; the others had not yet left their quarters.

Cæſar's ſpeech to his ſoldiers.

The ſoldiers reſolve to ſtand by him.

CHAP. V.

CÆSAR being aſſured of the ſoldiers affections, marched directly with that legion to Rimini, where the tribunes of the people expected him: and on his arrival, ſent orders for all the other legions to attend him. Young L. CÆSAR, whoſe father was a lieutenant-general in CÆSAR's army, came hither to wait on him; and after having acquainted him with the occaſion of his coming, told

Cæſar marches to Arminium.

CIVIL WAR

told him he had a private meſſage from POMPEY to deliver; "who was deſirous to clear himſelf ſo far, that CÆSAR might not think thoſe actions deſigned to affront him, which were done for the ſervice of the republick; whoſe advantage he always preferred before his private intereſt: and CÆSAR was likewiſe obliged in honour to lay aſide his paſſion, nor be ſo eager to take revenge on his enemies, at the expence of the common-wealth." Something more he added, of his own accord, to the ſame purpoſe; and the prætor ROSCIUS had a negotiation of the like nature to tranſact with CÆSAR on POMPEY's account.

Pompey's meſſage to Cæſar by L. Cæſar.

Roſcius's Negotiation.

Though theſe meſſages contributed very little to compoſing of the differences in hand, yet having an opportunity of tranſmitting his thoughts by two ſuch grateful meſſengers, he begg'd the favour of them, that as they had brought POMPEY's commands, they would likewiſe acquaint him with CÆSAR's deſires; for poſſibly ſo ſmall a labour might put an end to their differences, and deliver all Italy from her fears. "That he always preferred the honour of the republick to his own life; but he had reaſon to be diſturbed, that the affections of the Roman people ſhould be alienated by the malicious reports of his enemies: that half a year of his commiſſion ſhould be cut off, and he be commanded to return to Rome, after the people had already voted him leave to put up the next election for the conſulate, though abſent; the loſs of which honour he could willingly ſubmit to, for the advantage of the common-wealth. That his deſire, in his letter to the ſenate, that other armies might be bisbanded as well as his, could not be granted; that new levies ſhould be made throughout all Italy; that the two legions which were drawn from him, under pretence of being ſent to the Parthian war, ſhould be ſtill retained, and Rome be up in arms: all which circumſtances ſeemed to concur to his deſtruction. However, he was willing to accept of any conditions, and ſuffer any thing for the ſake of his country, let but POMPEY go to his province; both armies be disbanded; Italy lay down her arms; the city be delivered from her apprehenſions; the elections be free; the ſenate and people enjoy their ancient liberty in every reſpect: And to the intent theſe conditions might be the better performed, let each oblige himſelf by oath to obſerve them: or if POMPEY thought it more convenient, he might either come nearer CÆSAR, or let CÆSAR come to him, to determine their differences by a conference." ROSCIUS and L. CÆSAR having

Cæſar's anſwer.

having received this anſwer, departed for Capua, where finding POMPEY and the Conſuls, they delivered CÆSAR's meſſage. Having conſulted about the matter, they returned this reply in writing by the ſame meſſengers: "That CÆSAR ſhould leave Rimini, return to Gaul, and diſband his army; which conditions performed, POMPEY ſhould then go to Spain. In the mean time, till CÆSAR ſhould give ſecurity for the performance of his promiſe, the conſuls and POMPEY ſhould not deſiſt from raiſing men."

CIVIL WAR.

Roſcius and Lucius Cæſar depart for Capua. The Conſuls Reply.

CÆSAR thought theſe conditions very unequal; that he ſhould be obliged to leave Rimini, and return to his government, while POMPEY held provinces, and legions which were none of his own: that he ſhould diſmiſs his army, whilſt the other was raiſing new forces; and only promiſed to go to his government, without fixing a day for his departure: an evaſion which would have cleared him from breach of faith, though he went not thither till CÆSAR's commiſſion expired. But he plainly perceived there were no hopes of peace, becauſe they had neither appointed a time for a conference, nor promiſed to come any nearer him.

War in Italy.

CHAP. VI.

WHEREFORE he ſent M. ANTONY with five cohorts to Arezzo, but ſtay'd himſelf at Rimini with two more; where he intended to beat up for volunteers. He ſoon poſſeſſed himſelf of Piſaro, Fano and Ancona. In the mean time, having notice that the people of Inguvium were inclin'd to his intereſt, which place the Prætor THERMUS held againſt him with five cohorts, and had cauſed it to be fortified; he detached three cohorts thither from Piſaro and Rimini, under the command of CURIO: on notice of whoſe approach, THERMUS, doubting the affection of the people, drew his cohorts out of the town, and fled away: but the ſoldiers deſerted in their march, and returned home again. CURIO was received into the town with great demonſtrations of joy; on notice whereof, CÆSAR relying on his intereſt in the moſt conſiderable towns, brought the remainder of the thirteenth legion out of garriſon, and march'd to Oſmo, a town poſſeſſed by ACTIUS VARUS with ſeveral cohorts, who had diſperſed ſome ſenators round about the country of * Piſcara to raiſe recruits.

M. Antony ſent to Aretium.

Cæſar takes in Piſaurum, Fano, and Ancona.

Curio takes in Inguvium.

Cæſar marches to Oſmo, or Auximum.

* Piſenum.

CIVIL WAR.

The people of Oſmo reſolve to admit Cæſar.

CÆSAR's arrival being known, the burgeſſes of Oſmo went in a body to ACTIUS VARUS, and told him, they would not pretend to determine what party had juſtice of their ſide, but neither they, nor any of the municipal towns would ſhut their gates againſt ſo great a general as CÆSAR, whoſe glorious actions had ſo well merited from the republick. Wherefore they adviſed him to conſider what would be the conſequence of making oppoſition, and provide for his ſafety. Upon this declaration, VARUS drew his garriſon out of the town, and marched away: but being purſued by a few of CÆSAR's van-guard, was obliged to halt; and ſo ſoon as he began to engage them, was deſerted by his party; ſome of them returned home, and the reſt came over to CÆSAR. Amongſt the number of the priſoners was L. PUPIUS, centurion of a primiple, who had formerly held the ſame command under POMPEY: but CÆSAR having commended thoſe that came over to him, diſmiſſed PUPIUS, returned the people of Oſmo thanks, and promiſed never to forget the ſervice they had done him.

Actius Varus flies away.

CHAP. VII.

Lentulus's cowardice.

THIS news arriving at Rome, the whole city was ſo frightened, that when LENTULUS the conſul, in purſuance to the ſenate's decree, had opened the treaſury to deliver out POMPEY the money, he fled from the city with ſo much precipitation, that he forgot to lock the inward door: for there was a falſe report that CÆSAR was marching that way, and that his cavalry were already arrived within a ſmall diſtance of Rome. Whereupon MARCELLUS, the other conſul, with moſt of the magiſtrates, followed after. POMPEY was already gone the day before to Apulia, where he had quartered the legions which he received from CÆSAR. In the mean while the levies went not forward in Rome, for no place appeared ſecure nearer than Capua; where they firſt began to rally, and continue their levies in the colonies round about, which had been ſent thither by the Julian law. LENTULUS aſſembled the gladiators, whom CÆSAR had bred up there to entertain the people of Rome, gave them their liberty, and mounted them for his guard. But afterwards, being adviſed by his friends, who all condemned the action, to diſmiſs them, he diſperſed them into the neighbouring towns of Campain, to keep garriſon there.

He takes the gladiators of Capula for his guard.

CÆSAR

CÆSAR in the mean time, having quitted Oſmo, made a tour throughout the whole country of Piſcara; where he was joyfully received by the Governors of every town, who furniſhed him with neceſſary proviſions for his army. There came deputies from Cingulum (a town founded and built by LABIENUS, at his own charge) to deſire he would honour them with his commands: he accepted of their friendſhip, and demanded recruits, which they readily ſent. By this time the twelfth legion was come up to his aſſiſtance, and with theſe two he marched to Aſcoli, another town of Piſcara, which was commanded by LENTULUS SPINTHER with ten cohorts; who, on advice of CÆSAR's approach, quitted the town, and endeavoured to retire with his forces; but was deſerted by a great part of them: and marching with the remainder, by chance met VIBULLIUS RUFUS, who had been ſent by POMPEY to encourage his party in Piſcara. VIBULLIUS thus underſtanding the poſture of affairs, diſmiſſed LENTULUS from his charge, took the ſoldiers under his command, and aſſembled as many more of POMPEY's levies as he could meet with in the neighbouring countries: amongſt the reſt, ſix entire cohorts under the command of ULCILLES HIRUS, who had fled from Camerin, where they had been quartered. Theſe forces united, amounted to thirteen cohorts, and with them VIBULLIUS marched by long journies to join DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS at Corfinium; and acquaint him CÆSAR was marching that way with two legions. DOMITIUS had already raiſed about twenty cohorts in Alba, Marſia, Pelignia, and the adjacent countries. CÆSAR having taken in Aſcoli, and driven LENTULUS out of the town, cauſed an enquiry to be made after thoſe ſoldiers that deſerted him, that they might be liſted amongſt his own troops: and having ſtay'd one day to provide himſelf with corn, he march'd directly to Corfinium. Upon his approach, DOMITIUS detached five cohorts to break down a bridge over the river, about three miles from the town; but being encounter'd by CÆSAR's van-guard, they were forc'd from the bridge, and obliged to retire to the town: by which means CÆSAR paſſed the river, arrived at the town, and encamped under the walls.

CIVIL WAR.

Cæſar makes a tour thro' Piſcara, where he is well received.

Deputies from Cingulum attend him.

He marches to Aſcoli, which he gains.

Vibullius Rufus arrives in Piſcara.

Camerinum.

Cæſar marches to Corfinium, and beſieges it.

CHAP. VIII.

WHEREUPON DOMITIUS having engaged ſeveral couriers, who were well acquainted with the country,

Domitius writes to Pompey for aſſiſtance.

CIVIL WAR.

try, by conſiderable promiſes, to carry packets for him to POMPEY; he earneſtly preſſed for ſupplies, assuring him it was an eaſy matter to incloſe CÆSAR, by the aſſiſtance of the narrow ways, with two armies, and cut off all his proviſions: which opportunity neglected, would neceſſarily plunge him, thirty cohorts, ſeveral Senators and Roman Knights, into imminent danger. In the mean while, having encouraged his men to behave themſelves bravely, he diſpoſed engines on the walls, appointed every man his particular poſt, and for their encouragement, promiſed each private ſoldier four acres of land out of his own eſtate; and the like in proportion to every centurion or volunteer.

This Domitius was the perſon whom the Senate had appointed to ſucceed Cæſar in his government.

Whilſt DOMITIUS was making theſe preparations, CÆSAR had notice that the people of Sulmo were at his devotion, but prevented from declaring by Q. LUCRETIUS a Senator, and ATTIUS a Pelignian, who poſſeſs'd the town with a garriſon of ſeven cohorts. This place lay about ſeven miles diſtant from Corfinium, and CÆSAR immediately on receipt of the meſſage ſent M. ANTONY thither with five cohorts of the thirteenth legion. On diſcovery of his enſigns, the Sulmonenſes opened their gates, and the ſoldiers, as well as citizens, came out to welcome ANTONY. Whereupon LUCRETIUS and ATTIUS endeavoured to make their eſcape over the wall; but the latter was taken, and being brought to ANTONY, deſired he might be ſent to CÆSAR. Thus ANTONY having happily compleated this affair, returned again the ſame day with ATTIUS and his troops to CÆSAR, who adding theſe cohorts to his own, diſmiſſed ATTIUS in ſafety.

The three firſt days, after CÆSAR ſet down before Corfinium, were employ'd in fortifying his camp, and getting proviſions from the neighbouring towns; for here he reſolved to expect the coming up of the reſt of his army. During this time arrived the eighth legion, with twelve cohorts newly raiſed in Gaul, and about 300 horſe ſent him by the king of Bavier. Upon which he made a new camp at another part of the town, where he appointed CURIO to command in chief. After this he began to ſurround Corfinium with a rampier, on which he erected ſeveral turrets. This work was almoſt compleated, when the couriers returned that had been ſent to POMPEY.

Rex Noricus.

DOMITIUS having read his Letter, thought proper to conceal the truth; and declared in council, that POMPEY would immediately come to their aſſiſtance. Wherefore he encouraged them valiantly to defend the town, and

Domitius's diſſimulation.

obey

obey thoſe orders which were neceſſary for defeating the enemy's deſigns: and in the mean while privately conſulted with a few of his particular friends how he might ſecure his eſcape. But his countenance and ſpeech ſeem'd ſo different, his carriage appear'd ſo much more confuſed than before, his conferences in private with his friends were ſo frequent, and thoſe with the general council ſo rare, that the truth could no longer be diſſembled: For POMPEY, in anſwer to his demands, had returned, "That he would not hazard the loſs of the cauſe upon ſo dangerous an iſſue; that it was neither his deſire nor advice that DOMITIUS ſhould throw himſelf into Corfinium: wherefore, if he had an opportunity of eſcaping, he would adviſe him to quit the town, and march to join his army:" Which CÆSAR reſolved to prevent, by finiſhing his Circumvallation.

Pompey's anſwer to Domitius's letter.

DOMITIUS's deſign having taken air, ſeveral of the ſoldiers in the town about evening began to mutiny, and ſpoke to the Tribunes, Centurions, and chief officers, to this effect: "That they were beſieged by CÆSAR, whoſe fortifications were now almoſt compleat; but their General, DOMITIUS, on whoſe honour they depended, when they embark'd in this affair, without regard to their ſafety, was meditating an eſcape: wherefore they were obliged to provide for themſelves." At firſt thoſe of Marſia, diſſenting from this reſolution, poſſeſs'd themſelves of the ſtrongeſt part of the town: and the diſpute grew ſo warm, that it almoſt came to be decided by the ſword. But not long after, being informed, by the meſſengers that paſs'd between them, of DOMITIUS's deſigns, which they were formerly ignorant of; they all unanimouſly agreed to ſecure DOMITIUS's perſon, and ſend deputies to CÆSAR, to acquaint him, they were ready to ſurrender at diſcretion, and deliver their General alive into his hands.

The garriſon mutiny.

The ſoldiers ſeize Domitius, ſend to Cæſar, and proffer to ſurrender at diſcretion.

On receipt of this meſſage, though CÆSAR was not ignorant how great importance it was of, to gain Corfinium with as much diſpatch as poſſible, and unite the ſolders to his army whilſt they were in the humour to come over to him, leſt their minds might be altered by large promiſes, encouragements, or falſe reports (for the greateſt events in war are ſubject every moment to change) yet leſt entring in the night might give the ſoldiers an opportunity to plunder the town, having returned the deputies thanks for their proffer, he ſent them back again; deſiring they would ſecure the gates and walls, the remainder of that night

CIVIL WAR.

with a very ſtrong guard: and he himſelf diſpoſed his ſoldiers round about the works he had begun, not at certain diſtances, as uſual, but in one continued rank, where the ſentinels, touching each other, formed a compleat circle. He ordered the horſe and foot officers to patrol about the works, and be careful not only to prevent ſallies, but the eſcape of any particular perſon: Nor was any man ſo drowſy to cloſe his eyes that night, each impatiently expecting the event of this affair; and attending the fate of the Corfinians, DOMITIUS, LENTULUS, and the reſt of the beſieged.

Lentulus Spinther comes to Cæſar to beg his life.

About three in the morning, LENTULUS SPINTHER ſpoke to our ſentinels from the walls, telling them he deſired leave to ſpeak with CÆSAR: which being granted, he came out of the town, attended by ſome of DOMITIUS's ſoldiers, who left him not till he arriv'd in CÆSAR's preſence. "He entreated CÆSAR to pardon his life for the ſake of their former friendſhip; he freely acknowledg'd the great favours he had formerly received from him; that by his intereſt he had been elected into the college of prieſts, obtained the province of Spain, when his Prætor's charge expired; and was aſſiſted by him, when he was candidate for the conſulat." Here CÆSAR, interrupting LENTULUS, ſaid, "He had not left his *government to do any man a prejudice, but to defend himſelf from the power of his enemies, to reſtore the tribunes, who had been driven out of Rome, to their lawful dignity, and aſſert his liberty, and the peoples, who were oppreſs'd by faction." LENTULUS, encouraged by this anſwer, deſired leave to return to the town, that the aſſurance of his ſafety might revive the reſt of the beſieged, leſt deſpair ſhould oblige ſome of them to enter upon fatal reſolutions; which was granted, and he departed.

Cæſar's anſwer.

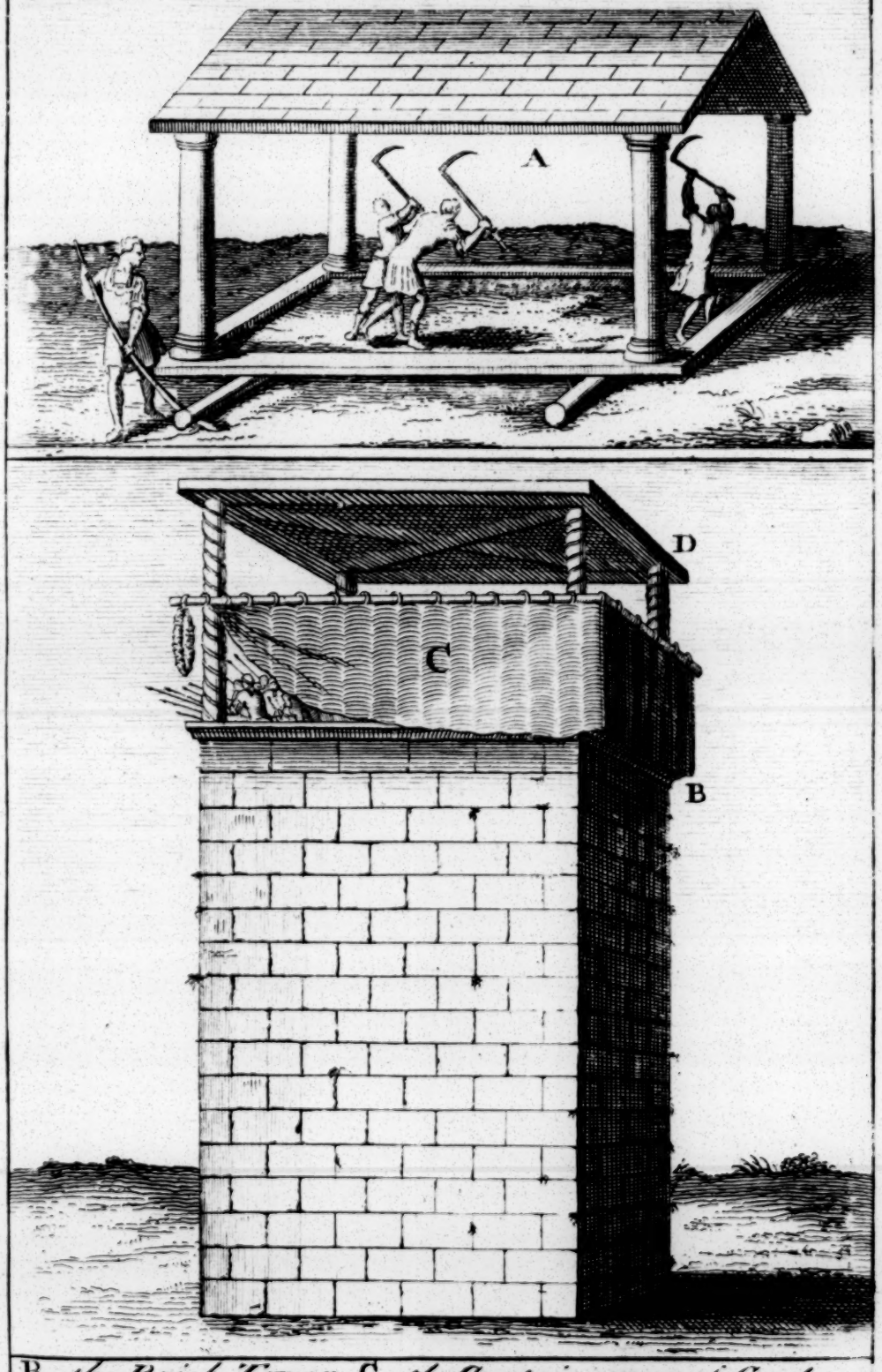
*Which was bounded by the Rubicon that ran between Ravenna and Rimini.

Corfinium ſurrenders.

When day-light appear'd, CÆSAR commanded the beſieged to bring out all the Senators, Senators children, tribunes of the ſoldiers, and Roman Knights: amongſt the number of Senators were found, L. DOMITIUS, P. LENTULUS SPINTHER, VIBULLIUS RUFUS, SEXTUS QUINTILIUS VARUS, the Treaſurer L. RUBRIUS, beſides DOMITIUS's ſon, and ſeveral other young gentlemen, with a greater number of Roman Knights and chief Burgeſſes, who had been ſummoned to attend DOMITIUS from the neighbouring towns. He protected them from the inſolences of the ſoldiers, and having in a few words reminded them of their ingratitude, diſmiſs'd them all in ſafety.

Sixty

A. *The form of a Musculus.* pag. 214.



B. *the Brick Tower.* C. *the Curtain woven of Cords.*
D. *the Roof raised higher by degrees till the work was finished.*

Sixty gold ſeſterces, which DOMITIUS had depoſited in the publick treaſury, were brought to CÆSAR by the two ſupreme magiſtrates of the town; but he returned them to DOMITIUS, though he knew they were part of the publick treaſure, and had been delivered out to POMPEY for the payment of his army; to convince the world he was as generous as merciful. He commanded the garriſon to be ſworn his ſoldiers, having ſtay'd only ſix days before Corfinium, decamped the ſeventh, when the town ſurrendered, and having made a compleat day's march through the confines of * Marrucini, * Frentani, and * Larinates, he arrived in Apulia.

CIVIL WAR.

Cæſar returns the 60 ſeſterces of gold to Domitius, which were brought him.

Marches through *Abruzzo, and great part of the kingdom of Naples.

CHAP. IX.

POMPEY, on notice of what had paſſed at Corfinium, leaving Luceria went to Canoſa, and from thence to Brindiſi, levying what forces he could in all parts of the country. And having armed about 300 ſlaves and ſhepherds, he gave them horſes, and made them cavalry. In the mean while, the Prætors, L. MANLIUS, and RUTILUS LUPUS, fled away, the firſt from Alba with ſix cohorts, and the latter from Tarracina, with three, who diſcovering CÆSAR's cavalry under the command of BIVIUS CURIUS at a diſtance, deſerted the Prætor, and came over to CÆSAR. So the following days ſeveral other entire cohorts deſerted to us, ſome joining our foot, and others our cavalry. C. MAGIUS of Cremona, chief Engineer to POMPEY, falling in with a party of ours, upon the road, was taken, and brought to CÆSAR, who ſent him back to POMPEY with this meſſage; "That ſince he had not yet obtained an opportunity of conferring with POMPEY, he deſigned to wait upon him at Brindiſi; for it was of great importance to the commonwealth in general, and every member in particular, that they ſhould have an interview, that might enable them to conclude a treaty, which could not ſo conveniently be agreed on, when the conditions were to be carried backward and forward at ſome diſtance by a third perſon."

Luceria. Canuſium. Pompey flies to Brunduſium.

Rutilus Lupus's three cohorts deſert to Cæſar.

Cn. Magius being taken, Cæſar ſends him back to Pompey with a meſſage.

Having diſmiſſed MAGIUS with this meſſage, he marched himſelf to Brindiſi with ſix legions; three compoſed of veteran ſoldiers, the other of new levies and deſerters: not computing DOMITIUS's cohorts, which he immediately detached from Corfinium for Sicily. On his arrival he was informed that the Conſuls were gone to Durazzo with great part of the army: but POMPEY remained

Cæſar arrives at Brunduſium. Dyrrachium.

CIVIL WAR.

remained in the town with twenty cohorts, yet he could not be ſatisfied whether POMPEY ſtay'd there for want of ſhipping to tranſporr him over, or with a deſign to ſecure Brindiſi, that he might the eaſier command the Adratick, the country of Greece, and the extreme parts of Italy, and be able to maintain the war on both ſides of the gulf. However, leſt POMPEY ſhould think it was not in CÆSAR's power to oblige him to quit Italy, he reſolved to block up the haven mouth, and prevent all acceſs to the town. "Which he contrived to do by raiſing two mounts on either ſide the mouth of the haven, where the paſſage was narroweſt, and the ſhores ſhallow. But where the depth of water prevented works of that nature, cloſe to the mount he placed double floats of timber, thirty foot ſquare in ſurface, with anchors at each corner, to prevent their being carried away by the waves. To this float thus fixed, he added others to compleat the blockade; covered them all over with earth and faſcines, that the ſoldiers might have the ſurer footing to defend them: Then raiſed a breaſt-work, and penthouſes all round the work, and on every fourth float built turrets two ſtories high, to defend them from burning, and the violence of the ſhips."

Cæſar's blockade at the haven of Brindiſi.

To interrupt theſe works, and deſtroy our blockade, POMPEY ſent out a ſquadron of large veſſels that lay in the haven, on which he erected turrets three ſtories high, and ſupplied them with plenty of darts and engines. So that there paſſed daily ſkirmiſhes at a diſtance, with ſlings, darts and arrows: but yet CÆSAR managed his affairs ſo prudently, as not to take away all hopes of compoſing the matter by treaty. And though he wondered extremely that MAGIUS, whom he had ſent to POMPEY, had not yet returned with an anſwer to his meſſage; though he had often attempted a treaty in his own delay, yet not deſiſting from the ſame peaceable reſolutions; he ſent CANINIUS REBILUS, one of his lieutenants, to confer about the matter with SCRIBONIUS LIBO, his particular friend and near relation, deſiring him to engage LIBO to be inſtrumental in making up the differences between him and POMPEY; but above all things to procure him an interview, for then poſſibly they both might conſent on equal terms to lay down their arms; and the honour of the treaty would redound to LIBO, if his mediation concluded the peace. LIBO, having conferred with CANINIUS, went immediately to POMPEY, and not long after returned him this anſwer, "That POMPEY could not treat during the abſence of the conſuls." Thus

Cæſar ſends Rebilus to treat with Libo.

Pompey's anſwer.

CÆSAR, having ſo often to no purpoſe eſſay'd a reconciliation, thought it time to lay aſide any further thoughts of a treaty, and do himſelf juſtice by the ſword. CIVIL WAR.

CHAP. X.

CÆSAR had already ſpent nine days about his works, which were almoſt half compleated, when the ſhips, which had tranſported the conſuls with part of the army to Durazzo, returned to Brindiſi; whereupon POMPEY, either apprehending the conſequence of CÆSAR's works, or having long before deſigned to quit Italy, ſo ſoon as the fleet arrived, prepared for his departure. And to moderate the ſhock of CÆSAR's attack, leſt his ſoldiers ſhould force their way into the town whilſt he was marching out, he ſtopped up every gate, with all the ſtreets and avenues; cut ditches croſs the ways, wherein he fixed ſharp piles and ſtakes, covering the ſurface with turves and hurdles, and only left two paſſages open that led towards the haven, which he fortified with ſtrong paliſadoes.

Pompey's fleet returns to Brindiſi before Cæſar's works are compleat.

Pompey blocks up all the avenues to Brindiſi;

This affair diſpatched, he commanded the ſoldiers to go on board without noiſe or tumult, leaving only ſmall parties of light-arm'd archers and ſlingers on the walls, and in the turrets, with orders to quit their poſts upon a certain ſignal, ſo ſoon as the reſt of the ſoldiers ſhould be ſhipped off, and repair to a ſafe place, where gallies lay ready for them to embark in. But the beſieged, who had received many injuries and affronts both from POMPEY and his army, were well affected to CÆSAR; and therefore ſo ſoon as they knew POMPEY's deſigns, whilſt the ſoldiers were preparing for their voyage, gave CÆSAR notice of his departure from the tops of their houſes: whereupon he immediately commanded his ſoldiers to repair to their arms, and provide ſcaling-ladders, that no time might be loſt in the execution of his deſign. Not long before night POMPEY weigh'd anchor, when the ſoldiers on the wall, receiving the intended ſignal, quitted their ſtations, and arrived at the place where the gallies attended them. CÆSAR's ſoldiers in the mean while had ſcaled the walls, but being adviſed by the beſieged to beware of the * piles, which had been fixed by POMPEY's order in the ditches, made a halt, and were at laſt conducted by a long circuit to the haven; where, by the aſſiſtance of ſome ſmall boats, they ſeized two of POMPEY's veſſels, that ſtuck upon CÆSAR's mounts.

and prepares to go on board.

The beſieged give Cæſar notice of it.

Pompey's ſoldiers go on board, and weigh anchor.

* Vallum Cæcum, which ſeems to be much the ſame with the lillies at the ſiege of Aliſe.

CHAP.

CIVIL WAR.

CHAP. XI.

THOUGH CÆSAR was fully perſuaded how much it would conduce towards a ſpeedy determination of the war, to equip a fleet, and follow POMPEY croſs the ſeas, before he could have an opportunity of joining his tranſmarine allies; yet he conſidered the time it would require to enable him to do it, becauſe POMPEY had taken all the ſhipping in the harbour along with him, whereby he had effectually prevented a purſuit; and if CÆSAR deſigned to come after, he muſt be obliged to attend the arrival of a navy from remote countries, as Gaul, Ancona, and the *Streights, which the ſeaſon of the year would render tedious and troubleſome. On the other hand he thought it might prove of ill conſequence to his affairs, that POMPEY's veteran army, and the two provinces of Spain (whereof one had been infinitely obliged to him for many ſignal favours) ſhould be confirm'd in his intereſt; that his enemies ſhould have an opportunity of raiſing more horſe, or ſolliciting Gaul and Italy to forſake him during his abſence: wherefore he reſolved at preſent to deſiſt from purſuing POMPEY, and make an expedition into Spain.

For Ancona is the chief port of the Piſeni.

*Fretum.

Having ordered the chief Burgeſſes of the municipal towns to provide ſhipping, and ſend them to Brindiſi; he ſent lieutenant VALERIUS with one legion to Sardinia; and CURIO, the Proprætor, into Sicily with three more; commanding him, ſo ſoon as he ſhould have rendered himſelf maſter of the iſland, to tranſport his army into Africk.

Cæſar reſolves to go to Spain.

Sends Valerius to Sardinia, Curio to Sicily.

MARCUS COTTA was Governor of Sardinia, M. CATO of Sicily; and Africk ſhould have fallen to TUBERO's lot. The people of Cagliari, on notice of VALERIUS's expedition, of their own accord, before he had left Italy, expelled COTTA out of their town, who was mightily ſurprized at this uſage; but perceiving the whole iſland was concerned in the buſineſs, left Sardinia, and eſcaped to Africk. In the mean while CATO made great preparations; he gave orders for refitting the old gallies in Sicily, for building new, and diſperſed his lieutenants to raiſe forces amongſt the Roman citizens in Lucania and Brutia, commanding every diſtrict in his government to furniſh him with a particular quota of horſe and foot. His levies were almoſt compleated, when he received news of CURIO's arrival; whereupon he publickly complained, that

Coralitani. The Sardinians expel M. Cotta

Cato's preparations for war.

that he had been betrayed by POMPEY, who had plung'd the republick into an unneceſſary war, aſſuring him and the reſt of the ſenate, that he had taken care for all kind of neceſſary proviſions, whereas he had provided nothing. Having thus declared his mind, he likewiſe abdicated his province, as COTTA had done before. So VALERIUS found Sardinia, and CURIO Sicili, without a Governor, when they landed their armies there.

Cato's cowardice.

Valerius gains Sardinia; Curio Sicily.

TUBERO, on his arrival in Africk, found the country commanded by ACTIUS VARUS; who, as we have already remarked, having loſt his cohorts at Oſmo, had immediately returned into Africa, and without commiſſion poſſeſſed himſelf of the government, which he found vacant. Here, by the intereſt and knowledge he had of the people and country, he ſoon levied two legions; for not long before, he had governed that province, after the expiration of his Prætorſhip. TUBERO arrived at Utica with his fleet, but was prohibited entring either the town or haven by VARUS, who refuſed his ſon leave to come aſhore, though he had a fit of ſickneſs upon him, and obliged TUBERO, without further delay, to weigh anchor, and be gone.

Tubero diſappointed of his government.

CHAP. XII.

THESE affairs thus diſpatched, that his ſoldiers might have ſome reſpite from fatigue, CÆSAR diſpoſed them into the neareſt municipal towns, and went to Rome: where having called a ſenate, he laid before them an account of the injuries he had received from his enemies. He told them, "He never had aſpired to extraordinary dignities, and ſhould have been contented to have enjoy'd the expected conſulat, during the uſual time, according to that decree of the tribunes, whereby it was enacted, that he ſhould have the liberty of ſtanding candidate, though abſent, ſpite of the oppoſition made by his enemies, but eſpecially by CATO (who conſumed ſo much time in inſiſting on the ancient cuſtoms of Rome) even during the conſulat of POMPEY himſelf, who might have prevented the paſſing of the decree, had he diſapproved it: but if he then thought convenient to allow it, CÆSAR knew no reaſon why he ſhould afterwards deprive him of the benefit of the peoples affections. For him, he had given ſufficient proofs of his patience, ſince of his own accord he had propoſed, that both parties ſhould lay down their arms, which might have been of fatal conſequence

Cæſar goes to Rome, and calls a ſenate.

His ſpeech.

CIVIL WAR.

quence to his honour and dignity. But ſuch was the malice of his enemies, that they refuſed to comply with thoſe propoſitions which they made to others; rather chooſing to plunge all things into confuſion, than part with the command of armies. Here likewiſe he enlarged on the injuſtice they had done, in taking away two of his legions, their cruel and inſolent behaviour in violating the authority of the tribunes: his repeated offers of peace and a conference, which could never be granted. Wherefore he deſired and conjured them, to take the republick into their protection, and aſſiſt him to govern it: but if their fears perſuaded them to decline the proffer, he ſhould not much importune them to accept it; for he would aſſume the ſole adminiſtration into his own hands. However, in the mean while, it was neceſſary to ſend embaſſadors to treat about a compoſition; for he valued not POMPEY's opinion, which he had lately declared in the ſenate, that ſending embaſſadors to any one, neceſſarily imply'd a greater power and pre-eminence in the perſon they were ſent to, and apparent fear in the ſender; ſince his ſoul was acted by ſuperior maxims; and as he had ſurpaſſed the reſt of mankind in warlike and noble actions, ſo he was ambitious of out-doing them in juſtice and equity."

Cæſar propoſes, that deputies be ſent to treat with Pompey; but no body can be found to go.

The ſenate approved well enough of this embaſſage; but no deputies could be found. For POMPEY had declared, before his departure, that he ſhould eſteem thoſe who ſtay'd behind in Rome, equally guilty with thoſe in CÆSAR's camp; which deterred every one from undertaking the office. In fine, three days were conſumed in debates and excuſes; for the tribune, LUCIUS METELLUS*, had been engaged by the contrary faction to protract the time, and oppoſe whatever CÆSAR ſhould offer.

* This METELLUS was the perſon that oppoſed CÆSAR's taking the publick treaſure, till his malice ſubmitted to his fear: but our author has omitted this paſſage, for which reaſon ſome criticks have taxed him with want of integrity. I ſhould rather attribute this omiſſion to forgetfulneſs, ſince we have ſo ſtrong an argument of his plain-dealing in his ſpeech juſt before. CÆSAR certainly wanted not the courage to avow all his actions to poſterity; and he who miſtakes him for ſo ſhallow a politician, to think he imagined he could ſuppreſs the memory of this, by leaving it out of his Commentaries, muſt be a very great ſtranger to his character.

CHAP. XIII.

Cæſar leaves Rome goes to the further Gaul.

CÆSAR had now ſpent three days to no purpoſe; when perceiving their reſolution, that he might loſe no more,

more, leaving the deſigns uneffected, which brought him thither, he quitted Rome, and went into the further Gaul. On his arrival there, he was informed that POMPEY had ſent VIBULLIUS RUFUS into Spain; who not long before had been taken at Corfinium, and diſmiſſed; that DOMITIUS was gone to Marſeilles with eight gallies fitted out in Sicily and Sardinia, mann'd by his own ſervants, infranchiſed ſlaves and plough-men: and that POMPEY, before his departure from Rome, having ſecured ſeveral young noblemen of Marſeilles in his intereſt, had ſent them thither to prevent the former offices of friendſhip he had done them from being blotted out of their memory, by thoſe they had latelier received from CÆSAR. On receipt of this meſſage, the people of Marſeilles called in their ancient allies the Albici, to their aſſiſtance (a barbarous people, that inhabit the mountains round about their country) ſet up forges to make arms, got proviſions from the neighbouring fields and caſtles, repaired their walls and gates, refitted their navy, and refuſed to give CÆSAR admittance into their town.

Marſeilles ſhuts her gates againſt Cæſar.

Wherefore having ſent for fifteen of the moſt conſiderable perſons in the city, to prevent the war from beginning at Marſeilles, he adviſed them rather to follow the example of all Italy, than be governed by any particular perſon; not forgeting ſuch other motives as might incline them to embrace more prudent reſolutions. The deputies returned home and brought him this anſwer from the government; "That underſtanding the people of Rome were divided into two factions, they neither had judgment nor authority ſufficient to decide whether party had juſtice on their ſide; eſpecially ſince POMPEY and CÆSAR, the two patrons of their country, headed the different factions: For they had been obliged to the former for the revenues of the lower Languedoc and Vivarais; and to the other, for augmenting their yearly tributes by a part of Gaul, after his conqueſt there. Wherefore ſince they were equally indebted to them both, they reſolved to declare for neither, but ſtand neuter; without admitting POMPEY or CÆSAR into their city or haven."

Strabo l. 4. Theſe fifteen were a particular magiſtracy, as the council of ten at Venice.

Cæſar has a conference with the magiſtrates of Marſeilles.

Their anſwer.

But whilſt this treaty was in agitation, DOMITIUS arriving at Marſeilles with his fleet, was received into the town, made Governor of the place, and had the chief management of the war committed to his charge. He ordered the navy to go a cruiſing round the coaſts, commanding them to ſeize upon all the merchants veſſels they could find; and with the timber, nails, and tackle of ſuch

Domitius received into the town, made Governor.

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ſuch as were moſt crazy, to refit the reſt. All the corn in the city, and all kind of neceſſary proviſions, were laid up in the publick arſenal, that they might be prepared for a ſiege, if CÆSAR ſhould inveſt the town.

Cæſar reſolves to beſiege Marſeilles.

Whereupon CÆSAR, provoked by theſe injuries, marched with three legions to Marſeilles, reſolved to build turrets, vines, and ſuch other works as were neceſſary to ſtorm the town; and gave orders for building twelve gallies at Arles, which were fitted out, equipped with all things neceſſary, and brought to Marſeilles, within thirty days after the timber was felled. He made D. BRUTUS Admiral of this ſquadron, and left C. TREBONIUS to carry on the ſiege.

Arelas.

CHAP. XIV.

Cæſar ſends C. Fabius with three legions into Spain.

WHILST theſe preparations were going forward, CÆSAR ſent C. FABIUS, with three legions that were quartered about Narbon, into Spain before him; with orders to ſecure the paſſage o'er the Pyrenian hills as ſoon as poſſible, which was guarded by a party of L. AFRANIUS's army: and commanded the legions that lay further off to follow after. FABIUS, according to his orders, made haſte to the mountains, obliged the party to quit their poſt, and from thence travelled by long marches towards AFRANIUS's army.

Fabius gains the paſſage o'er the Pyrenian hills.

We have already taken notice that POMPEY diſpatched VIBULLIUS RUFUS into Spain, which he had divided amongſt * AFRANIUS, VARRO, and PETREIUS, three of

* In the original 'tis AFRANIUS, PETREIUS, and VARRO, but certainly the names muſt be tranſpoſed; for if VARRO, who is placed the third, poſſeſſed Luſitania and Vettonum Agrum, or rather Bætica; for that province is divided from the Luſitanica by the river Guadiana, what can be the meaning of the following ſentence, that PETREIUS ſhould march with all his forces out of Luſitania, through Bætica, to join AFRANIUS: for though I ſhould agree that both VARRO and PETREIUS poſſeſſed different parts of Luſitania at the ſame time (for what elſe could CÆSAR mean by that diviſion, from the Caſtilian foreſt to the Guadiana) yet I cannot conceive why PETREIUS, if he was in the northern part of Luſitania (as I ſhall endeavour to demonſtrate) ſhould take ſo unneceſſary a circuit to croſs the Guadiana twice, and march through Bætica to Ilerda or Lerida in Catalonia, ſince there was no enemy to oppoſe his paſſage the nearer way. CÆSAR only divides Spain into two provinces, the nearer and the farther; but CLUVER into three; Bætica, Luſitania, and Terraconenſis. The firſt of theſe contains Granada, Andaluſia, Eſtremadura, and part of new Caſtile; the ſecond, Portugal, with part of old and new Caſtile; but the third, which was by much the largeſt, did not only contain Murcia, Valencia, Catalonia, Arragon, Navar, Biſcay, Aſturia, Gallæcia, and Leon, but alſo part of both Caſtiles. This Provincia Terraconenſis, which is all one with the nearer Spain, you perceive was entirely engroſſed by AFRANIUS; PETREIUS, at the ſame time, commanded the Provincia Bætica with Luſitania, that is, the ſouthern parts of Luſitania; for if he had the entire Province, what would become of VARRO? He therefore, no doubt, commanded the northern part of Luſitania, as low as Liſbon, and from thence extending eaſtward, in a direct line,

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of his lieutenants: the firſt of theſe commanded the nearer Spain, with three legions; the ſecond, from the Caſtilian foreſt to the river Guadiana, with two; the third, Bætica, and all the ſouthern parts of Portugal, from the river Guadiana to the ſea, with the like number. On VIBULLIUS's arrival it was reſolved, that PETREIUS ſhould march with all his forces out of Luſitania through Bætica, to join AFRANIUS; whereupon PETREIUS began to levy both horſe and foot in Luſitania, as AFRANIUS did in Celtiberia, Cantabria, and thoſe other barbarous countries towards the northern ſea. PETREIUS having compleated his levies, immediately marched through Bætica to AFRANIUS, and both reſolved to make Lerida the ſeat of war, becauſe the country lay ſo convenient for their purpoſe.

Saltus Caſtulonenſis. Ana. Vetronum. Agrum. Luſitania. Ilerda.

We have already obſerved that AFRANIUS had three legions, PETREIUS two; beſides theſe, they had levied about eighty cohorts of ſmall and large target-bearers in both the provinces of Spain, with near 5000 cavalry. CÆSAR, on the other hand, had ſent his legions into Spain, with 6000 auxiliary foot, and 3000 horſe, which had ſerved under him during all his former wars, and he was furniſhed with the like number of volunteers from the ſeveral ſtates of Gaul, the flower of their country; but the moſt warlike of theſe were the Highlanders of Gaſcoigne. Having notice that POMPEY was marching with his legions through Africk to Spain, and would e'er long arrive there; CÆSAR borrowed money from the chief officers of his army, which he diſtributed amongſt his ſoldiers: by which means he gained two conſiderable points at the ſame inſtant; for he made it the officers intereſt to adhere to his party, and ſecured the ſoldiers hearts by his liberality.

Afranius and Petreius their forces. Scutati and Cetrati. Viz. The legions that had orders to follow after Fabius. Cæſar's policy in borrowing money of his officers towards his Spaniſh expedition.

FABIUS, in the mean while, left nothing unattempted for gaining the country round about to his party, by his letters

Fabius builds two bridges croſs the Sicoris.

line, as far as Calatrava: for the river Guadiana divides this part of Luſitania from the Provincia Bætica, all the way between Badajos and Calatriva. But PETREIUS, who had part of his legions quartered in the ſouthern Portugal, and part about Eſtremadura, lay ready to execute theſe orders, and at his departure left the entire command of the farther province, which in CÆSAR's time contained both Luſitania and Bætica, to VARRO. One thing we may remark from this diviſion; viz. that they who derive the original name of the kingdom of Caſtile from the caſtles that were built in that country by the Goths and Vandals, to put a ſtop to the incurſions of the Moors, who had over-run the entire Provincia Bætica, muſt own themſelves miſtaken, till they can find out another interpretation for Saltus Caſtulonenſis; for the Goths and Vandals got no footing there themſelves, till about 400 years after the birth of our Saviour, and the Moors not before 320 years after them, which is about 800 years after CÆSAR wrote his Commentaries. Monſieur D'ARLANCOURT indeed has rendered this Saltus Caſtulonenſis, Caſlona, or his editor for him in the margin; but if Caſlona be a town in Andaluſia, it can never quadrate with CÆSAR's meaning.

letters and embaſſadors. He had already caſt two bridges croſs the Sicoris, about four miles diſtant from each other, for the convenience of foraging, becauſe he had conſumed all the proviſions on this ſide the river: POMPEY's lieutenants, for the ſame reaſon, imitated his example, which occaſioned ſeveral ſkirmiſhes between our cavalry. It happened one day, that two of FABIUS's legions going out to guard the foragers, according to their cuſtom, had paſſed the river, when the carriages and cavalry endeavouring to follow after, over-loaded the bridge, which having already been weakened by the ſwelling of the river, fell down, and prevented the horſe from joining the foot, who were gone before: which PETREIUS and AFRANIUS perceiving, by the hurdles and other materials that came ſwimming down with the ſtream, immediately detached four legions with all their cavalry, croſs the bridge that lay neareſt the town and their camp, with orders to attack FABIUS's two legions. On their approach, L. PLANCUS, who commanded the foraging guard, found himſelf obliged to gain the higher ground, and make a double front, to prevent being ſurrounded by AFRANIUS's cavalry. Notwithſtanding the diſadvantage of number, he bravely received the charge of their horſe and infantry, till the colours of two legions, which FABIUS had ſent over the further bridge to ſuſtain his party, were deſcry'd at a diſtance; for he ſuſpected POMPEY's lieutenants would lay hold of that opportunity to fall upon his men: on the arrival of theſe two legions, the engagement ceaſed, and both parties returned to their ſeveral camps.

Fabius's foragers attack'd on the breaking of the bridge.

But Fabius detaches two legions to ſuſtain his men;

whereupon the engagement ceaſes.

CHAP. XV.

WITHIN two days after CÆSAR's arrival in the camp with a guard of 900 horſe, the bridge which had been broken down was almoſt rebuilt, and he gave orders for finiſhing the remaining part by night. Having taken a view of the place, he left ſix cohorts for a guard to his camp and baggage, and marched the day after with his army in three battalions towards Lerida, where he offered AFRANIUS battle on an even ground: whereupon AFRANIUS drew out his forces, and diſpoſed them on the middle of the hill before his camp. But CÆSAR perceiving he declined the engagement, reſolved to encamp about 400 paces from the foot of the mountain. And leſt the ſoldiers ſhould be interrupted in their works by ſudden attacks

Cæſar arrives in the camp, gives orders for repairing the bridge, and marches towards Lerida.

Afranius draws out his forces to confront him, but does not fight.

tacks from the enemy; he order'd them not to throw up a rampier as uſually, but only to cut a ditch fifteeen foot breadth in front, towards the enemy. The firſt and ſecond lines, according to command, continued in order of battle, and the third had diſpatched their buſineſs before AFRANIUS diſcovered that CÆSAR deſigned to encamp there.

Cæſar cuts a ditch in his rear, and encamps.

In the evening CÆSAR drew his legions within this ditch, and ordered them to lie that night upon their arms. The day after he ſtirred not out of the place; and becauſe he muſt have been obliged to ſend a great way for materials to compile a rampier, he contented himſelf for the preſent, to ſurround his camp on all ſides only with a ditch of the ſame breadth with the former; and allotted a ſeveral legion to compleat each ſide of the work, commanding the reſt of his forces to be ready to receive the enemy's charge. In the mean while PETREIUS and AFRANIUS, to divert the ſoldiers from going forward with the work, drew down their legions to the foot of the hill, and provoked them to engage. However, CÆSAR, depending on the three legions which were ready at their arms, and the defence of his ditch, did not omit carrying on his works: which the enemy obſerving, advanced no farther than the ſide of the hill; where they continued not long, before they returned to their camp. The third day, CÆSAR having fortified his with a rampier, ſent orders to the cohorts and baggage, which he had left behind, to decamp, and come up to him.

He cuts a ditch round about his camp fifteen foot broad.

Afranius draws out his forces to divert the works, to no purpoſe.

CHAP. XVI.

BETWEEN Lerida and the next hill, where PETREIUS and AFRANIUS were encamped, lay a plain about 300 paces over; in the midſt whereof was a gentle riſing ground, ſomething higher than the valley round about: CÆSAR hoped, if he could but render himſelf maſter of this place, to intercept the enemy's communication with the town and bridge, and deprive them of thoſe convoys they uſed to receive from thence. Wherefore having made a draught of three legions, he ranged them in order of battle, and commanded the Anteſignani of one to run before, and gain the place: which AFRANIUS perceiving, diſpatched his advanced guard a nearer way to the ſame poſt: they diſputed the matter warmly on both ſides, but AFRANIUS's party, who came thither firſt,

A bloody ſkirmiſh between conſiderable parties of both armies.

CIVIL WAR.

first, having the advantage of the ground, obliged our men to retire, and being reinforced by fresh supplies, forced them to fly for shelter to the legions.

The way Afranius's soldiers fought.

The manner of their soldiers fighting was this, first to make a furious charge, in order to gain a particular post, without regard to ranks and files, fighting desperately in small parties on every side; and if they found themselves warmly received, they thought it no disgrace to retire, being accustomed to this kind of engagement, by their frequent rencounters with the Lusitanians, and the other barbarous people of Spain: for soldiers generally acquire the particular customs of the country where they have served for a considerable time. But our men were extremely surprized at this new way of fighting; for perceiving every soldier quitted his rank, and ran disorderly up and down, they were apprehensive of being surrounded on all sides, whilst they were obliged to maintain their ranks, and neither quit their post nor standard but upon some very extraordinary occasion. Thus the Antesignani being routed, the legion likewise in that wing gave ground, and retired to the next hill.

Cæsar's party at first routed.

The ninth legion sent to relieve them.

Whereupon CÆSAR, finding the whole army surprized at this extraordinary accident, detached the ninth legion to sustain his party, and put a stop to the career of the enemy's pursuit. His orders were so well performed, that the enemy, though flush'd with success, were obliged in their turn to give ground, and retire for shelter to the walls of Lerida. But the soldiers of the ninth legion being too eager to repair the disgrace of their party, pursued the enemy till they had brought themselves into a disadvantageous place, the bottom of the hill upon which the town was built; and as they endeavoured to retreat, found themselves charged afresh from the higher ground. The front of this ascent was rough and steep on every side, extending only so far in breadth as was sufficient for drawing up three cohorts: but it was impossible to relieve them, nor could the cavalry be of any use. From the town, indeed, the descent was something easier for about 400 paces in length, which furnished our men with an opportunity of extricating themselves from the disadvantage their rashness had brought them into. Here the fight was obstinately maintained, though with great inequality on our side, as well on account of the narrowness of the place, as the advantage the enemy had, by being masters of the rising ground, from whence no javelin fell in vain; yet our men

Rout the enemy.

Pursue too eagerly, fall into a disadvantageous place.

The fight renew'd.

men bravely encountered with all theſe difficulties, and patiently endured the wounds they received: the enemy perpetually received ſupplies, and freſh cohorts were frequently ſent through the town to relieve the wearied; which obliged CÆSAR to detach parties thither for the like purpoſe. The engagement had now continued four hours without intermiſſion, when our men, who had ſpent all their piles and javelins, bravely charged the enemy with ſword in hand; and having killed ſome, obliged the reſt to fly, notwithſtanding the advantage of the upper ground. Thus having driven ſome into the town, and the reſt under the walls, they eaſily obtained an opportunity of retreating; for our cavalry, ſtriving againſt the ſteepneſs of the aſcent, mounting on either ſide to the top of the hill, and riding between both armies, ſecured our retreat: ſo many, and ſo various were the turns of fortune in this rencounter. About ſeventy of our men were killed in the firſt charge; amongſt which number fell Q. FULGINIUS, centurion of the firſt company of pike-men of the fourteenth legion, who had been preferred to that poſt, from a lower rank, for his extraordinary courage; and above 600 were wounded. On AFRANIUS's ſide were killed T. CÆCILIUS, centurion of a primple, four more centurions of inferior orders, and above 200 common ſoldiers. Yet ſo various were the opinions of this day's ſucceſs, that each party thought they had the better on it. AFRANIUS's ſoldiers, becauſe they had ſo long ſuſtained the aſſault of ours, though in all mens judgment they were the weaker; for having firſt poſſeſſed and maintained the poſt, which was the occaſion of that diſpute, and obliged our men on the firſt rencounter, to give ground. But ours, becauſe they had maintained the fight five hours together maugre the inequality of place and number, becauſe they had forced their way up the riſing ground with ſword in hand, and obliged the enemy to retire into the town, notwithſtanding the advantage of the hill: However, after the engagement was over, AFRANIUS fortified the mount for which we contended, and placed a garriſon on it.

CIVIL WAR.

Both parties retreat.

Primus Haſtatus.

The various opinions of this day's ſucceſs.

During the two days that this affair was in agitation, there happened a very unfortunate accident, for the weather was ſo tempeſtuous, it raiſed the water to a greater height than ever was known in that country; the ſnow ran down ſo violently from all the mountains round about into the Sicoris, that the river overflowed its banks, and in one day were deſtroyed both the bridges which FABIUS had

The Sicoris overflows its banks, and breaks down both Fabius's bridges.

CIVIL WAR.

built; which reduced the army to great extremities. For we have already obſerved, that our forces were encamped between the two rivers, * Cinga and Sicoris, which for the ſpace of thirty miles together were neither of them fordable: ſo the army being blocked up within this narrow compaſs, the countries which had declared in favour of CÆSAR, could not ſupply him with proviſions; the foragers could not return again becauſe the waters were out; nor could the convoys and recruits, which came from Gaul and Italy, find the means of arriving at the camp.

The difficulties Cæſar laboured under.

To add to theſe difficulties, the ſeaſon of the year rendered proviſions very ſcarce, for the laſt year's corn was all conſumed, and that on the ground was hardly ripe. All the countries round about were emptied, for AFRANIUS, before CÆSAR's arrival, had carried moſt of the corn to Lerida; and that ſmall remainder which was left, our army had already devoured. As for the cattle, which were our ſecond dependance, the natives had removed them farther off, when their country was appointed the ſeat of war. Our foragers were mightily incommoded by the light-armed Luſitanians, and Spaniards of the higher province, who being acquainted with the courſe of the country, purſued them; for it was eaſy for them to get over the river, being always provided with bladders, or leathern bags to ſwim with.

Uteribus.

But on the contrary, AFRANIUS had plenty of all kind of proviſions, for he had laid up great quantities of corn, often received freſh convoys, and had forage enough for his cavalry; the bridge of Lerida furniſhing him with all theſe conveniencies without any danger, for the country beyond the river, which CÆSAR could not come at, was wholly untouched.

Cæſar endeavours to rebuild his bridges, with ill ſucceſs.

The waters were out ſeveral days together; CÆSAR did his utmoſt endeavour to repair the bridges, but the ſwelling of the river, and the parties which AFRANIUS had diſpoſed on the oppoſite banks, prevented his deſigns; which they might eaſily do, becauſe of the nature of the river, the height of the water, and the convenience they had of caſting their darts, all along the bank, on that particular place where our men were obliged to work: which rendered it very difficult for them at the ſame time to ſtruggle with the force of the ſtream, and avoid the enemy's darts

CHAP.

* Either here muſt be ſomething added, or elſe there is ſomething left out before in this book, for I don't find any mention made of the Cinga.

CIVIL WAR.

CHAP. XVII.

AFRANIUS had notice of conſiderable reinforcements and convoys, which were marching to join CÆSAR; but being hindered by the waters, were obliged to make a halt on the river's ſide: amongſt theſe were archers from Roverge, and cavalry from the Celtic Gaul, with great ſtore of baggage, according to the cuſtom of their country, beſides about 6000 more of ſeveral ſorts, with ſervants and children, who marched without order; for being ſubject to no commander, every man followed the ſeveral dictates of his own humour, travelling up and down the country careleſly, as if the roads were ſecure as formerly. There were likewiſe many young gentlemen of quality, knights, and ſenators ſons, with embaſſadors from ſeveral ſtates, and ſome of CÆSAR's lieutenants, but all their journies were ſtopp'd by the river.

Afranius marches to attack ſome convoys and recruits that were coming to Cæſar.

On this advice AFRANIUS marched in the night, with three legions and all his cavalry, to cut them off, and ſent his horſe before, who fell upon them e'er they were ready to receive them: the Gallic cavalry ſoon rallied, and engaged them bravely, returning their charge, notwithſtanding the diſparity of number, ſo long as they had none but horſe to encounter with; but on diſcovery of the legions enſigns, ſome few being ſlain, the reſt retreated to the neighbouring hills. However, this ſhort ſkirmiſh was of great advantage to the reſt of their party, for it gave them time to rally upon the higher ground: this day we loſt about 200 archres, a few cavalry and ſervants, with a ſmall part of our baggage.

Kills 200 archers, ſome cavalry and ſervants.

But this encreaſed the price of proviſions, as well on the ſcore of the preſent ſcarcity, as the apprehenſion of future want: a buſhel of corn was ſold for * 50 pence, the ſoldiers daily grew more feeble, inconveniencies encreaſed every day, and a wonderful change appeared in a few days time; ſo much did fortune favour the enemy, that whilſt we laboured under the want of all kind of neceſſaries, they had plenty of every thing, and were eſteemed the victors. CÆSAR left nothing uneffected to redreſs the preſent ſcarcity; he ſent to the countries that were in league with him, to furniſh him with cattle, becauſe they had but little corn, and diſmiſs'd thoſe that were attendants on the camp to diſtant places.

Great ſcarcity in Cæſar's camp.

* At leaſt 16 s. 8 d. Engliſh.

CIVIL WAR.

AFRANIUS, PETREIUS, and their friends, ſent accounts of this to Rome; and ſo much had report enlarged the truth, that the war appeared to be almoſt at an end: when the couriers arrived at Rome, there was a great concourſe at AFRANDIUS's houſe, and mighty congratulations were made amongſt their party; many flock'd out of Italy to POMPEY, ſome to carry the firſt account of this grateful news, and others to avoid coming lateſt, when fortune ſhould have given judgment againſt CÆSAR's cauſe. Affairs being reduced to this extremity, CÆSAR perceiving all the paſſes were guarded by AFRANIUS's parties, and that it was impoſſible to repair the bridges, gave orders for building ſuch boats as he had formerly obſerv'd the Engliſh made uſe of: their keels and lower part were made of light timber, the ſides of wicker covered over with ſkins: theſe being finiſhed, he placed them on waggons, ſent them by night about twenty-two miles from his camp, and tranſported his ſoldiers in them croſs the river; where they quickly poſſeſſed themſelves of a hill on the bank-ſide, which they fortified before the enemy had notice of their motions: after theſe, to reinforce the party, he likewiſe tranſported a legion; and beginning the work on both ſides together, compleated his bridge in two days; by which means he recovered his foragers, received his convoys and recruits, and opened a paſſage for future ſupplies of corn.

The reports at Rome, that Cæſar was already overcome.

By help of ſuch boats as the Britains uſed, Cæſar rebuilds his bridges.

The ſame day he detached a great part of his cavalry croſs the river, who ſurprized a conſiderable number of the enemy's foragers and waggons, that were careleſly diſperſed up and down the country; but a party of light-arm'd Spaniſh foot coming up to their aſſiſtance, our men divided themſelves into two bodies, one to ſecure the booty, the other to receive, and return the enemy's charge. One of our cohorts venturing too eagerly before the reſt, was ſurrounded and cut off, but the reſt returned over the bridge in ſafety to the camp with a conſiderable booty.

His cavalry ſurprize the enemy's foragers.

Return with a conſiderable booty.

CHAP. XVIII.

WHILST affairs were in this poſture at Lerida, the people of Marſeilles, by L. DOMITIUS's advice, equipp'd ſeventeen gallies (of which eleven were covered) with ſeveral other ſmaller veſſels, that they might ſtrike a terror into our fleet by the number of theirs. Theſe they

The people of Marſeilles prepare a conſiderable fleet.

they mann'd with a great many archers, and the Albici we have already mention'd, whom they encouraged to perform their parts, by great rewards and promiſes. DOMITIUS deſired a certain number of theſe ſhips for his particular uſe, which he filled with the ſhepherds and huſbandmen he had brought thither along with him. Thus being compleatly equipp'd, they boldly hoiſted ſail in ſearch of our fleet, which was commanded by D. BRUTUS, and rid at anchor at an iſland over-againſt Marſeilles. BRUTUS was much inferior to the enemy in number of ſhipping; but CÆSAR had choſen the moſt valiant men among all his legions, as well Centurions as Anteſignani, at their own requeſt, to man his fleet: who having prepared plenty of grappling-irons, piles, darts and javelins, on notice of the enemy's arrival, put to ſea, and engag'd them. The conflict was briſkly maintained on both ſides, nor were the Albici (a hardy highland people, perpetually inur'd to arms) much inferior to our men in courage; for being come directly from Marſeilles, the late promiſes which they had received were freſh in their memories; and DOMITIUS's ſhepherds behaved themſelves with equal courage, their maſter being preſent, in hopes of liberty.

Brutus with the Roman fleet engages them.

Thoſe of Marſeilles confiding in the nimbleneſs of their ſhips, avoided the ſhock of our gallies, when we endeavoured to ſplit them with our beaks; having ſea-room enough, they drew their fleet up into a line, in order to ſurround us; ſometimes ſeveral of them would attack a ſingle ſhip of ours together; ſometimes try to ſweep off a bank of oars, by ruſhing furiouſly by the ſide of a galley; but when we endeavour'd to grapple, laying aſide the ſkill of their pilots and mariners, they relied entirely on the courage of the mountaineers, we were obliged to make uſe of leſs ſkilful rowers and pilots, who being lately taken from on board merchants veſſels, hardly knew the names of the tackle, they were mightily incommoded by the ſluggiſhneſs of our ſhips, which being built in haſte of unſeaſoned timber, were not ſo ready at tacking about: but when we came cloſe up to them, each ſingle ſhip of ours eaſily engag'd two of the enemy's, and fighting boldly on each ſide, boarded their fleet, where we killed great numbers of the mountaineers and ſhepherds; part of their veſſels we ſunk, ſome we took with the men on board, and drove the reſt into the haven. In this engagement the enemy had nine ſhips ſunk and taken.

The Marſeillians defeated; they loſe nine ſhips.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

CÆSAR had news of this victory at Lerida, ſo quickly did fortune change, when his bridge was finiſhed. The enemy fearing the courage of our horſe, did not diſperſe themſelves about the country ſo careleſly as uſual; ſometimes foraging near their camp, that they mght the eaſilier retreat; ſometimes taking a large circuit about, to avoid meeting with our parties; for if they received the leaſt loſs, or even deſcried our cavalry at a diſtance, they would forſake their waggons and fly; nay at laſt, they omitted foraging ſeveral days together, and detached parties in the night to bring in proviſions.

Oſca in Arragon, Calaguris in old Caſtile, come over to Cæſar's party. Iberus.

In the mean time the people of Hueſca, and thoſe of Calahorre, their fellow-tributaries, both ſent embaſſadors to CÆSAR, to receive his commands; thoſe of * Jaca, the Auſetani, and not many days after, the Illurgavonenſes, who lie near the river Ebro, followed the example of theſe † Tarraconenſes.

From theſe he demanded ſupplies of corn, which they promiſed, and having got all the carriages in the country together, ſoon brought him proviſions into his camp. One cohort of the Illurgavonenſes, having notice of their country's reſolution, came over to our ‖ camp with their colours. There was a wonderful change for the better on our ſide; for the bridge was perfected, five powerful ſtates had enter'd into league with us, care was taken for future proviſions, the report of POMPEY's approach with the legions

‖ Or in an intire body.

The ſcene of affairs changed much for the better on Cæſar's ſide.

* Jacetani, or thoſe of Jaca. Monſieur D'ABLANCOURT has rendered this name the people of Barcelona; but I was rather inclined to believe CÆSAR meant thoſe of Jaca, becauſe the ſound has no affinity at all with Barcino, or Barcelona; nor can I meet with any authority to warrant that interpretation.

† The original has it *hos Tarraconenſes*, which Mr. D'ABLANCOURT and Mr. EDMONDS has rendered the people of Tarragona: But I believe CÆSAR deſigned it for an accuſative caſe, and meant generally the inhabitants of the Provincia Tarraconenſis; becauſe not long after AFRANIUS, finding he could not paſs the Ebro, as he deſigned, held a council to determine whether he ſhould return to Lerida, or march to Tarragona; which he would hardly have done, if the latter had revolted: majority of votes indeed carried it for Lerida; but it was becauſe that was the ſhorter cut. Who theſe Auſcitani were, for my part, I ſhall not pretend to determine; for I dare not affirm, with Mr. D'ABLANCOURT, that they are the people of Garrona, becauſe he may have reaſons which I am yet a ſtranger to; much leſs that the Illurgavonenſes are the preſent inhabitants of Tortoſa; for though Tortoſa lies at the mouth of the river Ebro, yet it were no neceſſary concluſion to affirm from thence, that this muſt be the place which CÆSAR meant, becauſe he ſays the Illurgavonenſes lay near the Ebro. But might I take the liberty of changing a letter or two, I could turn the Illurgavonenſes into Ilerdavonenſes, and then it would be no difficult matter to expound it that part of the country of Ilerda near the Ebro, which lay the fartheſt off from AFRANIUS's forces.

legions through Africk was now at an end, and ſeveral countries that lay at a farther diſtance, revolting from AFRANIUS, declared for CÆSAR. CIVIL WAR.

Whilſt the enemy was diſcouraged by our ſucceſs, CÆSAR, that he might not be at the trouble of ſending his horſe ſo far about to forage, having choſe a convenient place, began to cut ſeveral ditches about thirty foot deep, to drain ſo much of the Sicoris as might render it fordable. This work was almoſt compleated, when PETREIUS and AFRANIUS, apprehending they ſhould be cut off from foraging, becauſe CÆSAR was ſo much ſuperior to them in cavalry, reſolved to decamp, and remove the war to Celtiberia. They were the rather induced to embrace this reſolution, becauſe thoſe countries which had been ſubdued by POMPEY in the Sertorian war, ſtill trembled at their conqueror's name, though abſent; and thoſe who had continued faithful to him, were ſince confirmed in his intereſt by ſeveral obligations, amongſt whom CÆSAR was hardly known. Hence they expected conſiderable ſupplies of horſe and infantry, and doubted not but to be able to protract the war till winter.

Afranius and Petreius reſolve to remove towards Celtiberia.

Having agreed on this reſolution, they gave orders for ſeizing all the ſhips on the Ebro, and carrying them to Octogeſa, a town ſituate on that river, about twenty miles diſtant from their camp, where they commanded a bridge of boats to be caſt croſs the water: and tranſporting two legions over the Sicoris, fortified their camp with a rampier twelve foot high.

They give orders for tranſports to be prepared on the Ebro, or Iberus.

Which CÆSAR having notice of by his ſcouts, wrought inceſſantly at his drains, and by the extraordinary labour of his ſoldiers, who neither reſted day nor night, reduced the river to ſo low an ebb, that the cavalry might, with ſome difficulty, ford it, which they ventured to do, and the infantry likewiſe, though the water took them up above the ſhoulders, and the ſtream was very violent, yet could not be deterred by thoſe difficulties from croſſing the river. So that almoſt at the ſame inſtant that CÆSAR was inform'd the bridge croſs the Ebro was near compleated, he found a ford over the Sicoris.

Cæſar drains the Sicoris till it becomes fordable.

CHAP. XX.

THE enemy thought it high time to be marching; wherefore leaving two auxiliary cohorts for a garriſon at Lerida, they croſs'd the Sicoris with all their forces, and joined

Petreius and Afranius begin their march.

CIVIL WAR.

joined the two legions which they had ſent over before. CÆSAR had now no other remedy left, but to detach his cavalry, to interrupt the enemy's march; but becauſe croſſing the bridge would oblige them to take ſo large a circuit, that AFRANIUS would arrive at the Ebro before them a nearer way, he ordered they ſhould ford the river. About one in the morning, juſt as PETREIUS and AFRANIUS had decamped, our cavalry deſcried their rear, which they endeavoured to ſurround, that they might delay their march.

Cæſar detaches his cavalry to purſue them.

So ſoon as day-light appear'd, from the riſing ground, near our camp, we diſcovered the enemy's rear warmly engaged by our horſe, who ſometimes obliged them to halt, and diſordered their ranks; on the other hand, ſometimes our party were forced to give way to the furious charge of their cohorts; but ſo ſoon as the enemy endeavoured to purſue their march, our cavalry again attacked them. The infantry, who beheld this action from the camp, were mightily diſturb'd to think the enemy ſhould thus eſcape; which would neceſſarily prolong the war. Wherefore they intreated the centurions and tribunes to acquaint CÆSAR, "That they were ready to ford the river where the horſe had paſs'd before them; wherefore they deſired he would not be ſo careful to avoid expoſing them to any danger or labour." CÆSAR moved by their importunity, though he thought it dangerous to venture his army to ford ſo deep a river; yet judging it expedient to try his fortune, cauſed the weakeſt ſoldiers to be drawn out of every century, whoſe courage or ſtrength were incapable of that expedition; and theſe, with one legion, he left behind to ſecure his camp and baggage: then drawing out the reſt of his forces, he diſpoſed a great number of waggons both above and below the ford, to break the force of the ſtream, and marched his legions croſs the river. Some few of our infantry being carried away by the impetuouſneſs of the current, were preſerv'd by the cavalry, ſo that not a ſingle man periſhed in this attempt. When he arriv'd on the other ſide the river, he diſpoſed his army into three battalions; and ſo eager were the ſoldiers in the purſuit, that though they had taken a circuit of ſix miles about, and had been mightily delay'd by fording the river, yet they came up with the enemy (who had begun their march by one that morning) before three in the afternoon.

They overtake and attack the enemy's rear.

The legions deſire leave to ford the river, and purſue the enemy.

Cæſar grants their requeſt.

They croſs the river,

and come up with the enemy.

PETREI-

PETREIUS and AFRANIUS descrying our legions at a distance, were mightily surpriz'd; wherefore having gained the higher ground, they drew their army up in order of battle. CÆSAR having refreshed his army in the field, that they might not be obliged to engage the enemy before they had recovered their fatigue, so soon as they renewed their march, pursued them afresh; which oblig'd them to encamp earlier than they designed: for there were several hills not far before them, and about five miles off the passages were narrow and difficult. They retired within these mountains, that they might avoid being attacked by our cavalry, and disposed parties in the avenues, to put a stop to the march of our army, hoping by this means to secure their retreat cross the Ebro; which it highly imported them to endeavour by all the means they could invent. But being fatigu'd by their continual marches and skirmishes all the day, they deferred the execution of their design till the day after, and CÆSAR encamped on a hill which lay near them.

CIVIL WAR.

Afranius, being warmly pursued, is oblig'd to encamp.

About midnight a small party of theirs, which went out a little distance from their camp to fetch water, was surpriz'd by our cavalry. By these CÆSAR was informed, that the enemy were silently decamping. Whereupon he likewise commanded the signal for removing and packing up the baggage to be given, according to the Roman discipline.

Afranius designs to decamp privately;

The enemy taking the alarm, apprehending they should be attack'd, and obliged to fight, whilst they were loaden with their baggage, or else block'd up in the narrow passes by CÆSAR's cavalry, made a halt, and returned to their camp.

but is prevented.

CHAP. XXI.

THE day after PETREIUS went privately out with a small party of horse, to take a view of the country; and CÆSAR likewise detached another for the same purpose, under the command of DECIDIUS SAXA. Both returned the same account to their several camps, that for five miles together the country was open and champain, but after that very rough and mountainous; and whatever army first possess'd the streights, might easily prevent the others marching that way.

Parties sent out on both sides to view the country.

On this advice, the enemy's generals held a council of war, wherein the time for beginning their march was debated. The majority were of opinion it would be most convenient

Afranius holds a council of war to debate the time for decamping.

CIVIL WAR.

venient to ſet out by night, for they might poſſeſs the avenues before CÆSAR could have notice of their departure. But others declared, it was impoſſible to decamp ſo ſilently, but they ſhould be diſcovered, as appeared by the laſt night's alarm in CÆSAR's camp; beſides, the enemy's cavalry were patroling all night about the ways and paſſages: and night-engagements were always to be declined, leſt the ſoldiers ſhould liſten more to fear than the obſervation of their * military oath, eſpecially in a civil war: whereas in the day, each man having the dread of diſhonour before his eyes, would be reſtrained from flight, and a neglect of his duty, by the preſence of his officers. Wherefore it was abſolutely neceſſary to make the attempt by day-light, and though they might receive ſome ſmall loſs, yet the body of the army would obtain a ſafe retreat, and poſſeſs the poſt deſired.

* Veget. lib. II. cap. 5. The ſoldiers ſwear vigorouſly to perform all their generals orders, never to deſert or refuſe death for the ſervice of the republick.

Cæſar decamps, and ſeems to march the contrary way to the Ebro.

The latter of theſe opinions being embraced, they reſolved the next morning by break of day to begin their march: and CÆSAR having viewed the country, ſet forward about the ſame time, taking a conſiderable circuit, and obſerving no particular rout; for the direct way to the Ebro and Octogeſa was block'd up by the enemy's camp, which obliged us to march over ſeveral hills and dales; and there often lay ſuch craggy rocks in the road, that the ſoldiers were obliged to deliver their arms to a third perſon to hold, whilſt they helped each other to aſcend the crags. Theſe difficulties we had to encounter with the greateſt part of our march; yet all the ſoldiers chearfully endured the fatigue, in hopes of putting a ſpeedy period to their labour, if they could but gain the Ebro before the enemy, and intercept their convoys.

Afranius's ſoldiers laugh at Cæſar's;

AFRANIUS's ſoldiers being mighty joyful to perceive we marched the contrary way (which we did on purpoſe to deceive them) derided us, ſaying, we were obliged to fly, and return to Lerida for want of proviſions: nor were their generals leſs ſatisfied, to think how prudently they had acted in not decamping. They were confirmed in this opinion, becauſe they found we had neither baggage nor carriages along with us, which they concluded muſt of neceſſity oblige us to remove in a very ſhort time. But when they obſerved we began by degrees to wheel about to the right, and that our advanced guard had already gained the ground beyond their camp, there was no body ſo ſtupid or lazy, but perceived the neceſſity of oppoſing our further march without delay. An alarm was ſounded,

But when Cæſar began to wheel about, perceive their error.

and

and only leaving a few cohorts for a guard to their camp, all the reſt of the enemy's forces marched directly for the Ebro.

Thus the whole iſſue of the buſineſs depended on diſpatch, whether party could firſt poſſeſs the ſtreights and mountains. CÆSAR had the difficulties of the way to ſtruggle with; but on the other hand, AFRANIUS's march was retarded by CÆSAR's cavalry. However, if the enemy could have gained the firſt hills, as they deſigned, they might have ſecured their retreat, though they muſt of neceſſity have loſt their baggage, and the cohorts which were left behind in their camp. CÆSAR had the good fortune to arrive firſt at the place, and having paſs'd the rocks, drew up his army on the plain in order of battle.

Cæſar gains the ſtreights before them.

AFRANIUS perceiving our army in his front, and finding his rear attacked by our cavalry, began to halt, taking the advantage of a riſing ground: from hence he detached four cohorts of Spaniſh foot, to gain another hill, which appeared higher than any of the reſt; they were commanded to diſpatch theſe orders with all expedition, for he would come thither himſelf afterwards with his army, and take another way than he had formerly deſigned, on the ridge of the mountains to Octogeſa.

Afranius halts, and detaches a party of foot to gain a riſing ground,

The enemy's cohorts were taking a circuit to the place, when our cavalry, perceiving their deſign, charg'd them with ſuch violence, that they were not able to ſuſtain their fury, but being ſurrounded, in the ſight of both armies were cut to pieces.

but they are cut to pieces by Cæſar's cavalry.

CHAP. XXII.

THIS no doubt was a happy opportunity for effecting ſomething extraordinary, nor was CÆSAR ignorant of it; for the enemy was certainly daunted to ſee their party defeated before their eyes, and find themſelves ſurrounded by our cavalry in an equal, and open place, where the diſpute might have been decided by a battle. CÆSAR was ſtrongly importuned to fight by his lieutenants, centurions and tribunes, who unanimouſly deſired he would engage the enemy, for all the ſoldiers were eager for it; whereas AFRANIUS's army had given undeniable proofs of their fear, becauſe they neither detached ſupplies to ſuſtain their party, nor moved from the riſing ground they had firſt retreated to; and hardly ſuſtained

Upon this advantage Cæſar is importuned to fight, but declines it.

our

CIVIL WAR.

our cavalry's attack, but crouded their ſtandards confuſedly together, without obſerving ranks or order: but if the diſadvantage of the ground weigh'd any thing with him, that could not long obſtruct the deſign, becauſe AFRANIUS would be obliged to remove for want of water.

His reaſons.

But CÆSAR, hoping he ſhould effect the ſame buſineſs without an engagement, becauſe he had cut off the enemy's proviſions, told them, "He knew no reaſon he had to purchaſe victory at the expence of his men, to let them be wounded, who had deſerved ſo well at his hands; nor why he ſhould ſubmit the deciſion of the affair to fortune, when it redounded ſo much more to the general's honour, to overcome by conduct than by force: Beſides, he was moved with compaſſion for thoſe Romans, who, he foreſaw, muſt be ſacrificed to that day's ſucceſs, which he would rather obtain without the loſs of their lives." CÆSAR's opinion was generally diſlik'd, and ſome of the ſoldiers openly declared, ſince he had omitted ſo glorious an opportunity, they would decline an engagement when he ſhould be diſpoſed to it. However, he continued firm in his reſolution, and retired ſome ſmall diſtance from the place, to free the enemy from their apprehenſions. PETREIUS and AFRANIUS laid hold on this occaſion to retreat to their camp: and CÆSAR having diſpoſed parties in all the paſſes to the Ebro, lodg'd himſelf as near as he could to the enemy.

The ſoldiers diſguſted at it.

Both armies again encamp.

Afranius and Petreius conſult about making their retreat;

but hearing their foragers were cut off, reſolve to draw a line of communication to the river.

The day after AFRANIUS and PETREIUS being mightily diſturb'd to find their convoys intercepted, and all the paſſages to the Ebro block'd up, conſulted what methods they ſhould take, and found they had only two ways left, to return to Lerida, or march to Tarragona. But whilſt they were debating this matter, they had notice their parties they had ſent out for water were attack'd by our horſe: whereupon they reſolved to line the road to the water with ſeveral parties of horſe and foot, with ſome legionary cohorts intermixed, and draw a line of communication by a rampier from thence to their camp; that for the future they might ſecurely fetch it, at any time without a guard. PETREIUS and AFRANIUS each choſe their particular part of this work, which obliged them to be at ſome diſtance from their camp.

Afranius and Petreius being abſent from their camp, the ſoldiers of both armies have a conference.

In the mean while the ſoldiers of both armies having an opportunity of conferring with one another, frequently came out of their camps, enquir'd for their fellow-citizens and former acquaintance. Firſt AFRANIUS's men

men return'd ours thanks for ſparing them the day before, when they were in that mighty conſternation; and freely owned they were obliged to us for their lives; then enquired how they might ſafely ſubmit to CÆSAR, and declared they were ſorry they had not at the beginning joined with their relations and acquaintance. Afterwards they demanded CÆSAR's parole for the lives of their generals PETREIUS and AFRANIUS, that they might not be branded with infamy, for betraying their officers. On ſecurity for the performance of theſe demands, they promiſed to come over to us in an entire body, and accordingly ſent ſeveral centurions of the firſt degree to treat with CÆSAR about a peace. CIVIL WAR. Send ſeveral centurions to treat with Cæſar about a ſurrender.

In the mean while invitations were made by the friends on either ſide, ſo that both the camps appeared united in one: ſeveral of their tribunes and centurions came to pay their court to CÆSAR; the like did many noblemen of Spain, who had been ſummoned to attend AFRANIUS, and were detain'd in his army in the nature of hoſtages; each of them enquiring after his particular friends and acquaintance, who might recommend him to CÆSAR. And AFRANIUS's ſon, a young gentleman, treated with CÆSAR by SULPITIUS the lieutenant, about pardoning his own and father's lives. In fine, nothing but mirth and joy were to be ſeen in both armies; in theirs, becauſe they had eſcap'd ſo imminent danger; in ours, becauſe we had effected ſo important an affair without the hazard of a battle: and now every man applauded CÆSAR's judgment, who had reap'd ſo extraordinary advantage by his wonted clemency. Mutual invitations among the ſoldiers of both armies. All things ſeem to tend towards a reconciliation. Now Cæſar's mercy is applauded.

CHAP. XXIII.

AFRANIUS having notice how affairs went, deſiſted from his works, and retired to the camp again, where, with an equal mind, he ſeem'd to expect whatever event ſhould befal him: But PETREIUS neglected not his own ſafety on this occaſion; having armed his ſervants, with them a prætorian cohort of target-bearers, and a ſmall party of Spaniſh cavalry, his dependants, who always uſed to attend him as his guard, he repaired with all the diſpatch he could to the rampier, where he ſurprized the ſoldiers talking together; but he immediately interrupted the conference, obliged our men to retire from the camp, and put thoſe he could apprehend

to

But Petreius breaks the conference. Drives Cæſar's ſoldiers from the rampier of his camp.

CIVIL WAR.

to the ſword. But the reſt, who had an opportunity to rally, depending on the nearneſs of the camp, wrapp'd their cloaks about their left-arms, drew their ſwords, and ſo defended themſelves from PETREIUS's party, till they had retreated to our advanc'd guard, by whom they were protected.

He viſits every part of the army, and diſſuades them from ſurrendring.

After this PETREIUS viſited every maniple, called the ſoldiers about him, and, with tears in his eyes, conjured them not to forſake him, nor their abſent general POMPEY, and deliver them up as a ſacrifice to the enemy.

He adminiſters a new oath of fidelity to the whole army.

Whereupon there was an immediate concourſe of ſoldiers about the general's pavilion, and PETREIUS demanded every man ſhould take an oath not to deſert, betray the army, or their generals, nor enter into any private conſultation without the publick conſent: To ſet an example, he firſt took the oath himſelf, then obliged AFRANIUS to do the like; the centurions and tribunes followed after with the ſoldiers according to their ſeveral centuries.

Cæſar's ſoldiers which were found in Petreius's camp put to death.

When the whole army had ſworn, it was proclaimed, that whoever had any of CÆSAR's ſoldiers ſhould deliver them up, and thoſe they found were publickly put to death before the generals tents: but moſt of the ſoldiers concealed our men, and diſmiſs'd them privately at night over the rampier. Thus the terror which their generals had ſtruck into the army, the ſeverity they had ſhewn in puniſhment, and the new oath they had obliged them to take, for the preſent defeated all hopes of a ſurrender, changed the ſoldiers minds, and reduced the war to its priſtine ſtate.

Cæſar diſmiſſes Afranius's ſoldiers that were in his camp.

CÆSAR cauſed diligent enquiry to be made for ſuch of AFRANIUS's ſoldiers as came to his camp during the truce, and ordered them to be returnd in ſafety to their general. But ſome of the tribunes and centurions voluntarily choſe to ſtay with him; whom afterwards he treated very honourably, promoting the centurions to higher ranks, and to ſuch as were Roman knights he gave tribunes commiſſions.

AFRANIUS's parties were much incommoded by our men when they went either to forage or fetch water: his legionary ſoldiers indeed had a ſmall quantity of corn left, becauſe they had been commanded to bring two and twenty days proviſion with them from Lerida. But the target-bearers, and auxiliary forces had none at all; for they neither had opportunities of ſupplying themſelves, nor

nor were their bodies inured to carry heavy burthens; which made them daily desert in great numbers to CÆSAR. CIVIL WAR.

CHAP XXIV.

AFFAIRS being reduced to this extremity, of the two methods which had formerly been proposed, it was thought the more convenient to return to Lerida, where they had left some provisions behind them; and here they designed to form themselves for the future management of the war: besides, * Tarragona lay farther off, and consequently might have more danger to struggle with during their march; wherefore they resolved on the former, and decamped.

Afranius and Petreius resolve to return to Lerida.

* A sea-port in Catalonia, between Barcelona and Tortosa.

CÆSAR having sent his cavalry before, to retard the march of their rear, followed after himself with the legions. The enemy were continually employ'd by our horse, and their manner of engaging them was this: the light-arm'd cohorts closed their rear, and where the country was even, they confronted our cavalry; whenever they were to ascend a rising ground, the nature of the place sufficiently screened them from danger, for the foremost ranks could easily defend the hindmost: but when they came to a valley, or descent, where the foremost ranks could be of no assistance to the rear, and our men cast their darts with advantage from the higher ground, then they were in imminent danger; wherefore, on their approach to any such places, they desired the legions would face about, and furiously repulse our horse: the moment we began to give ground, they would run down into the valley, thence gain the next rising ground, and face about again. For so little use were their cavalry to them, of whom they had considerable numbers (that had been daunted by their ill success in former skirmishes) that they were obliged to receive them into the midst of their army, and defend them with their infantry: but if any of them chanced to straggle out of the main body, they were immediately taken by CÆSAR's horse.

Cæsar pursues them, sends his cavalry before.

The skirmishes continuing thus without intermission, the enemy could march but slowly, being often obliged to halt, to relieve their rear, as happened at this time: they had not marched above four miles, when finding themselves overcharged by our cavalry, they posted their army on a very high hill, and drawing their front up in order of battle, began to intrench themselves without unloading

Afranius obliged to halt.

Pretends to encamp.

CIVIL WAR.

loading their baggage. But ſo ſoon as they perceived we had encamped ourſelves, pitched our tents, and diſperſed the cavalry a foraging, about noon, on a ſudden they diſlodged: which CÆSAR obſerving, drew out his legions and purſued them, leaving a few cohorts for a guard to his baggage, with orders to recal their foragers about four in the afternoon, at which time he commanded the horſe ſhould follow him. Accordingly the horſe perform'd their orders, immediately returned to their former charge, and attacked the enemy's rear ſo vigorouſly, that they almoſt routed them; for they killed ſeveral ſoldiers, ſome centurions, and the reſt of our forces followed cloſe after, threatning a total defeat to their army.

So ſoon as Cæſar does the like, endeavours to purſue his march.

Cæſar's cavalry ſets upon their rear with good ſucceſs.

In fine, having neither convenient ground to encamp on, nor an opportunity of marching further, they were obliged to halt, and intrench themſelves in a diſadvantageous place, far from any water. However, CÆSAR, for the ſame reaſons that moved him to refuſe the engagement before, now likewiſe declined offering them battle. He would not that day permit the ſoldiers to pitch their tents, that they might be readier to purſue the enemy, if they ſhould endeavour to make their eſcape, either then, or in the night.

Afranius again obliged to halt and encamp.

The enemy, obſerving the defect of their camp, laboured all the night in advancing their works, and diſpoſing their trenches with an oppoſite front to ours: the ſame thing they did the day after from ſun-riſe till the evening. But it happened very unfortunately for them, that the farther they produced their lines, the greater diſtance they were from the water; and remedied the preſent evil with a worſe hereafter. The firſt night no body went out for water; but the day after, leaving only a ſmall guard in their camp, they drew out all their forces towards the river, yet ſent no parties out to forage.

CHAP. XXV.

Cæſar endeavours to ſurround them with a work.

THOUGH CÆSAR would rather have obliged them to capitulate by theſe inconveniencies than by force, yet he endeavoured to hem them in with a rampier and a ditch, that he might the eaſilier prevent their ſudden ſallies and eruptions, which he believed they muſt at laſt have recourſe to.

They kill all their beaſts of burthen, becauſe forage is ſcarce.

The enemy were reduced to great neceſſities for want of forage, and that they might more readily make their eſcape,

eſcape, killed all their mules and ſumpter-horſes. Two days were conſumed in forming, and executing this reſolve; but the third, perceiving great part of our works were already compleated, to prevent our further progreſs, about two in the afternoon, they drew out their legions in order of battle before our camp. Upon which CÆSAR, having recalled his from the works, and commanded the cavalry to put themſelves in order, did the like: for he had already found the inconvenience of appearing unwilling to engage the enemy. However, for the ſame reaſons which had before diſſuaded him from it, he was not even now inclined to fight them, eſpecially ſince there was ſo ſmall a diſtance between the two camps, that if he routed the enemy, he could not obtain a compleat victory; for the armies lay within two thouſand foot of each other, whereof the legions, when drawn out, took up about two thirds, and the reſt only was left for the ſoldiers to give their charge in: wherefore, had he engaged them, the nearneſs of their camp would have furniſhed them with an eaſy retreat. For which reaſons CÆSAR reſolved to ſtand upon his defence, and not begin to charge AFRANIUS firſt.

Draw out their forces to interrupt Cæſar's works.

Cæſar does the like.

But no battle enſues.

The enemy had diſpoſed their forces into a double line, conſiſting of five legions, and the cohort which formerly uſed to be diſpoſed in the wings, now formed the reſerv'd body.

The order Afranius diſpoſed his army into.

CÆSAR's army was drawn up in three lines, the firſt conſiſting of four cohorts, detached out of each of the five legions, the ſecond of three, and the third of the like number; the archers and ſlingers were diſpoſed in the midſt, and the cavalry on either ſide. Thus both armies being ranged in order of battle, each general ſeemed to obtain his deſire: CÆSAR, not to engage, unleſs he was obliged to it; and AFRANIUS, to prevent the progreſs of our work: but having continued in this poſture till ſun-ſet, they both returned to their ſeveral camps.

Cæſar's diſpoſition.

Both armies retire into their camps again.

The next day CÆSAR went on with the works he had begun, and the enemy in the mean while endeavoured to find out a ford croſs the Sicoris; which CÆSAR obſerving, detached his light-arm'd Germans with ſome cavalry croſs the river, and diſpoſed ſeveral parties along the banks to obſerve their motions.

Cæſar goes on with his works.

At length, finding themſelves beſieged on all ſides, having had no forage four days together, themſelves wanting water, wood and corn, AFRANIUS deſired a private

Afranius deſires a conference.

CIVIL WAR.

parley out of the ſoldiers hearing; but CÆSAR would agree to no conference, unleſs in publick. Whereupon AFRANIUS having ſent his ſon for a hoſtage, they had an interview at the place appointed: where, in the preſence of both armies, he thus addreſſed himſelf to CÆSAR.

His ſpeech.

"That he had no reaſon to be angry at him or his ſoldiers, for having behaved themſelves faithfully to their general POMPEY: but they had already given ſufficient proofs of their conſtancy, and ſuffered enough for his cauſe, by the want of all kind of proviſions; being caught like beaſts in a toil, impriſoned in their trenches, and prevented from fetching water: wherefore they could no longer ſupport themſelves under theſe afflictions of mind and body, but muſt confeſs the power of their conqueror; whom they moſt humbly beſought and conjured to have ſo much mercy, as not to force them to deſpair."

Cæſar's anſwer.

All this he delivered in a very modeſt and ſubmiſſive accent; but CÆSAR made him this anſwer.

"That AFRANIUS, of all mankind, had leaſt reaſon to complain, and implore his compaſſion, who had hitherto ſhewn the leaſt inclination to mercy. CÆSAR, for his part, had declined fighting upon advantage of time and place, that he might conclude a peace without the effuſion of Roman blood: his army, after injuries received, when they knew their comrades were killed, diſmiſſed AFRANIUS's men that were in their power untouched; nay, even his own party did their endeavour to conclude a peace, whereon they thought their ſafety depended: in fine, both armies had demonſtrated their deſire of a reconciliation, whilſt AFRANIUS and PETREIUS only would not endure the thoughts of treaty, broke the truce, and barbarouſly murdered thoſe innocent perſons whom the interview had enticed to their camp. Wherefore, they had juſtly ſhared the uſual fate of the obſtinate and haughty, to be obliged to have recourſe to thoſe conditions, and earneſtly deſire thoſe very terms, which not long before they deſpiſed. However, he ſcorned to take the advantage of their ſubmiſſion, to advance his own authority and reputation: He only deſired that army might be diſbanded, which had been ſo many years maintained againſt him: for to what other purpoſe were ſix legions ſent into Spain, and a ſeventh raiſed there, ſo many powerful navies equipped, ſo many great commanders and experienced officers ſent thither? Theſe preparations could not be made to reduce or guard the provinces of Spain, which

which having long enjoyed a peace, had no occaſion for ſuch extraordinary forces; but he had long foreſeen they were brought in for his deſtruction. Innovations had likewiſe been made in the republick, in order to effect this deſign; for one perſon commanded not only in Italy, at the gates of Rome, but at the ſame time, though abſent, held the two moſt warlike provinces of Spain ſo many years together: the ancient inſtitution for diſtributing of governments to the Conſuls and Prætors, after the diſcharge of their office, was laid aſide; and ſome being clandeſtinely choſen by a private faction, were ſent to provinces: the excuſe of old age was not allow'd of, but even they who deſerved a glorious eaſe, by the proofs they had formerly given of their courage, were obliged to bear arms, and compleat the number of their troops: and he alone had been denied that juſtice, which no other general before him ever was refuſed, to diſband his own army, and return home with honour, or at leaſt free from ignominy, after he had ſucceſsfully ſerved the commonwealth. All which injuries he had patiently endured; neither did he now endeavour to take their army from them, and entertain them in his pay, which would be no difficult matter for him to effect, but he only deſired they might no longer bear arms for his enemies againſt him; wherefore let them quit the kingdom of Spain, and diſband their forces: which conditions performed, he would injure no man; but theſe were the only terms of peace he would condeſcend to."

CIVIL WAR.

Evocati.

CHAP. XXVI.

THESE conditions were very grateful to AFRANIUS's army, ſince being conquered they had reaſon to expect ill uſage from fortune; but inſtead of that obtain'd the liberty of quitting their arms. They gave evident proofs of their ſatisfaction; for when the place for diſbanding was debated, aſcending the rampier, by words and ſigns they unanimouſly deſired it might be done immediately; for no ſecurity could be given for the performance of this promiſe in futurity. The diſpute was ſoon decided, for it was agreed, "That they who had ſettlements in Spain, ſhould be diſbanded there; the reſt at the river Varus: That no perſon ſhould be moleſted or injur'd, nor any man obliged to bear arms under CÆSAR contrary to his own inclinations: That CÆSAR, from the day of

The articles agreed upon.

The articles.

Which divides Gaul from Italy.

CIVIL WAR.

their ſurrender till their arrival at the Varus ſhould furniſh them with corn." And of his own free-will he promiſed to reſtore to every man whatever he had loſt during that war, if any of his ſoldiers had it, to whom he paid an equal value by way of ſatisfaction.

After this, if the ſoldiers chanced to have any diſpute amongſt them, they immediately had recourſe to CÆSAR, and ſubmitted their differences to his arbitration. So when they were ready to mutiny for want of pay, and AFRANIUS and PETREIUS affirmed there was nothing due to them, becauſe the day of payment was not come, the generals deſired CÆSAR might determine the matter, which the army readily agreed to, and both parties were content with the judgment he pronounced.

About a third part of their army being diſmiſſed within two days, CÆSAR commanded two of his legions to march before their army, the reſt to follow after, and always to encamp very near them. The charge of this affair he committed to lieutenant Q. FUSIUS KALENUS; who attended them to the river Varus, where they diſbanded the reſt of their forces.

C. J. CÆSAR'S COMMENTARY OF THE CIVIL WAR.

The SECOND BOOK.

Marſeilles cloſely beſieged. On NASIDIUS*'s arrival, a ſecond ſea-fight, with ill ſucceſs on the ſide of the beſieged.* TREBONIUS*'s wonderful works. The beſieged demand a truce; which they break themſelves, but at laſt ſurrender.* VARRO *deſerted, falls into* CÆSAR*'s power.* CURIO *at firſt has good ſucceſs in Africk; but engaging raſhly, afterwards, is cut to pieces with his whole army.*

CHAP. I.

CIVIL WAR.

C. Trebonius caſts up a mount, and makes other works.

WHILST theſe affairs were in agitation in Spain, lieutenant C. TREBONIUS, whom CÆSAR had left to carry on the ſiege of Marſeilles, had begun to raiſe mounts, vines, and turrets, in two ſeveral places againſt the town; one near the haven where the ſhips lay, and the other near the * mouth of the river Rhoſne: for Marſeilles is fortified almoſt on three ſeveral ſides by the ſea, the remaining fourth part is all the acceſs it has by land: Part of this avenue, which led to the tower, being equally fortified by nature and a very

* For SCALIGER is of opinion theſe words, *Ex Gallia atque Hiſpania ad id mare quod attigit*, ought to be expunged.

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very deep ditch, required a long and difficult ſiege to take it in. For perfecting theſe fortifications, TREBONIUS diſpatched orders to the whole province to furniſh him with men, carriages, rods to make hurdles, and ſeveral others neceſſary materials to compleat the work; which being prepared, and brought together, he caſt up a mount about eighty foot in height.

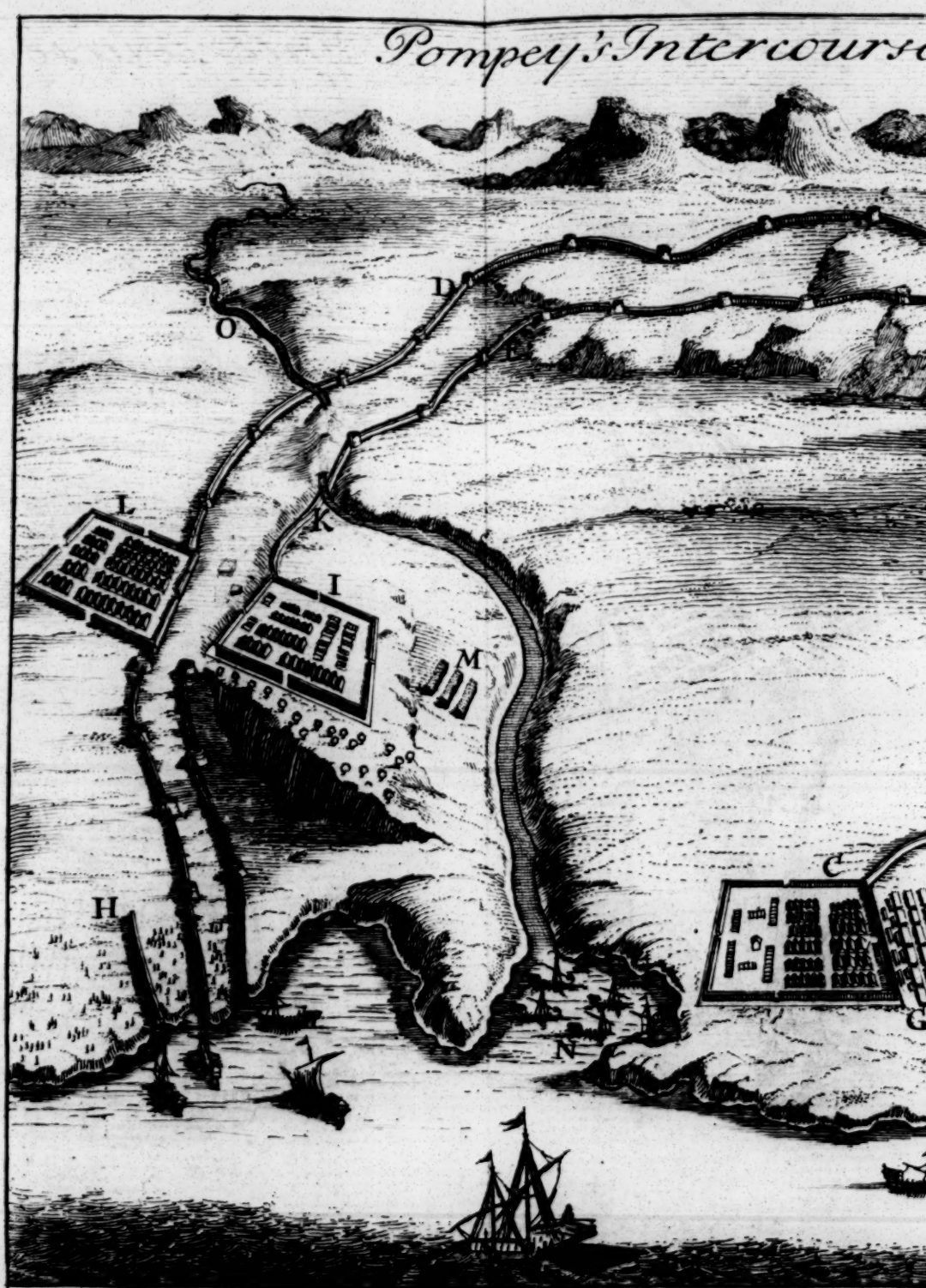
But ſo great plenty of all kinds of ammunition had the beſieged formerly ſtored up in their magazines, ſo many engines had they prepared, that no vines made of hurdles were ſufficient defence againſt them; for their * Baliſtæ ſhot wooden bars about twelve foot in length, headed with iron, which would force their way through four ſeveral rows of hurdles into the ground: Wherefore the Romans were obliged to cover their galleries with beams of timber twelve inches ſquare, under whoſe covert they handed earth and other materials from one to another, for compleating the mount. A Teſtudo likewiſe, ſixty foot in length, was carried before, for levelling the ground, built of ſtrong timber, and fortified with all materials neceſſary to defend it from the fire and ſtones which the enemy caſt from the walls. But the largeneſs of our works, the height of their wall and towers, with the multitude of their engines, made our fortifications proceed but ſlowly: Beſides, the Highlanders often ſallied out of the town, and ſet fire to our mount and turrets; though our ſoldiers eaſily extinguiſhed it, and repulſed them back into the town with conſiderable loſs.

CHAP. II.

Naſidius arrives with a fleet to the aſſiſtance of the beſieged. Meſſina.

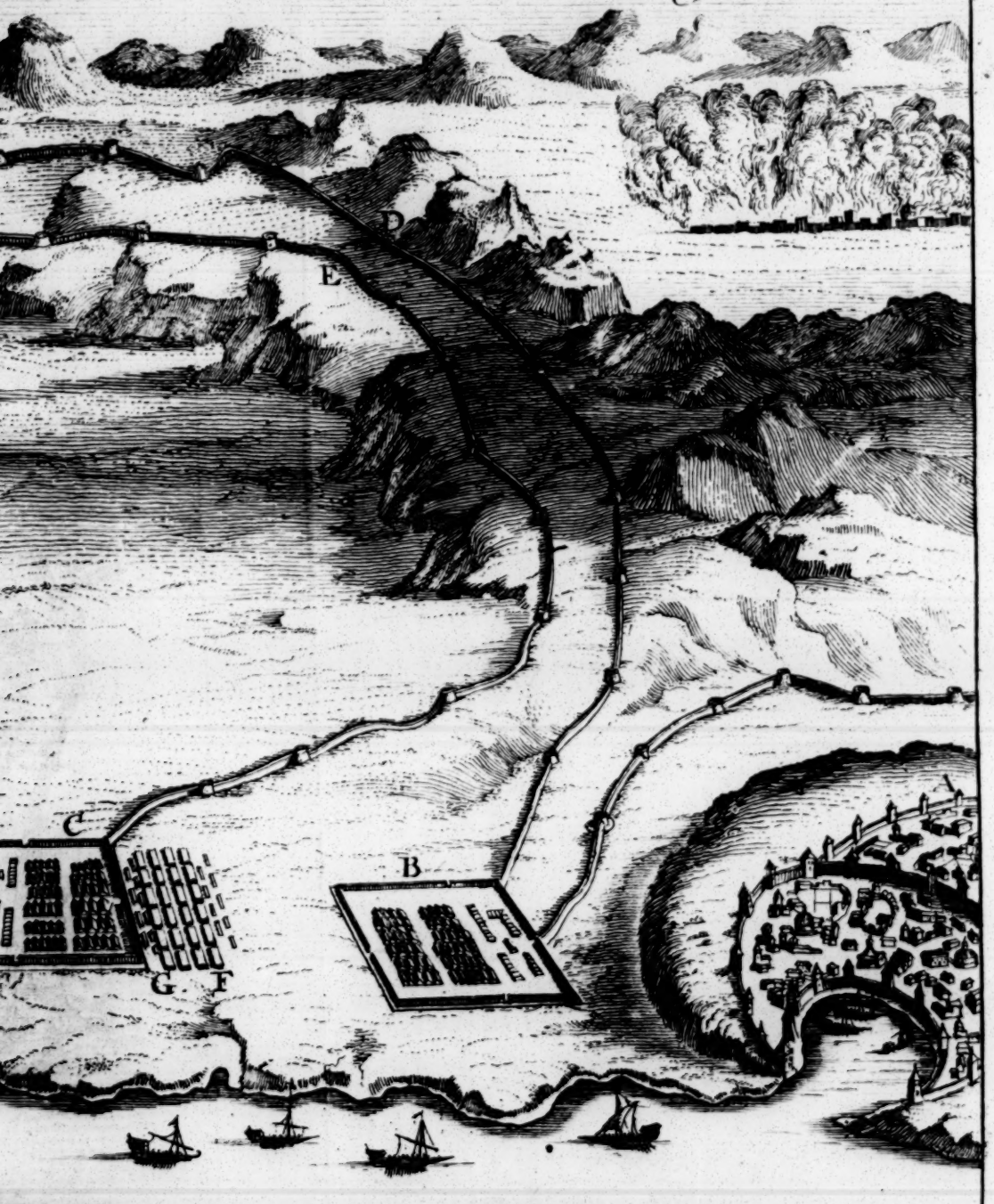
IN the mean while, NASIDIUS being ſent by POMPEY to the aſſiſtance of the beſieged with a fleet of ſixteen ſhips, of which number ſome were beaked with iron, paſſed the ſtreights of Sicily before CURIO had notice of his expedition; and putting in at Meſſina, ſtruck ſuch a terror into the inhabitants, that the magiſtrates and perſons of beſt quality deſerted the town; which gave him an opportunity of ſurprizing one of the gallies in the haven: adding this to the reſt of his fleet, he purſued his voyage to Marſeilles, and detached a ſmall veſſel before, to give DOMITIUS notice of his approach, and encouraged the beſieged to venture a ſecond engagement with BRUTUS after they ſhould have joined his fleet. The

* LIPSIUS is of opinion theſe Baliſtæ were only for ſhooting ſtones, but here we find them applied to other uſes.



A. Durazzo. B. Cæsar's Camp. C. Pompey's on y: Peha. D. Cæsar's
15 Miles within em. E. G. The two armies drawn out. Pompey
part of Cæsar's works next y: Sea. I. Pompey forces Cæsar's
drawn from y: Camp to y: River. L. Cæsar's Camp over aqu
to y: assistance of his Party. N. the Peha & it's haven. O. y:

course with Durazzo cut off. Pag. 249.



D. Cæsar's Lines. E. Pompeys 24 Castles inclosing a Circuit of
out Pompey's close to his Rampier. H. Pompeys attempt on that
Cæsar's ninth Legion from the hill & fortifyes it. K. his Line
p over against him. M. the fifth Legion detach'd by Pompey
ven. O. y. River whose Course Cæsar has Stop'd.

The Marſeillians, ſince their defeat, had repaired the loſs, by taking other ſhips to make up their former number out of the docks, which they equipped with great diligence. They had likewiſe prepared great numbers of rowers, mariners, pilots, and ſeveral fiſhermens veſſels, which they filled with archers and engines; theſe they covered with a penthouſe, to defend the rowers from our darts and javelins.

Their fleet being thus fitted out, the Marſeillians, incited by the prayers and tears of the old men, virgins and matrons, to defend their country in her extremity, went on board with no leſs valour and aſſurance than they did before. The arrival of NASIDIUS had inſpired them with freſh courage; for we naturally believe thoſe things we cannot ſee more conſiderable than they really are, and our hopes or fears ſtill bear a proportion to our fancy. The wind offering fair, they weighed anchor, and ſailed to NASIDIUS, at Taurœnta, a caſtle belonging to the people of Marſeilles: after their joining, the two fleets encouraged each other vigorouſly to attack their enemy, and having held a council of war, it was reſolved the Marſeillians ſhould command the right, and NASIDIUS the left ſquadron.

They join Naſidius's fleet.

BRUTUS, having notice of their motions, made up towards them; for he had encreaſed the fleet that CÆSAR built at Arles with ſix other ſhips taken from the enemy, which, ſince the laſt engagement, he repaired and fitted out. And having encouraged his men to deſpiſe thoſe whom they had already conquered, when in their beſt condition, he bore up briſkly to them. From TREBONIUS's camp, and the higher ground, might eaſily be diſcovered what was doing in the town; from thence our ſoldiers obſerved, that all the youth who remained in Marſeilles, the old men, women, children, and the guards, with extended hands upon the walls, or proſtrating themſelves before the images at their their temples, beſought the gods to grant them victory. Every one believed the fate of their country depended on that day's ſucceſs; young gentlemen therefore, and perſons of the beſt quality of all ages, were deſired to go on ſhip-board, that nothing might be wanting for the preſervation of their fleet in caſe of an emergency: for could they but obtain this victory, either by their own valour, or the aſſiſtance of their allies, they had no reaſon to deſpair of preſerving their city from falling into CÆSAR's hands.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The fight begins.

THE fleets being engaged, the Marſeillians did not betray the leaſt want of courage, but remembring the exhortations lately given by their friends, fought as reſolutely as if they meant not to engage a ſecond time, or as if he who fell in that battle, only anticipated the fate of his countrymen for a ſhort moment, who muſt all ſubmit to the ſame deciſion of war, if fortune ſhould deliver the town into the enemy's hands. Our gallies moving but ſlowly, their pilots had the greater ſcope to ſhew their ſkill, and the nimbleneſs of ſhips: whenever we endeavoured to board one of them, immediately the reſt from all ſides came up to defeat our deſign; but when we grappled, the Albici laid about them ſo briſkly, they proved themſelves but little inferior to our men in courage; whilſt ſeveral of our ſoldiers were wounded unaware by the ſhowers of darts, which were ſhot from the leſſer veſſels.

Two Marſeillian gallies deſign to attack Brutus, but fall foul upon each other.

In the mean while two of their largeſt gallies, ſpying our admiral's ſhip, which might eaſily be diſcerned by the flag, reſolved to run foul upon him, and cruſh him between them: but BRUTUS, being aware of their deſign, made a ſhift to get out of the way the moment they were coming towards him with all their ſpeed, which made them run upon each other with ſo violent a ſhock, that one of their beaks being broken, the whole veſſel was almoſt ſhattered to pieces; which our men obſerving, they that lay neareſt, immediately ſet upon and ſunk them both, before they could recover their diſorder.

Naſidius flies, their fleet defeated, five ſunk, and four ſhips taken by Brutus.

NASIDIUS's gallies proved uſeleſs, and therefore immediately left the fight, for they had not thoſe powerful motives, the fight of their country, and the intreaties of their kindred, to ſpur them on to maintain a deſperate fight: he therefore loſt none of his number; but of the Marſeillian fleet, five were ſunk, four taken, and one ran away with NASIDIUS, who ſteered directly for the farther Spain.

CHAP. IV.

The ſoldiers build a tower to defend them from the ſallies of the beſieged,

THE legionary ſoldiers, to whoſe care the right ſide of the works was committed, obſerved it would be of infinite uſe, for repulſing the frequent ſallies of the beſieged, to build a tower of brick under the walls; which at firſt they raiſed to no conſiderable height, deſigning it only for that

that particular purpoſe; and here they took ſhelter when they repulſed or purſued the enemy. This tower was thirty foot ſquare, and the wall five foot in thickneſs; but afterwards, as experience improves all things, ſo it was found neceſſary to raiſe this likewiſe to the height of the other turrets, which was thus effected: CIVIL WAR.

which they afterwards raiſed to a greater height.

So ſoon as the work was raiſed to a ſufficient height for a ſtory, the joices were ſo diſpoſed in the wall, that the ends ſhould not appear through the brick-work, leſt they might be liable to be burnt. This floor compleated, they proceeded in raiſing the wall as high as the mantlets would permit; and then laid two beams croſs each other, whoſe ends extended almoſt as far as the wall would ſuffer them; theſe were to ſuſtain the uppermoſt floor, which was deſigned for a roof to the turret; and upon theſe beams they laid joices directly croſs, which they boarded with planks: they were contrived ſomething longer than the reſt, and jetted a little further out than the wall, for the convenience of faſtening penthouſes to them, to defend the workmen whilſt they compleated the walls between thoſe two ſtories. This uppermoſt floor they paved with lime and tiles, that the fire might have no power over it; and laid mattreſſes to break the force of darts and ſtones, which the enemy ſhould ſhoot from their engines. After this, for their better ſecurity, they prepared curtains woven of ſtrong cords, about four foot in breadth, which they hung about thoſe three ſides of the turret next the enemy, on high poles; for this kind of defence, they had formerly experienced, could not be pierced by any dart or engine whatever: when one part of the tower was finiſhed and compleatly fortified, they removed their penthouſes to another ſide. So high as theſe curtains would permit, and under their coverture, they elevated the roof intire by the help of ſcrews, and finiſhed the wall between: then ſcrewing up the top a ſecond time, they continued raiſing the wall, till they had built it to a convenient height for another ſtory, which was floor'd like the reſt: after this they ſcrewed the roof and curtain ſtill higher, by which means, without danger of being wounded, they compleated ſix ſeveral ſtories, leaving loop-holes in convenient places for putting out the engines.

The Muſculus deſcribed.

Believing they ſhould be able, by the help of this tower, to defend all the works about it, they reſolved to build a Muſculus ſixty foot long, of timber two foot ſquare, to extend from the brick turret to the walls of the town; which

CIVIL WAR.

which they built after this manner: First two beams of an equal length were laid upon the ground, at four foot diſtance, on which little pillars five foot high were erected, inclining gently to each other, and joined at the top by the beams which were deſigned to bear the roof of the Muſculus: upon whoſe beams were fixed rafters two foot ſquare, which were faſtened by iron plates and nails, and the roof was covered with boards four fingers ſquare, to bear the weight of the tiles that were to be laid upon them. Thus the engine being regularly built with a ſloping roof, they covered it with tiles and mortar, to defend it from fire; upon the tiles laid hides, to prevent the cement from being waſhed away by ſpouts of water; and over the hides, to prevent the force of ſtones and fire, laid mattreſſes. The work was begun cloſe by the tower, finiſhed under the protection of the vines, before the enemy had notice of it; and immediately removed by rollers and leavers, as ſhips are uſually launch'd, ſo near their tower, that it touched the wall.

The beſieg'd endeavour in vain to deſtroy the Muſculus.

The beſieged were not a little diſturbed at this: wherefore they provided the largeſt ſtones they could get, and with leavers heaved them over the wall upon the Muſculus: but perceiving the work was ſo ſubſtantial, it did not ſubmit to the weight of the ſtones that fell upon it, and ſlid off the ridge again, they reſolved to take another method, to fling down burning barrels of pitch, greaſe, and other combuſtible matter; nor did this ſtratagem anſwer the deſign, for they ſlid likewiſe off the roof, and falling on the ground, were thruſt away from the works with forks and long poles. In the mean while our ſoldiers, under the protection of this machine, began to undermine the foundation of the enemy's turret. The Muſculus was defended by our men from the brick-tower, and the beſieged driven from the walls and turrets. Thus forced to abandon the defence of their walls, and ſeveral ſtones being pulled out of the foundation of their tower, part of it immediately fell down, and the reſt leaned, as if it meant to follow after.

The Romans undermine a turret; which falls.

CHAP. V.

The beſieg'd ſurprized, beg a peace till Cæſar's arrival.

THE beſieged afflicted for the fall of the turret, ſurprized at ſo ſtrange an accident, believing the gods were angry at them, and dreading the ſacking of their city, came out all unarmed, array'd like ſuppliants, extending their

their hands to the lieutenant-generals for mercy. Upon ſo extraordinary a ſhew, all acts of hoſtility immediately ceaſed, and the ſoldiers flocked to hear what they ſaid. So ſoon as the beſieged came to the camp, they threw themſelves down at the lieutenants feet, moſt humbly beſeeching them to grant them a truce till CÆSAR's arrival; for they perceived their city was already taken, our works being perfected, and their turret deſtroyed, wherefore they would make no longer defence. That if they did not pay immediate obedience to CÆSAR's commands upon his coming, nothing could prevent their deſtruction: but ſhould the reſt of their turret fall down, it would be impoſſible to detain the ſoldiers from plundering and ſacking their town. This, and more to the like purpoſe, they ſpoke with much weeping, and a moving accent, for the Marſeillians are a learned people. Whereupon, the lieutenants, moved with compaſſion, withdrew their ſoldiers from the walls, deſiſted from carrying on the ſiege, left a guard to protect their works: and having granted them a kind of a truce out of pity, reſolved to expect CÆSAR's arrival. No darts paſſed from our works to the town, nor any from the walls to us; all men were as careleſs as if the place had been actually ours; for CÆSAR had given particular orders to TREBONIUS in his letters, not to let Marſeilles be taken by ſtorm, leſt the ſoldiers, inraged at their rebellion and contempt, and angry to think how much pains they had taken about the ſiege, ſhould put all above fourteen years of age to the ſword, which they threatened to do, and could hardly be reſtrained from entering the breach, for they took it very ill TREBONIUS ſhould prevent their gaining the town.

A truce granted till Cæſar's arrival.

CHAP. VI.

BUT the enemy being deceitful, only watched a fit opportunity to break the truce. Within a few days after, when our ſoldiers were grown remiſs, when ſeveral were diſperſed, others laid down to reſt themſelves, and all the arms laid up, about noon they ſallied out of the town, and ſet fire to our works. The wind, which was very high, and blew in our faces, ſo diſperſed the flames, that in an inſtant the mount, teſtudo, mantlets, tower, and engines, all were fired and conſumed before we knew what was the matter. Our ſoldiers, alarmed by this ſudden

The beſieg'd break the truce, ſet fire to Trebonius's works.

CIVIL WAR.

den turn, immediately ſeized ſuch arms as they could find, and charged the enemy, but were prevented from purſuing them, by darts and engines from the town: the beſieged retired under their walls, and there, without danger, put fire to the Muſculus and brick turret. Thus in a moment periſhed the effects of ſeveral months labour, by the perfidiouſneſs of the enemy, and the violence of the wind. The day after, the wind contiuing ſtill in the ſame corner, the Marſeillians attempted the like deſign again, and ſallying out with greater aſſurance than before, brought plenty of fire to conſume the other mount and tower. But our men, admoniſhed by the laſt day's action to be more careful for the future, had prepared all things neceſſary for their defence: wherefore having killed great numbers, they obliged the reſt to retreat into the town without effecting their deſign.

Trebonius repairs his works.

TREBONIUS now began to rebuild what had been conſumed by the fire; and the ſoldiers gave greater proofs of their induſtry than before; for enraged to ſee their former labours brought to nothing, their courage derided, and the truce broken by the perjured enemy, becauſe there were no materials left for building a new mount (for all the timber round about, for a conſiderable way, had been already cut down, and applied to the former work) they began to raiſe a new-faſhioned one, with brick-walls ſix foot deep, which had never before been practiſed; and theſe they joined together with floors almoſt at the ſame diſtance as the other which had been made of timber: but wherever the ſpace between the walls, or the weakneſs of the work ſeemed to require it, piles were driven in, and croſs beams laid over them, to make the place ſecure. The joices of every floor were firſt covered with hurdles, and afterwards with brick.

The works finiſhed.

Thus our men being defended on the right and left by the walls, and before by the mantlets, ſafely brought the materials which were neceſſary for carrying on the work. The buſineſs was quickly diſpatched, the indefatigable care and virtue of the ſoldiers ſoon rebuilt what the enemy had deſtroyed, and had formerly coſt them ſo much longer time to bring to perfection; doors were left in convenient places, to ſally out upon occaſion.

The beſieg'd comply a ſecond time.

The beſieged perceiving thoſe works compleated in a few days, which they flattered themſelves could not be rebuilt in a much longer time; finding there was now no room for deceit or ſallies, that it was no longer in their power

power to oppoſe our ſoldiers, or put fire to our works; conſidering that by the ſame methods, all that part of Marſeilles which was acceſſible by land, might likewiſe be blocked up with a wall and turrets, from whence darts might be caſt into the town by the ſoldiers hands, whilſt the nearneſs of the place would render their engines uſeleſs, which they had ſo much relied on; that our men would enjoy the ſame advantage of fighting from the turrets, as they from their walls, and that they were no match for us upon equal terms, they again had recourſe to the conditions they had broken. CIVIL WAR.

CHAP. VII.

AT the beginning of the civil war, M. VARRO, who poſſeſs'd the farther province of Spain, underſtanding how affairs went in Italy, and doubting the ſucceſs of POMPEY's cauſe, uſed to ſpeak very favourably of CÆSAR: that POMPEY having retained him for his lieutenant, he was obliged to be faithful to him; but his private inclinations made him wiſh well to the other: for as he was not ignorant of a lieutenant's duty, who was entruſted by his ſuperior officer, and of his own power; ſo neither was he a ſtranger to the affection which the whole province bore CÆSAR. This was the ſubject of his diſcourſe in publick, without declaring for either ſide. But afterwards, when he underſtood CÆSAR was detained at Marſeilles, that PETREIUS and AFRANIUS were joined, that they had conſiderable reinforcements come in to them, that the higher province had unanimouſly reſolved to ſupport them, with an account of what afterwards happened, when CÆSAR was reduced to ſuch ſtraights at Lerida, which was ſet off to the beſt advantage in AFRANIUS's letters, he likewiſe began to tack about with fortune. Varro's trimming.

Forces he raiſed throughout his whole province; to the two compleat legions which he had with him, he added thirty auxiliary cohorts, and prepared a great quantity of corn, as well for the relief of the Marſeillians as of PETREIUS and AFRANIUS. He commanded the people of Cales to equip ten gallies, and gave orders for building ſeveral more at Seville: he removed all the money and ornaments out of the temple of HERCULES into the town of Cales, detached ſix cohorts thither for a garriſon, and made CAIUS GALLONIUS, a Roman knight, who had been ſent thither by DOMITIUS to recover an eſtate His preparations on the news of Cæſar's ill ſucceſs. Gaditani. Hiſpalia.

that

CIVIL WAR.

that belonged to him, as governor of the town; giving orders that all the arms of the city, as well publick as private, ſhould be lodged in GALLONIUS's houſe. He himſelf, in the mean while, began to ſpeak harſhly of CÆSAR, often declaring in council, that he had certain accounts of ſeveral defeats he had received, and that multitudes of deſerters flocked from his army to AFRANIUS. By which means he ſo terrified the Roman citizens of his province, that they were compelled to promiſe him * one hundred and ninety thouſand ſeſterces, twenty thouſand weight of ſilver, and one hundred and twenty thouſand buſhels of wheat.

On thoſe countries which he thought well-affected to CÆSAR he laid heavier taxes; ſuch as ſpoke words againſt the government, had their goods confiſcated, and ſoldiers quartered upon them. He gave judgment himſelf upon ſeveral private perſons, and obliged the whole province to ſwear allegiance to him and POMPEY. Having notice at laſt how affairs went in the further Spain, he prepared for war; which he reſolved to manage thus: to retire with his two legions to Cales, where all the ſhipping and proviſions lay; for he knew the whole province was inclinable to CÆSAR's intereſt; but he hoped he might eaſily prolong the war in that iſland, being ſo well ſtored with corn and ſhipping.

* The number of theſe ſeſterces is almoſt incredible, conſidering how much they would amount to; therefore I dare ſay this muſt be a corruption of the text: but what the certain number ſhould be, I ſhall not pretend to determine. Every Seſtertium, in the neuter gender, according to BUDÆUS, was of the value of five pounds ſterling; or as others will have it, ſeven pounds ten ſhillings.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæſar reſolves to march againſt Varro, who is retired to Cales.

CÆSAR, though he found himſelf called upon by many reaſons to return to Italy, yet reſolving to leave no embers of a war in Spain behind him, becauſe he knew the hither province had many obligations to POMPEY, who yet had ſeveral well-wiſhers there, ſent two legions before, under the command of Q. CASSIUS, tribune of the people, and followed after himſelf with ſix hundred cavalry, by long marches. Having publiſhed a proclamation, whereby he appointed all the magiſtrates and nobility of the country to meet him by a day prefixed at Cordova. This proclamation being diſperſed throughout the whole province, every ſtate ſent part of their ſenators thither to repreſent them, and all the Roman citizens of note

Summons the ſtates to meet him at Cordova, Corduba.

note appeared there, by the day appointed. The ſtates being thus aſſembled, of their own accord ſhut the gates of Cordova againſt VARRO, diſpoſed ſentinels on the walls and in the turrets, and retained two cohorts called Colonicæ, which were accidentally marching that way, to protect the town. About the ſame time the people of Carmona, which is the ſtrongeſt town in the whole province, drove the three cohorts VARRO left there, out of their cittadel, and ſhut the gates of the town againſt them.

CIVIL WAR.

They aſſemble, and ſhut the gates againſt Varro.

Carmona revolts to Cæſar, expels Varro's garriſon.

All theſe circumſtances obliged VARRO to make more haſte to Cales with his legions, leſt his march ſhould be intercepted: in fine, ſo general and ſo great was the affection, which the whole province ſhewed to CÆSAR, that he had not marched far, before he received letters from Cales, to acquaint him, that immediately on receipt of his proclamation, as well the inhabitants as garriſon, had agreed to expel GALLONIUS, and ſecure the town and iſland for him: that they had civilly acquainted their Governor with this reſolution, adviſing him to quit the iſland, whilſt he might with ſafety; which if he refuſed to do, they ſhould be obliged to take other methods: whereupon, GALLONIUS, being frightened, had fled from Cales. On receipt of this news, one of VARRO's legions, called Vernacula, taking up their enſigns, quitted the camp whilſt VARRO ſtood by, and marched directly to Seville, where they ſat themſelves down in the market-place and publick ſtreets, without doing hurt to any one; which the Roman citizens reſiding there, were ſo well ſatisfied with, that every one was deſirous to quarter them in their houſes. VARRO being mightily concern'd to ſee affairs go ſo ill on his ſide, began to think of retreating to Italy; but upon enquiry found all the paſſes thither prepoſſeſſed: finding himſelf therefore thus locked up on every ſide, he ſent a meſſenger to CÆSAR to acquaint him he was ready to deliver the legion under his command to whom he ſhould pleaſe to appoint to receive it: upon which he ſent SEXTUS CÆSAR to him for that purpoſe. VARRO having delivered up the legion, went himſelf to Cordova to wait upon CÆSAR; where he rendered him an account of his adminiſtration, and of the publick treaſure, which he delivered into his hands: he likewiſe informed him what ſtore of corn and ſhipping he had provided, and where they were.

Cales does the like.

The Legio Vernacula deſerts from Varro, marches to Seville.

Varro finding himſelf blocked up on all ſides, ſurrenders.

CÆSAR having made an oration at Cordova, wherein he returned thanks to every one in general; to the Roman

Cæſar makes a ſpeech at Cordova, returns every one thanks.

CIVIL WAR.

citizens, for taking care to ſecure the town in their own hands; to thoſe of Carmona, for expelling the garriſon; to the people of Cales, for diſappointing his enemies deſigns, and vindicating their freedom; to the tribunes of the ſoldiers, and centurions, who came thither to guard the place, and had confirmed the town in their affections to him, by their counſels and examples; he remitted the tax, which VARRO had impoſed on the Roman citizens; cauſed their goods to be reſtored, who had ſpoken freely of VARRO's government: having diſtributed ſome publick and private rewards, and put the reſt of the province in hopes, after a ſtay of two days at Cordova, he took his journey to Cales. On his arrival there, he cauſed the money and ornaments, which had been taken out of HERCULES's temple and laid up in private, to be carried thither again. He committed the province to the care of CASSIUS, with an army of four legions; and embarking on board the gallies which VARRO had cauſed to be equipped at Cales, arrived within a few days at Tarragona, where embaſſadors from moſt of the ſtates in the higher province expected him. Here likewiſe having conferred ſeveral marks of his favour upon every ſtate, he left Tarragona, and marched from thence by land to Marſeilles, where he firſt received news of the edict for conſtituting a * Dictator, and that M. LEPIDUS, the prætor, had named him for the perſon.

Cæſar goes to Cales, and from thence to Tarragona.

Cæſar arrives at Marſeilles, is made Dictator.

* The Dictators uſed always before to be named by the conſuls in the night, but the neceſſity of the time diſpenſed with the uſual form.

CHAP. IX.

THE people of Marſeilles, being wearied out with all kinds of evils; reduced to great ſtraights for want of corn; twice defeated at ſea; often repulſed with loſs when they ſallied; afflicted with a dreadful peſtilence, occaſioned by their confinement, and change of diet (for they ſubſiſted wholly upon old meal, and muſty barley, which had been long before laid up in their magazines againſt the ſiege) their tower being undermined; great part of their wall fallen down; and deſpairing of thoſe ſupplies from the two provinces of Spain, which they underſtood were now in CÆSAR's power; reſolved to ſurrender in good earneſt. But a few days before, L. DOMITIUS having notice of their deſign, got three ſhips, accommodated his friends with two of them, and embarking in the third himſelf

The Marſeillians reſolve to ſurrender.

Domitius eſcapes out of the town.

himſelf whilſt the ſea was rough, endeavoured to make his eſcape: ſome of BRUTUS's gallies, that perpetually cruiſed about the mouth of the haven, perceiving this, weighed anchor and followed him; whereupon two of DOMITIUS's ſhips being frightened, put again into the haven, but that where he was on board made the beſt of her way, and by favour of the foul weather got out of ſight. CIVIL WAR.

Marſeilles ſurrenders at diſcretion.

The Marſeillians, as they were commanded, ſurrendered their arms and engines, delivered up the ſhips which were in their harbour, together with the publick treaſure: whereupon CÆSAR, being willing to ſave the town, rather for the name and antiquity ſake, than any merit they could plead, left a garriſon of two legions there, ſent the reſt of his army into Italy, and went himſelf to Rome.

CHAP. X.

Curio ſails to Africk.

IN the mean while CURIO had ſailed from Sicily to Africk, and deſpiſing P. ACTIUS VARUS's forces, only tranſported two of the four legions which he received from CÆSAR, with five hundred horſe. Having been two days and three nights at ſea, he arrived at Aquilaria, about twenty-two miles diſtant from the * Clupei; who have a very convenient harbour for ſhips in ſummer time, ſheltered on each ſide by two eminent promontories. Here LUCIUS CÆSAR, the ſon, expected his arrival with ten gallies, which had formerly been taken from pirates, and repaired by VARUS at Utica; but frightened at the number of CURIO's fleet, he ran his galley on ſhore; and leaving her there, marched by land to Adrumetum, a town poſſeſſed by C. CONSIDIUS LONGUS, with a garriſon of one legion. The reſt of CÆSAR's fleet, ſeeing their admiral run away, put into Adrumetum: M. RUFUS, the treaſurer, by CURIO's orders, purſued L. CÆSAR with twelve ſhips, which came from Sicily as a convoy to the tranſports and tenders; but finding the galley upon the ſand, he towed her off, and returned again to the fleet.

Lucius Cæſar the younger, on notice of Curio's approach, runs his galley on ſhore, and flies to Adrumetum. Adrumetum is now called Mahometa.

Curio ſends Rufus to Utica with the fleet, and marches thither by land.

CURIO ſent RUFUS before with the navy to Utica, whither he deſigned to march with his army by land: in two days journey he arrived at the river † Bagrada, where he left C. CANINIUS REBILUS with the legions, and

* So called from its ſhape like a ſhield. Naturaliſts ſay, ſcorpions will not live near this place.

† Or Magrada: this river flows between Carthage and Utica: Here REGULUS killed the ſerpent above 220 foot long.

CIVIL WAR.

Encamps at the Cornelian camp.

went before with the cavalry, to take a view of the Cornelian camp; which was eſteemed a very convenient place to take up their quarters in: for it is the ridge of a very ſteep hill jetting out into the ſea, difficult of acceſs on all ſides, but that towards Utica; whence there was a gentle deſcent, and not above a mile's diſtance from the town, the direct way: but in the midſt, between this place and Utica, was a fountain towards the ſea, which diſcharging itſelf into the plain, made a marſh, that obliged the traveller to take a circuit of ſix miles, before he could arrive at Utica.

From hence CURIO beheld VARUS's camp, which joined to Utica, at the gate called Bellica, and was ſtrongly fortified by the nature of the place; for on one ſide it was defended by the town, on the other by a theatre, which ſtood without the wall, and took up ſo large a compaſs of ground, it rendered the avenues to the camp very narrow and difficult. Hence likewiſe he obſerved great ſtore of carriages making towards the town, from the country, upon this alarm; whereupon he detached ſome of his cavalry to plunder them. About the ſame inſtant VARUS had likewiſe ſent a party of 600 Numidian horſe, with 400 infantry, which he had lately received from king JUBA, to guard the roads. This prince was equally moved to aſſiſt VARUS, by the friendſhip which had been between his father and POMPEY, and the hatred he bore CURIO, for preferring a law during his tribunat, for ſequeſtring his kingdom. In fine, the cavalry on both ſides met, but the Numidians were not able to ſuſtain our charge; about 120 of them being killed, the reſt eſcaped to the town.

A ſkirmiſh between Curio's cavalry and the Numidian horſe.

Curio's party gets the better.

In the mean while our gallies being arrived, CURIO cauſed it to be proclaimed, That ſuch * victuallers as rode at anchor at Utica (being about two hundred in number) which did not immediately hoiſt ſail for the Cornelian camp, ſhould be eſteemed as enemies: on notice of this order, they all immediately weighed anchor, left Utica, and repaired to the place appointed, which furniſhed the camp with plenty of proviſions of all kinds: whereupon he returned to Bagrada, where by univerſal conſent of the whole army, he was ſaluted by the name of † Emperor.

CHAP.

* Theſe victuallers did not belong to him, as appears by his ſpeech afterwards.

† Which is no more than Generaliſſimo.

CHAP. XI.

CIVIL WAR.

THE day after, CURIO marched his whole army towards Utica, and encamped near the town; but before the fortifications of his camp were compleated, the outguard of cavalry brought advice, that conſiderable reinforcements ſent by JUBA, both horſe and foot, were marching towards Utica. CURIO being a little ſurprized at the news, ſent his cavalry before to receive the enemy's charge, and find them employment till he could diſpoſe his legions in order of battle. The horſe engaged the enemy, and, before the legions could be drawn up, routed the king's forces; for they marched very careleſly, and without any manner of order: ſeveral of the foot were ſlain, but the enemy's horſe being nimble, moſt of them made their eſcape along the ſhore into the town.

A conſiderable party of Juba's routed by Curio's cavalry.

The next night, two centurions of the country of Marſia, deſerted from CURIO, and went over to the enemy with two and twenty maniples: theſe, either out of a deſign to pleaſe VARUS, or becauſe it was really their opinion (for we eaſily believe what we wiſh, and hope other men are of the ſame opinion with ourſelves) poſitively affirmed, that the legions were diſaffected to CURIO; wherefore it might be of great advantage, if both armies were drawn out, and could come to a conference with each other. VARUS believing their intelligence, early the day after drew out his legions; CURIO did the like, and both armies were diſpoſed in order of battle in a ſmall valley, not far from one another.

Two Centurions deſert to Varus.

Both armies drawn out.

SEXTUS QUINCTILIUS VARUS, who, as we have already obſerved, had been taken at Corfinium, was now in the enemy's army; for being diſmiſſed by CÆSAR, he had ſailed into Africk. It happened, CURIO had tranſported thoſe legions that CÆSAR took at Corfinium, which were ſtill commanded almoſt by all the ſame officers. QUINCTILIUS therefore thinking this a happy opportunity, went up and down CURIO's army, and "beſought the ſoldiers to remember the firſt oath they had taken to DOMITIUS and him, their pay-maſter, not to bear arms againſt them, who had ſhared the ſame fortune, and ſuffered in the ſame ſiege together, nor aſſiſt thoſe, who had formerly reproached them with the name of deſerters." To this ſpeech he added ſome promiſes of rewards, which they might expect from his generoſity, if they came over

Quinctilius's ſpeech to Curio's ſoldiers.

CIVIL WAR.

to him and VARUS. This was QUINCTILIUS's harangue, but none of CURIO's ſoldiers made him an anſwer; ſo both armies retreated again into their camps.

A mutiny in Curio's camp.

However, CURIO's camp was poſſeſſed with ſtrange apprehenſions, which were quickly increaſed by variety of diſcourſes; for every man was of a ſeveral opinion, and fear always added to report. In fine, what was firſt invented by one, came to be talk'd of by ſo many, that there appeared to be ſeveral authors of the ſame notions: * "That it was lawful for every man, in a civil war, to do what he thought convenient, and chooſe his own party; that theſe two legions not long before belonged to POMPEY; and ſince CÆSAR offered governments, even to thoſe that were his enemies, his favour ſhould not outbalance their ancient friendſhip and acquaintance." But they came not all from Marſia and Pelignia, as thoſe who had deſerted the night before: therefore ſome reprimanded their fellow-ſoldiers for talking ſo freely; and others, who would appear more diligent in their duty than the reſt, enlarged in their accounts of the matter to the officers.

* All the reſt of this paragraph is ſo corrupted and confuſed in the original, it cannot be rendered into Engliſh; but I have aimed at Cæſar's meaning as near as I could.

CHAP. XII.

Curio calls a council of war; various opinions.

UPON this CURIO immediately ſummoned a council of war, to conſult what methods were proper to be taken. Some were of opinion, "'Twas neceſſary forthwith to attack VARUS in his trenches, becauſe nothing could ſo effectually baniſh theſe notions out of the ſoldiers heads, as employment." Some, "That it was much better to put their fortune upon the hazard of a battle, rather than prolong the time till they ſhould be deſerted, and expoſed to the fatal conſequences that muſt neceſſarily follow." Others voted for "retreating to the Cornelian camp about one the next morning, that the ſoldiers having time to conſider, might return to their duty; and if any inconvenience ſhould happen, being near the fleet, they might eaſily retire to Sicily."

Curio's ſpeech to the council.

But CURIO appproved of none of theſe, for he thought one opinion as void of courage, as the other of conduct; ſince one adviſed a ſhameful retreat, and the other attacking an enemy at ſo great a diſadvantage. "With what aſſurance, ſaid he, can we expect to take the enemy's camp, which is ſo well fortified by art and nature? And what

what will be the conſequence of returning with loſs from the attempt? As if the affection of an army to their general, did not depend on his good or bad ſucceſs. But then, as to decamping, what conſtruction can be made of it, but cowardice and deſpair? And what the effect, but the contempt of the ſoldiers? The wiſe ſhould be void of ſuſpicion, ſhould never be too credulous, but above all things conceal their fear, leſt it ſhould increaſe the arrogance of the ſoldiers, and detract from that reſpect which is their due. But taking it for granted the army are ſo ripe for mutiny, as we are informed (which account, for my part, I believe either wholly falſe, or much leſs than report has made it) how much more were it for our intereſt to hide and diſſemble, than confirm it? We ought to conceal the defects of our army, with the ſame induſtry as the wounds of our body, leſt we ſhould put the enemy in hopes. But what could they deſign, that adviſed decamping about midnight; except giving thoſe who had a mind to mutiny, the better opportunity to do it? for diſorders of this nature are often ſuppreſſed either by ſhame or fear; which darkneſs is an enemy to. For theſe reaſons, I neither am ſo deſperate to attack the enemy in their trenches, without any manner of proſpect, nor ſo oppreſſed with fear, to be wanting to myſelf: wherefore I ſhall experience all methods before I agree with the opinions propoſed; and I doubt not, but the majority of you will agree to my reſolution."

CHAP. XIII.

UPON this, diſmiſſing the council, he cauſed the ſoldiers to be aſſembled, and made an harangue to them, wherein he reminded them, "What a ſignal piece of ſervice they had done CÆSAR at Corfinium: that their friendſhip and authority had induced a conſiderable part of Italy to declare in his behalf: for, ſaid he, all the municipal towns immediately followed your example; wherefore you were juſtly eſteemed as much by CÆSAR, as you were hated by his adverſaries. For POMPEY, without loſing a battle, was obliged by your revolt to quit Italy; whereupon CÆSAR committed me, who have the honour to be particularly beloved by him, with the provinces of Sicily and Africk, to your protection; without which he could neither preſerve Rome, nor the reſt of Italy. 'Tis true, you have been adviſed to leave us;

Curio's ſpeech to the ſoldiers.

CIVIL WAR.

and certainly nothing could be more grateful to our enemies than to ruin us, and at the ſame inſtant bind you to their intereſt, by making you commit ſo vile an action. Let me tell you, 'tis an argument they entertain but a very baſe opinion of you, to think you could be induced to betray thoſe, who own you the makers of their fortune; and put yourſelves again into their power, who declare you have ruined them. Have you not been informed of CÆSAR's ſucceſs in Spain? that he has conquered two armies, two generals, and reduced two provinces, within forty days after he firſt beheld the enemy. If they who had never been worſted before, were not able to reſiſt him, how ſhall the defeated do it? And will you, who generouſly ran the hazard of CÆSAR's fate, deſert him, after fortune has decided the cauſe in his favour, and the time is arrived for rewarding your ſervices; to embrace the conquered party, who remind you of your former oath, and brand you with the names of traitors and deſerters? But did you deſert DOMITIUS, or DOMITIUS his ſoldiers? Were you not ready to have endured the laſt extremities, whilſt he privately endeavoured to eſcape? Were you not betrayed by him, and ſaved by CÆSAR's mercy? And how can the oath any longer oblige you, when he to whom you ſwore, having thrown aſide all marks of conſular dignity, became a private perſon, and a captive to another? But may be you approve of CÆSAR's cauſe, yet diſlike your general: For my part, I ſhall not recount the obligations you have to me, becauſe they are much inferior to my own deſire and your deſerts: Though ſoldiers always uſed to attend for their rewards till the war was determined; the ſucceſs of which, in my opinion, you have now no reaſon to doubt of. Shall I take notice, to how fair a proſpect my diligence has already brought the buſineſs? Are you ſorry that I have ſafely tranſported the army hither, without the loſs of a ſingle veſſel? That on my firſt arrival I put the enemy's fleet to flight? That I was twice ſucceſsful over their cavalry in two days time? That I brought two hundred victuallers and tenders out of the enemy's port, and reduced them to ſuch neceſſities, that they could neither be ſupplied by ſea or land? Will you therefore deſert all this good fortune, will you quit the general that has done theſe things, and return to thoſe who delivered up Corfinium with ſo much ignominy, who fled from Italy, ſurrendered Spain, and ſhare with them the ill ſucceſs of the African war?

For

For my part, I desired no greater name than that of CÆSAR's soldier; you thought fit to give me that of emperor: but if you repent of what you have done, I shall freely surrender the title: give me back my name again, that you may not appear to have advanced me, to make my fall the greater." CIVIL WAR.

CHAP. XIV.

THIS speech had so extraordinary an effect upon the soldiers, that they often interrupted him, to express their grief for being suspected: and, when he had finished his oration, unanimously desired him to depend upon their fidelity, and engage the enemy. Thus all peoples minds being changed, and the army's affection confirmed, CURIO, by general consent, resolved to lay hold of the first opportunity for giving VARUS battle: wherefore, the day after he drew out all his forces in the same place as formerly: and VARUS did the like, either designing to obtain another conference with our soldiers, or to embrace an occasion for engaging us upon equal terms.

The effect the speech had upon the soldiers.

Both armies drawn up.

The valley between the two armies, as we have already taken notice, was not very large, though of difficult ascent; therefore both expected whether would first endeavour to pass it, that they might encounter each other to the greater advantage. At length VARUS's cavalry, of which consisted the left wing of his army, mixed with the light-arm'd foot, descended from the hill: CURIO sent his horse, and two cohorts of the Marucini to engage them; whose first charge their cavalry were not able to sustain, but clapping spurs to their horses, retreated as fast as they could to the main body; leaving the infantry that came along with them to the mercy of our soldiers, who surrounded and cut them to pieces, in view of their own army. Upon which, REBILUS, one of CÆSAR'S lieutenants (whom CURIO had brought along with him out of Sicily, because of his great experience in military affairs) cried out; "CURIO, you see the enemy is surprized, why don't you immediately lay hold of this happy occasion?" CURIO took his advice, and only staying to put the soldiers in mind of their promise made the day before, advancing himself before the rest, commanded them to follow him. The ascent was so steep, that the foremost could hardly get up without the assistance of those that came after; but the enemy were so frightened with the

The battle begins.

Varus's horse routed.

CIVIL WAR.

the rout and ſlaughter of their men, that they did not endeavour to oppoſe us. In fine, they thought themſelves already ſurrounded by our cavalry; before a dart was thrown, or we approached them, the whole army turn'd their backs, and retired into their camp.

His whole army flies.

Fabius's attempt on Varus's life.

During the purſuit, FABIUS a Pelignian, a ſoldier of the meaneſt rank amongſt CURIO's forces, following the enemy's rear, called aloud upon VARUS, as if he had been one of his own party, and had ſomething extraordinary to impart to him. VARUS hearing himſelf called ſo often, ſtood ſtill, and looking back, demanded his buſineſs: upon which FABIUS made a ſtroke at his ſhoulder which was unarmed, and had certainly killed him, had not the other received the blow upon his ſhield; but he was ſoon ſurrounded, and cut to pieces by the ſoldiers that ſtood next him. The gates of their camp were immediately throng'd by thoſe that fled, who hindered each other; and more were crouded to death, than fell either in the battle or purſuit. We had like to have taken their trenches, for ſome fled directly into the town; but the nature of the place, and the fortifications which VARUS had thrown up, prevented our deſign, who being drawn out only to fight a battle, wanted materials to fill up the ditches: wherefore CURIO retreated to his quarters again, without the loſs of a man, except FABIUS: but on the enemy's ſide were ſix hundred killed, and a thouſand wounded; who upon CURIO's departure went into the town, with many others who retired thither out of fear, upon the ſame pretence. Which VARUS perceiving, and taking notice of the conſternation his army was in, left his camp about midnight ſilently, and marched into the town, leaving only a trumpet in the camp, with a few tents for a ſhew.

His deſign miſſes, and he is killed.

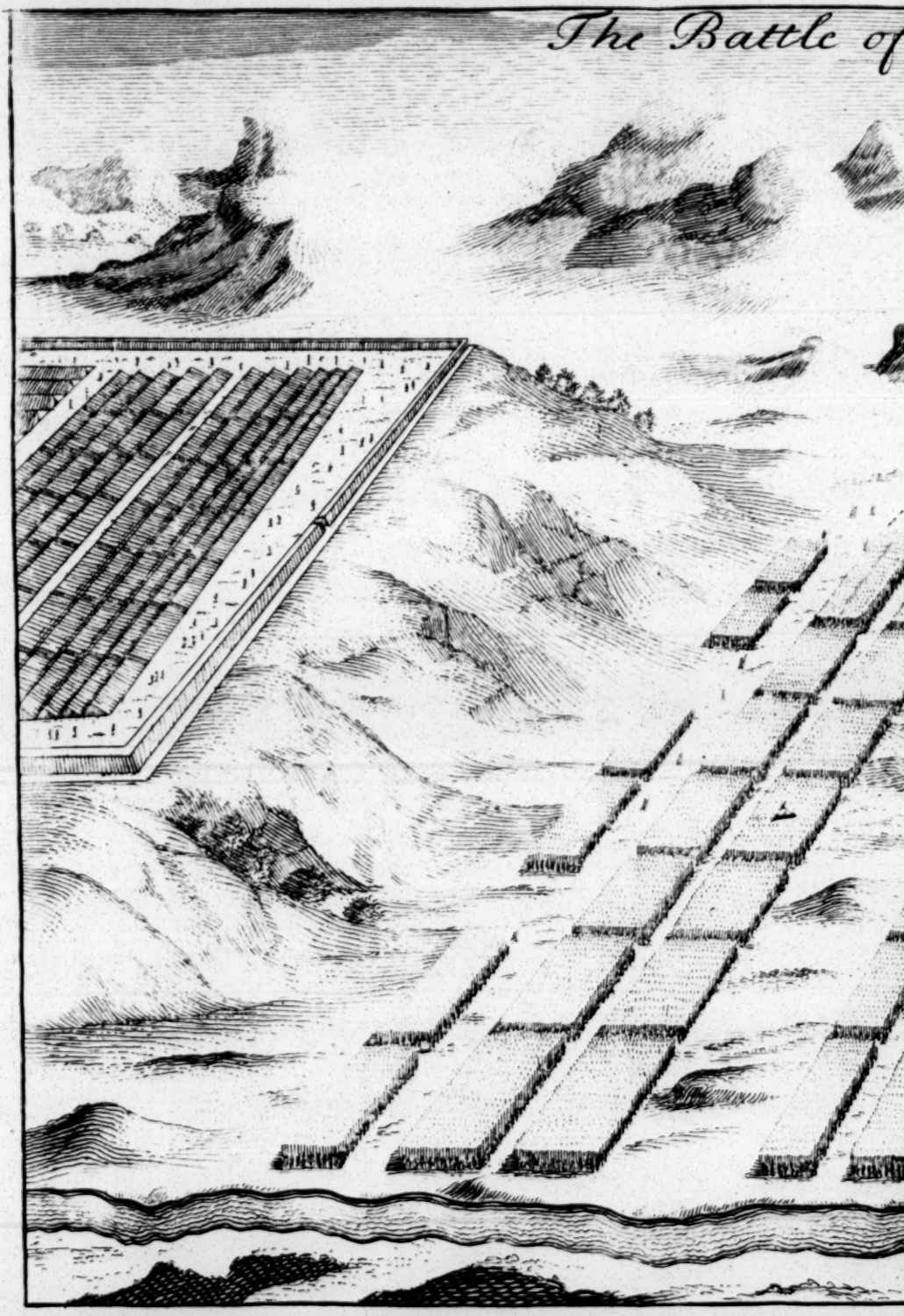
The enemy routed, they croud one another to death in the purſuit.

CHAP. XV.

Curio beſieges Utica.

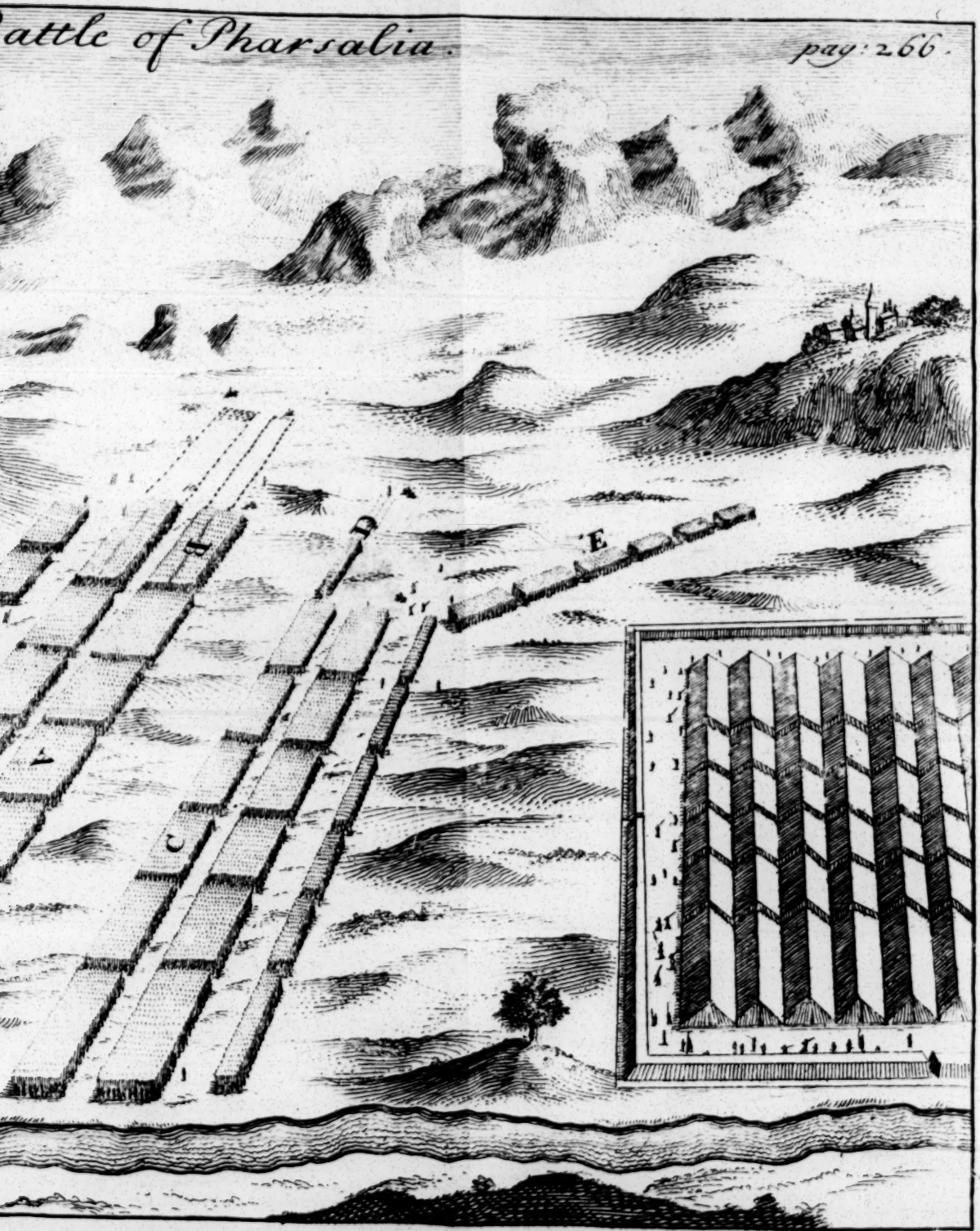
THE next day CURIO reſolved to beſiege Utica, and draw a line of circumvallation about it. The town had many inhabitants, whom a long peace had made wholly ignorant of war; and having formerly received ſeveral favours from CÆSAR, ſtood well-affected to his intereſt: the common-council, which conſiſted of * ſeveral ſorts of people, were ſo frightened with the ill ſucceſs which they had hitherto met with, that they talked publickly of ſurrendering; and deſired VARUS not to ruin them

* As well natives as Roman citizens, like that at Seville.



A. Pompey's Army, with his Right wing towards th
selves in order to surround Cæsars Right wing
reserved to oppose Pompey's horse.

attle of Pharsalia. pag: 266.



wards ye River. B. his Cavalry in the Left extending them-
ht wing. C. Cæsars army. D. his Cavalry. E. the six Cohorts

them by his obſtinacy. But whilſt this affair was in agitation, arrived a meſſenger from JUBA, to encourage them to hold out, for he was coming to their aſſiſtance with a conſiderable army, which immediately altered their minds.

The town deſigns to ſurrender; but on news of Juba's approach, change their reſolution.

CURIO likewiſe had notice of this, but confided ſo much in his good fortune, that at firſt he could hardly believe it: for the news of CÆSAR's ſucceſs in Spain being now publickly known in Africk, he could not be perſuaded JUBA would attempt any thing againſt him. But at laſt being ſatisfied the king with all his forces was already arrived within twenty-five miles of Utica, he quitted his works, and tetreated to the Cornelian camp. Here he began to intrench himſelf, to provide corn, and immediately diſpatched away meſſengers into Sicily for the other two legions, and the reſt of the horſe he had left behind him. The camp was mighty conveniently placed, well fortified by art and nature, lay near the ſea, was plentifully ſtored with water and ſalt, whereof ſtore had been lately imported from the neighbouring ſalt-pits: In fine, he neither could want wood, trees, nor corn, wherewith the adjacent fields abounded: wherefore, by general approbation, here CURIO reſolved to expect the arrival of the reſt of his forces, and prepare for the war.

Curio will not believe it at firſt.

Retreats to the Cornelian camp.

Having reſolved upon this ſcheme by publick conſent, for the management of affairs, he was informed by ſome deſerters from the town, that JUBA was obliged to return home to defend the borders of his kingdom, and compoſe the diſputes amongſt the Leptitani; but had ſent his general SABURA with a ſmall number of forces, who were marching towards Utica, CURIO giving too eaſy credit to this intelligence, altered his former deſign, and now reſolved to try his good fortune in a battle: his youthful ardour, greatneſs of mind, former ſucceſs, and dependance upon his good fortune, precipitated him upon this enterprize. Induced by theſe motives, at the beginning of the night he detached the cavalry before to the enemy's camp, at the river Bagrada; where SABURA, whom we mentioned but now, commanded in chief. But JUBA himſelf followed after him, and had taken up his quarters not above ſix miles off. Our horſe performed their journey before day-light, ſurprized and ſet upon the enemy unawares: for the Numidians, being a barbarous people, obſerved no manner of order; which gave our men an opportunity of killing great numbers, whilſt they

Curio receives falſe intelligence.

He reſolves to fight Sabura.

Sends the horſe before, who have good ſucceſs.

CIVIL WAR.

they were diſperſed and aſleep; others, being frightened, betook themſelves to flight; and thus the cavalry returned to CURIO with ſeveral priſoners.

They return with ſome priſoners to Curio.

CURIO, by break of day, with all his forces had quitted his camp; leaving only five cohorts behind to guard his baggage. He had not marched above ſix miles before he met the horſe, who gave him an account of the action; whereupon he examined the captives to know who commanded their camp at Bagrada; to which they anſwered, SABURA. Being mighty eager to purſue his journey, without ſtaying to ask more queſtions, he turned about to the neareſt troops, and ſaid, "Obſerve, gentlemen, this account of the priſoners agrees exactly with that we received from the deſerters: the king is abſent, and their forces muſt of neceſſity be inconſiderable, who were not able to repulſe ſo ſmall a number of cavalry. Wherefore let us haſten to obtain the ſpoil and glory, that I may the ſooner reward, and render you thanks for the ſervices you have done."

Curio's over-eagerneſs.

He exhorts the ſoldiers to make haſte.

CHAP. XVI.

TO give the cavalry their due, they had obtained a conſiderable booty, and done wonders, conſidering how far inferior they were to the Numidians in number. But however, they enlarged a little in their accounts of the action; for men naturally repreſent themſelves to the beſt advantage: the horſe made their appearance, and the priſoners they had taken were produced to inflame the army, and make them believe each moment they loſt, retarded them ſo long from victory: thus the ardour of the ſoldiers became equal to the hopes of their general. He commanded the horſe to follow after, and marched before himſelf with the infantry as faſt as he could, that he might have an opportunity of falling upon the enemy, whilſt they were flying, before they could recover their ſurprize: but the horſe being fatigued by their laſt night's expedition, were not able to perform his orders; ſome ſtayed behind in one place, others in another, yet even this could not diminiſh CURIO's expectations.

In the mean while JUBA, having notice from SABURA of the laſt night's engagement, had immediately ſent two thouſand Spaniſh and French cavalry, his own life-guard, together with a ſelect battalion of foot to his aſſiſtance: ſuſpecting CURIO was not far behind his horſe,

he himſelf followed gently after with the reſt of his army, and ſixty elephants. SABURA having drawn up his forces, he commanded them at firſt to retreat, as if they were afraid; for he would give them the ſign to engage when he ſhould think convenient, and diſtribute the neceſſary orders. CURIO being confirmed by this decoy in his former hopes, and believing the enemy fled, drew his army down into the plain from the higher ground. At length, having marched a conſiderable way, and weakened his ſoldiers with a journey of ſixteen miles, he made a halt. Upon which SABURA put his army in order, rid up and down to every company, and having encouraged them to fight, gave the ſign of battle: but he only ſent the cavalry to charge our men, keeping his foot at a diſtance for a ſhew. CURIO wanted not preſence of mind, he adviſed his men to repoſe all the hopes of ſafety in their courage: Nor did the foot, though wearied with their march, or the cavalry, though few in number, and fatigued with the duty they had already done, betray want of courage, or inclination to engage. Of the latter were only two hundred left, for the reſt had halted by the way; yet wherever they charged, they obliged the enemy to give way; but their horſes were ſo tired they could not purſue them far.

Curio and Sabura engage.

In the mean while SABURA's horſe began to ſurround our army on both ſides, and gall us in the rear: whenever our cohorts iſſued out to charge them, the Numidians, being freſh, avoided the attack by their nimbleneſs; but when our men endeavoured to return again to the main body, they were environed and intercepted; ſo we could neither maintain our ranks, nor charge their forces with ſafety.

Curio ſurrounded by Sabura.

CHAP. XVII.

THEY received freſh ſupplies perpetually from JUBA, whilſt our men began to faint with the labour they had taken; and our whole army being beſet by their horſe, even they that were wounded could neither quit the field, nor retire to a place for ſecurity. Wherefore deſpairing of ſafety, as men uſually do when they are dying, they bemoaned their own fates, and wiſhed their friends better fortune, if it were poſſible for any of them to eſcape the ſlaughter. In fine, the whole army was over-run with grief and fear.

CURIO

CIVIL WAR.

CURIO perceiving the ſoldiers were in ſo great a conſternation, that they neither gave ear to his commands or intreaties, as the laſt refuge, gave orders they ſhould gain the neighbouring hill: but they were already poſſeſſed by SABURA's cavalry, which reduced our men to the laſt degree of deſpair; part endeavouring to eſcape, were killed by the enemy's horſe; and others, to preſerve themſelves from the like fate, fell proſtrate on the earth. Whilſt affairs were in this deſperate condition, CN. DOMITIUS, commander of the horſe; having only a few of his followers left, adviſed CURIO to ſave himſelf by retreating to the camp, and promiſed not to forſake him. But CURIO, having loſt the army which CÆSAR committed to his charge, reſolved never to behold his face again; wherefore fighting bravely, he expired. Some few of the cavalry eſcaped the ſlaughter; and they who ſtay'd behind to refreſh themſelves, perceiving at a diſtance the army was routed, retreated in ſafety to the camp, but the foot, every man of them were cut to pieces.

Curio routed.

He dies bravely.

Part of the cavalry eſcape to the camp.

M. RUFUS, the treaſurer, whom CURIO had left behind in the camp, deſired the ſoldiers not to be dejected: they begged to be tranſported to Sicily, and he promiſed they ſhould. Whereupon he ordered the captains of the ſhips to bring their boats to the ſhore ſo ſoon as evening approached. But ſo great confuſion were they in, that ſome affirmed JUBA was almoſt at the camp with his army; ſome, that VARUS with his legions was coming that way, and that they perceived the duſt occaſioned by his march; but theſe reports were both of them falſe: others again were apprehenſive that the enemy's fleet would immediately be with them. Thus all being frightened, every man conſulted his own preſervation; thoſe who had embarked were for hoiſting ſail immediately; and their weighing anchor made the tranſports in haſte to follow after. A few ſmall tenders obeyed RUFUS's orders, and ſtayed: but the ſtrand was ſo crouded, and every one ſo eager to get on board before the reſt, that ſome of theſe veſſels were ſunk, and others were afraid to come nearer the ſhore. Thus it happened that a few ſoldiers and aged men, who were received on board, either through intereſt or compaſſion, together with ſuch as were able to ſwim to the tranſports, got ſafe into Italy. But the reſt having ſent their centurions that night as deputies to VARUS, ſurrendered.

They deſire to be tranſported to Sicily.

Their idle fears.

The tranſports go off, and leave greateſt part of them behind.

They ſurrender to Varus;

The

The day after, JUBA, ſeeing theſe cohorts before Utica, claimed them as part of his booty, commanded ſeveral to be killed, and ſent others, whom he had ſelected out of the number, into his own country. VARUS in vain interceded for them, affirming his honour was engaged, for he durſt not oppoſe what the other had a mind to. JUBA made his entry into the town on horſeback, attended by ſeveral Roman ſenators, among which number were SERVIUS SULPICIUS, and LICINIUS DAMASIPPUS: he ſtayed in Utica but a few days; for having given out ſuch orders for the government of the place as he thought convenient, he returned again to his own kingdom with all his forces.

but are killed by Juba, after quarter granted.

Juba makes his entry into Utica.

Returns to his own kingdom.

C. J. CÆSAR'S COMMENTARY OF THE CIVIL WAR.

The THIRD BOOK.

CÆSAR *and* POMPEY, *their preparations.* CÆSAR *goes into Greece. The ſiege of Salona.* POMPEY *retires to Durazzo.* BIBULUS *dies. Propoſitions of peace rejected. Tumults at Rome compoſed.* ANTONY *and* KALENUS *join* CÆSAR. SCIPIO'*s tyranny in Aſia. His arrival in Macedonia.* POMPEY *beſieged by* CÆSAR *at Durazzo. Skirmiſhes with various ſucceſs.* CÆSAR *quits the ſiege. Draws* POMPEY *into Theſſaly. Engages and defeats him.* LÆLIUS *beſieges Brunduſium.* CASSIUS *burns* CÆSAR'*s ſhips in Sicily.* POMPEY *killed in Egypt by* ACHILLAS *and* SEPTIMIUS. CÆSAR *goes to Alexandria, where he is engaged in another war.*

CHAP. I.

CIVIL WAR.

Cæſar and Servilius choſen conſuls.

THE dictator, CÆSAR, preſiding at the aſſembly for election of magiſtrates, he himſelf and P. SERVILIUS were choſen conſuls; for this * year it was † lawful for him to be elected to that office. This affair being over, CÆSAR perceiving commerce was at a ſtop in Italy, becauſe no body paid their debts, decreed

* An. U. C. 705.

† Viz. According to SYLLA's law, whereby it was enacted, No perſon ſhould enjoy the conſulat a ſecond time, till ten years after his firſt election.

decreed that arbitrators ſhould be appointed for ſetting ſuch an eſtimate on the eſtate and goods of debtors, as they were really worth before the war began; and delivering them at that value to the creditors. For this he thought the propereſt method for preſerving the reputation of the debtor, and taking away all apprehenſion of a law for pardoning debts, as uſually happens in civil wars. He reſtored the ancient cuſtom of appealing to the people, by the prætors and tribunes. He likewiſe reverſed ſome judgments given upon perſons for bribery and elections, by virtue of the Pompeian law, whilſt POMPEY kept his legions in the city; becauſe the merits had often been heard by one judge, and ſentence pronounced the ſame day by another, that knew nothing of the cauſe. And thinking himſelf as much obliged to thoſe who had proffered their ſervice to him at the beginning of the war, as if he had accepted of their friendſhip, he reſolved to free them from the ſentence they lay under upon his account: but thought it more convenient to have this affair effected by the votes of the people, that he might neither ſeem ungrateful, nor appear to aſſume too great authority.

Makes a law for payment of debts, reſtores appeals to the people.

Reverſes judgments given in Pompey's time.

Gets thoſe cleared by the people who were condemned for proffering their ſervice to him.

CHAP. II.

THESE affairs, together with the * Latin feſtivals, and the reſt of the elections, took him up eleven days; after which, having laid down his dictatorſhip, and left the city, he went to Brindiſi; where he had appointed twelve legions, with all the cavalry, to meet him. But he found ſo few tranſports in the haven, they were hardly ſufficient for carrying over twenty thouſand legionary ſoldiers, and ſix hundred horſe: this was the only thing CÆSAR had need of, to enable him to put a ſpeedy end to the war. Beſides, thoſe troops which went on board wanted recruiting; for the wars of Gaul, and long marches from Spain, had killed a great many; and an unhealthful autumn about Brindiſi and Apulia, with the change of ſo wholeſome an air as that of Gaul or Spain, had made the whole army out of order.

He lays down his Dictatorſhip; goes to Brindiſi

* Feſtivals celebrated in memory of the alliance between the Romans and the Latins.

POMPEY had now had a twelve-month's time, free from all interruption, to raiſe an army in; which he employed to the beſt advantage: for he got a conſiderable fleet together, from Aſia, the Cyclades, Corfu, Athens, Pontus, Bythinia, Syria, Cilicia, Phœnicia, Egypt; and had given orders for building ſeveral ſhips in other places.

Pompey's preparations, his forces.

Corcyra.

CIVIL WAR.

He had raiſed a great deal of money in Aſia and Syria, beſides what he received from all the Kings, Dynaſts, Tetrarchs, and Hans-towns of Achaia; he likewiſe extorted vaſt ſums from the corporations or ſocieties of the provinces under his command.

His land-forces.

He had levied nine legions of Roman citizens; five he brought along with him from Italy; one veteran legion came from Sicily, called the Gemella, becauſe it conſiſted of two others; another from Candia and Macedonia, of old ſoldiers, which had formerly been diſbanded there by other generals; and two more from Aſia, which had been raiſed by LENTULUS's care. Beſides theſe, he had conſiderable numbers from Theſſaly, Bœtia, Achaia, and Epirus; which he diſtributed amongſt his legions by the way of recruits, together with * ANTONY's ſoldiers.

Crete.

* Taken from him at Corfu, tho' omitted in the Commentary.

Over and above all theſe, he expected two legions under SCIPIO's command from Syria, with archers from thence, Candia, Lacedemon, Pontus, and other countries, to the number of three thouſand; with ſix thouſand ſlingers, two thouſand hired ſoldiers, and ſeven thouſand horſe. Six hundred of the latter came along with DEIOTARUS from Gaul; five hundred with ARIOBARZANES from Cappadocia; the like number from Thrace, ſent by COTUS, under the command of his ſon SADALIS; two hundred from Macedonia, led by the famous RASCIPOLIS; ſix hundred Gauls and Germans from Alexandria, whom A. GABINIUS had formerly preſented PTOLEMY with for a guard; POMPEY's ſon brought eight hundred in his fleet, whom he had levied amongſt his ſlaves and ſhepherds; TARCUNDARIUS CASTOR and DOMILAUS furniſhed three hundred Galatians; the firſt of theſe came himſelf in perſon, the latter ſent his ſon; two hundred, moſt of them archers, were ſent from Syria, by COMAGENUS of Antioch, who had been infinitely obliged to POMEY. To theſe were added the Dardani, with others from Macedon, Theſſaly, and other countries, to compleat the number of his cavalry, part volunteers, and part mercenary troops.

Raſcus's brother, who was of Cæſar's ſide.

Gallogræcos.

He had provided vaſt quantities of corn from Theſſaly, Aſia, Candia, Cyrene, and other countries: he reſolved to quarter his army that winter at Durazzo, Apollonia, and the other maritime towns, to prevent CÆSAR's paſſing the ſea; for which purpoſe he took care his fleet ſhould cruiſe perpetually about the coaſts. POMPEY, the ſon, was admiral of the Egyptian ſquadron; D. LÆLIUS and

His fleet.

and C. TRIARIUS of the Aſian; C. CASSIUS of the Syrian; C. MARCELLUS and C. COPONIUS of the Rhodian; SCRIBONIUS LIBO and *M. OCTAVIUS of the Liburnian and Achaian fleets: but M. BIBULUS was high-admiral, whoſe orders the reſt were to obſerve upon all occaſions.

CIVIL WAR.

Bibulus High Admiral.

* Once fellow conſul with Cæſar.

CHAP. III.

CÆSAR, upon his arrival at Brunduſium, called the ſoldiers together; and deſired, ſince their labours and dangers were now almoſt at an end, they would be content to leave their baggage behind them in Italy, that the greater number might embark, and expect all things from conqueſt and his liberality: they unanimouſly exclaimed, Let him command whatever he pleaſed, they were ready to obey his orders. Wherefore (†as we have already remarked) having put ſeven legions on board, the fourth of January he weighed anchor, and arrived the day after at the promontary of Ceraunium; where he obtained a quiet harbour amongſt the rocks and unfrequented places: apprehending all the ports were prepoſſeſſed by the enemy, he ſell down to a place called Pharſalus, where he landed every man of his army in ſafety. LUCRETIUS VESPILLO and MINUTIUS RUFUS, vice-admirals to D. LÆLIUS, were both at Oricum, with eighteen of the Aſian ſhips; and M. BIBULUS with an hundred and ten at Corfu. But the firſt of theſe had not the courage to attack CÆSAR, though he had only twelve gallies for a convoy: one whereof he was on board himſelf: and BIBULUS's fleet being out of order, and his ſailors diſperſed, he could not come time enough; for CÆSAR was landed before the news of his approach was heard of.

Cæſar deſires the legions to leave their baggage behind.

He embarks for Greece.

He lands at Pharſalus.

This word all mankind agree to be corrupted, yet no body knows how to mend it.

Having ſet his ſoldiers on ſhore, he ſent the fleet back the ſame night to Brindiſi, to fetch the other legions and cavalry. The care of this buſineſs was committed to lieutenant FUSIUS KALENUS, who had orders to make what diſpatch he could. But the fleet weighing anchor too late, loſt the benefit of the wind, that offered fair all the night; which prevented their return. For BIBULUS, who lay at Corfu, being aſſured by this time of CÆSAR's arrival, was in hopes to intercept ſome part of

Kalenus ſent back with the fleet to fetch the reſt.

† This has reference to the twenty thouſand men ſpoken of before: for he ſaid the legions were not compleat.

CIVIL WAR.

Bibulus catches thirty as they return.

His malice.

His diligence.

our fleet: he took about thirty; but finding they were empty, ſet them all on fire, to ſatisfy his ſpleen for having ſlipped ſo happy an opportunity, and to deter other maſters by the puniſhment, from tranſporting any more of CÆSAR's forces. After this, he diſpoſed his men of war all along the coaſts between Salona and Oricum, to guard the ſhore with more diligence for the future: he himſelf continued on board in the coldeſt weather, not declining any fatigue, * ſo he might but intercept the forces CÆSAR expected.

Octavius beſieges Salona.

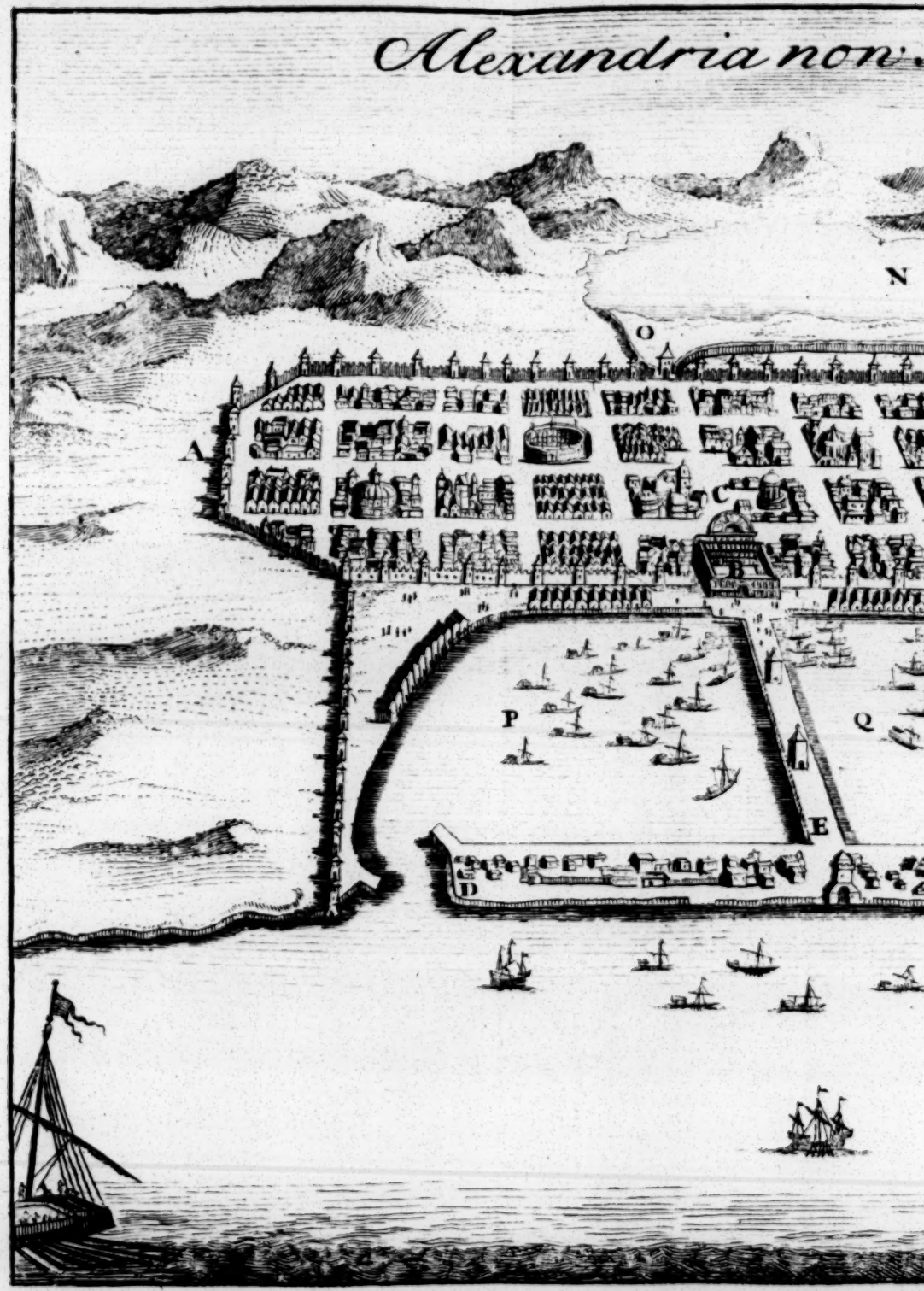
After the Liburnian gallies were gone, M. OCTAVIUS, with the reſt of the ſquadron under his command, which came from Illyria, ſailed to Salona; having raiſed the Dalmatians, and other barbarous people, drew ISSA to revolt from CÆSAR. But finding he could not prevail with the inhabitants of Salona to do the like, he reſolved to inveſt the town. Salona is ſituate on a hill, and well fortified by nature; but the Roman citizens reſiding there, to make the place better able to hold out, immediately ſurrounded it with ſeveral wooden towers: they made a vigorous defence; and after having received many wounds, finding their number not ſufficient to maintain the town, as their laſt refuge, infranchiſed all their ſlaves that were able to bear arms, and cut off their women's hair to make cords for the engines. OCTAVIUS, finding them ſo obſtinate, divided his army into five parts, and ſurrounded the town; deſigning at the ſame inſtant to oppreſs them by blockade and ſtorm. The Salonians were reſolved to endure the laſt extremities, and wanted nothing but corn; wherefore they ſent to CÆSAR for ſupplies; all other inconveniencies they patiently endured. They had now been inveſted a conſiderable time, and the enemy was grown remiſs; when taking the opportunity, about noon they diſpoſed their wives and children upon the walls to ſupply their places; and making a vigorous ſally with their enfranchiſed ſlaves, forced the enemy's next quarters, then attempted the next, after that the third, and ſo the reſt with equal ſucceſs; ſo having killed great numbers of his men, they obliged OCTAVIUS to fly to his ſhips. Thus ended the ſiege, and winter drawing on, OCTAVIUS deſpairing of ſucceſs, after having received a conſiderable loſs, retreated to POMPEY at Durazzo.

The valour of the beſieged.

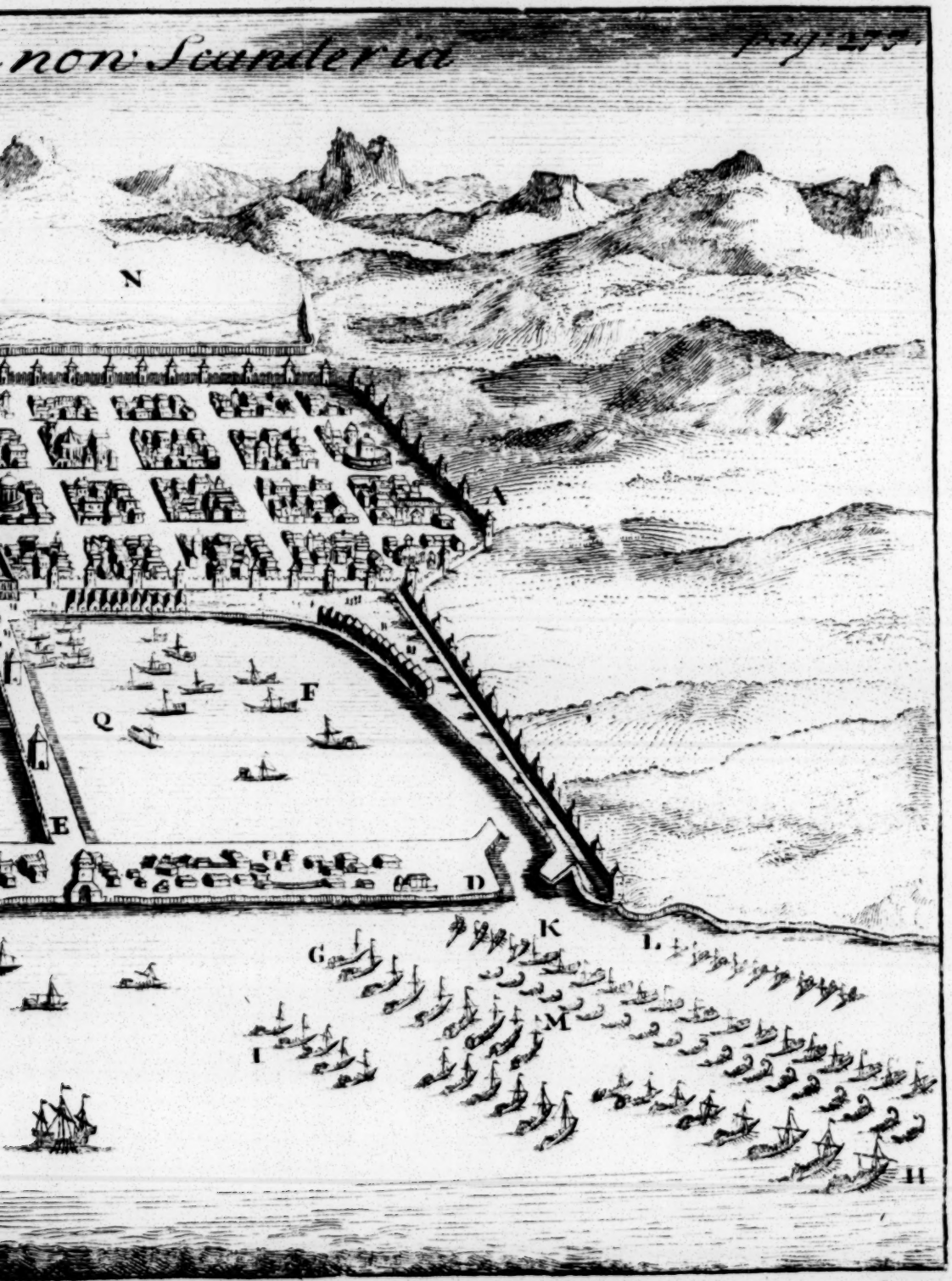
The beſieg'd make a vigorous ſally, and rout Octavius.

CHAP.

* The original runs, *Neque ſubſidium expectans, ſi in Cæſaris complexum venire poſſet.* But muſt of neceſſity be corrupt; therefore CIACCONIUS and URSINUS have mended it thus; *Ne quod ſubſidium expectabat Cæſar, in conſpectum venire poſſet.*



A. Alexandria. B. the Kings Palace. C. the Theater adjoyning
Ioyns it to ye Town. F. Cæsar saves his life by Swimming. G.
of Pontus in ye Left. I. Cæsars line of Reserve. K. 22 Egyptian
Lesser vessels and fire Ships. N. the Morass in the South of
haven possess'd by Cæsar. Q. that by the Alexandrians.



adjoyning to it D. the Island Pharus. E. The narrow way that
ming. G. The nine Rhodian ships in ye Right wing. H. Eight
22 Egyptian ships in front. L. their Ships of Reserve. M. their
the South of Alexandria. O. Cesars works. P. that side of the
andrians.

CHAP. IV.

WE have already taken notice, that VIBULLIUS RUFUS, one of POMPEY's officers, had twice been taken by CÆSAR, and as often dismissed, once at Corfinium, and another time in * Spain. CÆSAR therefore thought him a proper person to carry some proposals to POMPEY, as well on the score of the favours he had conferred upon him, as the interest the other had in his general. His message was to this effect: "It was time for them both to lay aside their obstinacy, quit their arms, and tempt fortune no longer: for they both had met with ill usage from her. POMPEY had been expelled out of Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, and both the provinces of Spain, in which countries he had lost near a hundred and thirty cohorts of Roman citizens: and CÆSAR had reason to bemoan the fate of CURIO and his army in Africk, with the surrender of his forces at Corfu. Wherefore they should both do wisely, to consult their own interest, and that of the commonwealth; both had experienced the power of chance in war, and ought to be wise by their own misfortunes; but this was the only time for treating, whilst the ballance of success was equal; for should fortune incline the least to either side, he who seemed superior would not be content with half, so long as there was a prospect of obtaining all. That since the conditions could not sooner be agreed on, they should be referred to the senate and people of Rome. In the mean while, it would be equally grateful to the commonwealth and themselves, that both should publickly swear to dismiss their armies in three days time; for when both had disbanded their forces, and the auxiliaries they now depended on, they must of necessity submit to the judgment of the senate and people. And to shew how ready he was to perform these proposals, for his part, he would immediately discharge all his forces in garrison, and in the field."

Cæsar sends proposals to Pompey by Vibullius Rufus.

VIBULLIUS having received these commands from CÆSAR, thought it more necessary to give POMPEY speedy notice of his approach, that he might be provided to receive him, than to perform his commission: wherefore he posted day and night towards POMPEY, frequently taking fresh horses for the greater expedition, to acquaint him

Vibullius's haste to acquaint Pompey of Cæsar's approach.

* There is no mention made of his being taken in Spain, therefore something must be wanting.

CIVIL WAR.

him that CÆSAR was coming that way with all his forces POMPEY had been in Candavia, from whence he wa marching through Macedonia towards his winter-quarter in Appollonia and Durazzo: and being concerned at the receipt of this unexpected news, he haſtened his journey towards Apollonia, to prevent CÆSAR's making himſelf maſter of the ſea-coaſts.

Cæſar takes Oricum.

But CÆSAR having landed his forces, marched the ſame day towards Oricum; when he came thither L. TORQUATUS, whom POMPEY had made governor of the town, with a * Parthenian garriſon, deſigning to ſhut the gates, and defend the place, commanded the ſoldiers to repair to their arms, and man the walls: but they refuſed to fight againſt the people of Rome, and the citizens, of their own accord, reſolved to admit CÆSAR into the town. Wherefore TORQUATUS, deſpairing of relief, opened the gates, ſurrendered both himſelf and the place at diſcretion; and CÆSAR took care no injury ſhould be done him.

* A people of Illyria.

And Apollonia.

Having taken in Oricum, he immediately marched to Apollonia. On notice of his arrival, L. STABERIUS, governor of the place, ordered the caſtle to be fortified, water to be carried into it, and demanded hoſtages from the townſmen: who were ſo far from complying with his demands, they declared "They would not ſhut their gates againſt the conſul, nor take reſolutions contrary to thoſe of all Italy, and the people of Rome." Upon this reply, the governor thought it high time to prepare for his ſecurity by flight: when he was gone, the inhabitants ſent deputies to CÆSAR, and received him into the town. The Bullidenſes, Amantiani, with the reſt of the neighbouring countries, and all Epirus, followed their example, ſending embaſſadors to let CÆSAR know, they were ready to receive his commands.

Pompey marches to Durazzo.

POMPEY, in the mean while, having notice of what paſſed at Oricum and Apollonia, and being in pain for Durazzo, marched thither as faſt as poſſible: it was reported likewiſe that CÆSAR was not far off. Which meeting with more credit, becauſe POMPEY had ordered them to march day and night, put his whole army into ſo great a conſternation, that ſeveral of his troops left their colours behind them in Epirus, and the bordering ſtates, whilſt others threw away their arms, and all went forward with ſo much precipitation, as if they fled rather than marched. Nay, even when they were arrived near Durazzo,

The diſorder of his army.

razzo, and their general gave orders for laying out the camp, they had not recovered their diſorder: which LABIENUS perceiving, firſt ſtood out, and obliged himſelf by oath, never to deſert POMPEY, but to ſhare whatever fortune ſhould befal him; the other lieutenants followed his example; the tribunes and centurions did the like, and ſo did the reſt of the army.

Labienus firſt takes an oath never to deſert him.

All the reſt do the like.

CÆSAR finding POMPEY had reached Durazzo before him, began to march more leiſurely; and having encamped at the river Apſus (that he might the eaſilier cover the countries he had been ſo much obliged to) there reſolved to quarter that winter, and expect the arrival of his other legions from Italy. POMPEY did the like, and having pitched his tents on the other ſide the river, there aſſembled all his troops and axiliaries.

Cæſar encamps at the river Apſus.

Pompey does the like.

KALENUS, in the mean while, according to CÆSAR's orders, having embarked as many of the legions and cavalry at Brindiſi, as his tranſports would hold, had weigh'd anchor; but ſailed not far, before he received letters from CÆSAR, by which he was informed that all the Grecian coaſts were guarded by the enemy's fleet: whereupon he recalled his ſhips, and returned again into the haven. But one private veſſel, which carried no ſoldiers, and was not ſubject to KALENUS's command, purſuing her voyage to Oricum, was taken there by BIBULUS; who granted quarter to none that were on board, putting even ſervants and children to death. So narrow an eſcape had the whole army.

Kalenus weighs anchor, but on advice of the coaſts being guarded, puts in again.

One veſſel taken; all on board killed by Bibulus.

CHAP. V.

BIBULUS, as we have already obſerved, lay with his fleet at Oricum, and as he deprived CÆSAR of all intercourſe by ſea; ſo CÆSAR having diſpoſed parties along the ſhore, preventing him from landing: he could neither get wood, freſh water, nor caſt anchor near the land upon any occaſion. This put their fleet to many inconveniencies, and reduced them to the laſt extremity for want of neceſſaries; for they were obliged to ſend for all manner of proviſions, even wood and water, as far as Corfu. Nay, once they were forced to relieve their thirſt by the dew which fell upon the hides that covered the decks, a thing never practiſed but in caſes of the utmoſt neceſſity: yet they patiently endured all theſe difficulties rather than leave the coaſts open, and ports unguarded.

Bibulus maſter of the ſea, and Cæſar of the coaſts.

Bibulus's fleet reduced to great extremities.

CIVIL WAR.

Libo and he desire a conference with Cæsar.

Whilst they laboured under these straights, LIBO having joined BIBULUS, they called from on board to M. ACILIUS and STATIUS MURCUS, two of CÆSAR's lieutenants, that guarded the walls of Oricum and the sea-coasts, to acquaint them, they had extraordinary affairs to communicate to CÆSAR, if they might have an an opportunity of speaking with him; adding somewhat farther for the greater confirmation, as if they designed to treat about a peace. In the mean while, they earnestly desired there might be a truce, for their business was of very great consequence. MURCUS and ACILIUS knew this message would be extreamly grateful to CÆSAR, and believed VIBULLIUS's negotiation had turned to some account.

In the original it is Bibulus, but the error is manifest.

CÆSAR was then at Buthrotum, directly over-against Corfu, whither he had marched with one legion, to take in the farther countries, and supply himself with corn; which began to grow scarce. Here, having received an account of LIBO's and BIBULUS's demands, he left the legion, and returned to Oricum. When he arrived there, and the time appointed for the conference was come, LIBO only came to the interview: he made an apology for BIBULUS's absence, as well on the score of his cholerick temper, as of the private pique between him and CÆSAR, ever since his discharging the offices of ædile and prætor; wherefore he avoided the conference, lest the hopeful progress of so important an affair might be interrupted by his presence. Then declared how desirous POMPEY had always been of a treaty and cessation of arms: but he had not yet received a commission from him to act, nor could conclude any thing without his orders; because the * council had conferred the sole management of the war upon POMPEY. But if CÆSAR would acquaint him with his demands, he would take care to trasmit them to POMPEY, who he doubted not in the least, would comply upon BIBULUS's and his perswasions. Wherefore he desired a truce, till such time as he could receive an answer. After this, he added something about the justice of their cause, the strength of their forces and auxiliaries; which CÆSAR did not think proper then to make an answer to, nor worth his time to burthen his memory with what was said upon that subject.

A sham treaty to gain a truce.

Libo's demands.

"But

* VOSSIUS says, CÆSAR calls POMPEY's party the Council, instead of the Senate, by way of derision.

" But he deſired they would either give ſome of his lieutenants a paſſport to POMPEY, or undertake they ſhould be conveyed thither in ſafety. As to the truce inſiſted on, he told them, the preſent ſtate of the war was ſuch, that as they commanded the ſea, and prevented his receiving any ſupplies that way, ſo he, being maſter of the coaſts, prohibited them the uſe of land and freſh water: wherefore it was but reaſonable, if they expected he ſhould give them the liberty of landing, that they in return ſhould leave the ſeas open for him: nor would he part with his advantage upon any other terms. However, though they could not agree upon that point, the treaty might ſtill proceed."

Cæſar's anſwer.

But they would neither grant his lieutenants a paſſport, nor oblige themſelves to conduct them in ſafety; referring the whole matter to POMPEY: yet inſiſted mightily upon the truce. CÆSAR perceiving their deſign, that there were no hopes of peace, that they offered no conditions, but only made uſe of this artifice, to deliver them out of the preſent danger and difficulties they laboured under, began to think of proſecuting the war.

Cæſar perceives their deſign, and diſappoints them.

CHAP. VI.

BIBULUS, having long been prevented from landing, had contracted a dangerous fit of ſickneſs, by the cold and his perpetual fatigue: yet though he could not be cured on board, he reſolved not to relinquiſh his charge; ſo the violence of the diſtemper carried him off. After his deceaſe, no body had the ſole command of the fleet, but every admiral acted ſeparately with his own ſquadron. The ſurprize being now over, which CÆSAR's ſudden arrival had occaſioned, VIBULLIUS the firſt time, when LIBO, LUCCEIUS, and THEOPHANES, POMPEY's greateſt confidents, were preſent, reſolved to deliver the commiſſion he had received from CÆSAR: but POMPEY ſoon interrupted his diſcourſe, ſaying, " What ſatisfaction can I have, either in life, or returning to Rome, when the world ſhall believe I have been beholden to CÆSAR's mercy for both? which notion can never be blotted out, till I ſhall go back a conqueror into Italy, from whence I was expelled." CÆSAR had notice of this from ſome that were preſent at the debate; however he attempted to obtain a parley by ſeveral other methods.

Bibulus dies.

Vibullius's negotiation ineffectual.

Pompey's anſwer.

Nothing

CIVIL WAR.

Nothing parted the two camps but the river Apſus, the ſoldiers frequently diſcourſed with each other, and by compact amongſt themſelves, caſt no darts on either ſide during the conference. Wherefore CÆSAR ſent lieutenant P. VATINIUS to the banks of the river, with orders to omit nothing which he thought might conduce towards an accommodation; and to demand with a loud voice, "Whether it might be lawful for Romans to ſend deputies to treat of peace with their fellow-citizens? which had never been denied even to out-laws and highway-men on the Pyrenæan mountains, and was much leſs to be oppoſed, when the deſign of the conference was to prevent the effuſion of Roman blood by Romans." VATINIUS having ſpoken a great deal to the ſame purpoſe in a very ſubmiſſive accent, as became him when he treated about ſo great a concern as his own and the publick ſafety; a profound ſilence enſued on both ſides, and he received this anſwer: That VARRO would appear the next day at the conference; whither CÆSAR's deputies might ſafely come, and make their demands. A certain time was appointed for the meeting; which being come, multitudes on both ſides crouded to the place, and all men appeared diſpoſed to a peace. T. LABIENUS, advancing before the reſt, began to confer in a low voice with VATINIUS; but the midſt of their diſcourſe was interrupted by the darts that came flying from every ſide; which danger VATINIUS eſcaped, being covered by the ſhields of the ſoldiers: but many were wounded, as CORNELIUS BALBUS, M. PLOTIUS, and L. TIBURTIUS, the centurions, with ſome private ſoldiers. Then exclaimed LABIENUS, "Let us talk no longer of treaties; for till CÆSAR's head be cut off, we can never think of peace."

Vatinius ſent to demand a conference;

which is agreed to;

But perfidiouſly interrupted.

Labienus's malice.

CHAP. VII.

IN the mean while M. CÆLIUS RUFUS, the foreign prætor, having undertaken the cauſe of the debtors, on his entrance into his office, cauſed his tribunal to be fixed near that of the city prætor, C. TREBONIUS; and promiſed, if any perſon ſhould appeal from the eſtimation and orders of the arbitrators for payment of debts, whom CÆSAR had appointed, he would relieve them. But TREBONIUS pronounced his judgments with ſo much equity and compaſſion, which was very neceſſary in thoſe tickliſh times, that no body thought of appealing. For to

M. Cælius Rufus occaſions an inſurrection.

to have pleaded poverty, ill circumſtances, the hardneſs of the times, or the difficulty of putting their effects to auction, would have been an argument of meanneſs of ſpirit: but to have owned themſelves indebted, and yet have deſired to keep their poſſeſſions intire, would have been unreaſonable to the laſt degree: therefore no body made any demands of this nature.

But CÆLIUS was very ſevere upon thoſe that ſhould have reaped advantage by this law: and having embarked in the buſineſs, that he might acquit himſelf with credit of ſo ungrateful an office, he made a law, whereby it was enacted, That debtors ſhould pay in the money they had borrowed within * ſix months time, without intereſt.

Cælius's ſedition; the mob riſes.

But the conſul SERVILIUS, and the reſt of the magiſtrates oppoſing this edict, he found it had not the effect upon the people he deſigned: therefore having annulled that law, he publiſhed two others; one for diſcharging all tenants from paying their rents, the other for cancelling of debts. Theſe had the deſired effect, they raiſed the mob, who aſſaulted C. TREBONIUS, and having wounded ſome that were about him, pulled him out of his tribunal. The conſul SERVILIUS gave the ſenate an account of this affair, who thereupon reſolved CÆLIUS ſhould be removed from his office: by virtue of which decree, the conſul prohibited him the ſenate, and cauſed him to be taken out of the roſtrum, as he was going to harangue the people.

Cælius expell'd Rome; he joins with Milo.

Afflicted with this diſgrace, CÆLIUS pretended he would go to CÆSAR; but inſtead of that, privately ſent meſſengers to invite MILO into Italy; who ſtood condemned for the murder of CLODIUS, and had gained the remainder of the gladiators, by conſiderable preſents, for his guard. On his arrival he joined him; and having ſent him to Turene, to ſollicit the ſhepherds to take arms, went himſelf to † Caſſiline. On his arrival there, he had notice, that his arms were ſeized at Capua, his partiſans at Naples, and their deſign of betraying the town diſcovered; wherefore finding himſelf ſhut out of Capua, his counſels exploded, and apprehending ſome danger, becauſe the Roman citizens had already taken arms, and looked upon him

His deſigns defeated.

* The text is *Sexies ſeni dies ſine uſuris creditæ pecuniæ, ſolvantur*; which is a manifeſt corruption. CUJACIUS therefore has made it *Sexagies ſenis diebus*; MANUTIUS, *Sexenni die*; others *Sexpenſionibus*, whom M. D'ABLANCOURT agrees with; but I rather choſe to follow VOSSIUS, who corrects it, *Sex menſium die*.

† Famous for being beſieged by HANNIBAL, long ago reduced to aſhes; but the preſent Capua now ſtands in the ſame place where this town was formerly ſituate.

CIVIL WAR.

him as an enemy; he changed his reſolution, and deſiſted from the journey.

MILO, in the mean while, having ſent his circular letters to the municipal towns, pretended he had a commiſſion from POMPEY for what he did, and received his inſtructions from BIBULUS. He endeavoured to draw the debtors over to his party; but finding he could not prevail, enfranchiſed ſome ſlaves, and with them went to beſiege Coſa in Turene. The town was commanded by the prætor Q. PEDIUS with a garriſon of one legion; and here MILO died by a wound he received from a ſtone that was caſt by an engine from the walls. CÆLIUS, having given out he was gone to CÆSAR, came to Thurium, where, endeavouring to corrupt the inhabitants with the Spaniſh and Gallick horſe, whom CÆSAR had left there in garriſon, they killed him; which put a ſpeedy end to thoſe dangerous beginnings, that found the magiſtrates ſo much work, and alarmed all Italy.

Milo killed.

Cæſius killed.

CHAP. VIII.

LIBO, leaving Oricum, with a ſquadron of fifty ſhips under his command, ſailed to Brindiſi, and poſſeſſed himſelf of an iſland directly over-againſt the mouth of the haven. This he eſteemed a very important poſt, becauſe our fleet muſt of neceſſity paſs that way; and therefore by guarding that ſingle place, he did as much in effect as if he had actually blocked up all the ports and ſhores on the other ſide. His arrival being unexpected, he ſurprized a few tranſports, which he burnt, carried off one veſſel that was loaden with corn, put our men into great diſorder; and having landed ſome foot with a party of archers, in the night, defeated our guard of cavalry. Fluſhed with this ſucceſs, he writ POMPEY word, he might draw the reſt of the navy on ſhore, and careen them if he pleaſed; for he alone was able, with his ſquadron, to intercept CÆSAR's ſupplies.

Libo blockades Brindiſi.

His ſucceſs and vanity.

ANTONY happened to be then at Brindiſi, who confiding in the courage of his ſoldiers, prepared about ſixty pinaces and long-boats, which he armed with penthouſes and breſt-works of hurdles; and having put a ſelect number of ſoldiers on board, diſpoſed them in ſeveral places along the ſhore. He had taken care to equip two gallies at Brindiſi with three banks of oars, and theſe he commanded to row to the mouth of the haven, by way of exerciſe,

Antony's attempt and ſucceſs.

exerciſe. LIBO, perceiving they ventured boldly, hoped to intercept them, and therefore detached five four-bank'd gallies to attack them. But ſo ſoon as they approached us, the veteran ſoldiers that were on board, retired within the haven: the enemy, eager of the purſuit, followed too raſhly; for immediately, upon a ſign given, all ANTONY's boats made up to their gallies, and having taken one, with the ſailors and ſoldiers on board, obliged the reſt to make an ignominious retreat: to add to this loſs, ANTONY, having diſpoſed parties of cavalry along the banks, prevented LIBO from getting freſh water; which forced him to quit the blockade of Brindiſi with diſgrace.

He takes one of Libo's gallies, and obliges him to quit the blockade.

Several months had now paſſed, and the winter was almoſt ſpent, yet neither the legions nor navy were come from Brindiſi. CÆSAR believed his lieutenants had let ſome opportunities ſlip; for the wind had certainly offered fair during all that time, whoſe mercy he at laſt muſt be obliged to truſt to. The longer they omitted coming, the more careful were POMPEY's admirals to guard the coaſt, and the greater hopes they had of intercepting them. POMPEY likewiſe, to increaſe their diligence, writ frequently to reprimand them for their former neglect, and remind them they ſhould be more careful for the future, eſpecially ſince the ſeaſon began to grow milder.

Cæſar's uneaſineſs for want of the reſt of his legions.

CHAP. IX.

CÆSAR therefore, being very uneaſy, writ ſharply to his officers, commanding them to weigh anchor the firſt fair wind, and direct their courſe either for Oricum, or the coaſts of Apollonia; where they might ſafely land, becauſe thoſe places were not ſtrictly guarded by the enemy's fleet, who durſt not venture too far from the havens.

Sends poſitive orders for the fleet to ſet ſail the firſt fair wind.

The ſoldiers, who were eager for the voyage, and ready to undertake any danger for CÆSAR's ſake, aſſuming their wonted courage, under the conduct of ANTONY and KALENUS, weighed anchor with a ſouthern wind, and the day after paſſed by Apollonia and Durazzo, where Q. COPONIUS, admiral of the Rhodian ſquadron lay; who, ſo ſoon as they were deſcried from the continent, put out to ſea; and the wind growing ſlack, had almoſt overtaken our fleet, when a freſh gale delivered them out of danger. COPONIUS however did not deſiſt from the purſuit, but hoping to overcome the winds by the induſtry of his rowers, followed after, for all they had paſſed Durazzo.

Antony and Kalenus weigh anchor, and arrive ſafe at Durazzo.

Coponius purſues them cloſe;

CIVIL WAR.

Durazzo. Our men, who were apprehenſive of falling into the enemy's hands, if the wind grew gentle again, laying hold of fortune's favour, put into Nymphæum, about three miles beyond Liſſus: this is a dangerous haven when the wind blows ſouth, but ſafe enough during a ſouth-weſt: however, they thought they had leſs to apprehend from the fury of the tempeſt, than that of COPONIUS. But the moment they were got into the port, by incredible good fortune, the ſouth-wind, which had continued two days without intermiſſion, veered about to ſouth-weſt. This was a very remarkable turn, for we, who but a moment ago had reaſon to dread a tempeſtuous road, by this accident were ſheltered from all danger; and they, who juſt before threatened deſtruction to our fleet, were now obliged to prepare for their own ſecurity. For the ſame wind which protected us, ſo ſcattered the Rhodian ſquadron, that out of ſixteen not one eſcaped ſhipwreck.

but they get ſafe into Nymphæum.

Two of our tranſports that were but ſlow ſailors, and could not keep up with the reſt, not knowing where they had put in, caſt anchor over-againſt Liſſus. Whereupon OTACILIUS CRASSUS, governor of the place, ſent out ſeveral boats and ſmall veſſels to ſeize them, but promiſed quarter if they would ſurrender. One of theſe veſſels carried two hundred and twenty new levies; the others ſomething leſs than two hundred veteran ſoldiers; and from hence we may obſerve what mighty ſervice preſence of mind is of. The new levies, frighted at the number of the enemy's boats, and ſick with their voyage, on aſſurance of their lives upon oath, ſurrendered to OTACILIUS, and were afterwards, contrary to faith and agreement, every man of them put to the ſword. But the old legionary ſoldiers, though diſordered by the ſtorm and noiſome ſtink of the pump, forgot not their priſtine courage; they protracted ſome part of the night under pretence of a treaty and ſurrender; then obliged the pilot to run the veſſel on ſhore, and having got a convenient place to land on, ſtaid there the remainder of the night. OTACILIUS, by break of day, detached about four hundred horſe, with ſome part of the garriſon, to defend that part of the coaſts, and purſue them. But they made a brave defence, and having killed ſome of the enemy's men, ſecured their retreat to the reſt of our forces.

Two of Cæſar's fleet, that lay behind, attacked.

One ſurrenders on promiſe of quarter, and the ſoldiers in her put to death.

The other eſcapes by the courage of the veteran ſoldiers.

Upon

Upon this ſucceſs, the Roman citizens reſiding at Liſſus, to whoſe charge CÆSAR had formerly committed the defence of the town, which he had taken care to fortify, opened their gates to ANTONY, and furniſhed him with all kind of proviſions: whereupon OTACILIUS left the place, and fled to POMPEY. ANTONY having landed all his forces, which conſiſted of three veteran legions, one new one, and eight hundred horſe, ſent moſt of the tranſports back again to Italy, to fetch the reſt of the foot and cavalry. But he left the *Pontones, a kind of French veſſels, at Liſſus, leſt POMPEY imagining Italy was left unguarded, as moſt people believed, ſhould tranſport his army thither, and CÆSAR be deprived of the means to follow; whom he immediately acquainted where he had landed, and how many men he had brought over.

Liſſus ſurrenders to Antony.

* Pontones; theſe were not like our pontones now-a-days, but rather a kind of lighters.

CHAP. X.

CÆSAR and POMPEY had both advice of ANTONY's arrival almoſt at the ſame inſtant. For his fleet had been deſcribed paſſing by Apollonia and Durazzo, and followed along the coaſts: but no body knew, till ſome time after, what haven they had put into. On the firſt news of his landing, CÆSAR and POMPEY took different reſolutions, the firſt to join ANTONY, the other to prevent their joining, either by force or ſtratagem. Both quitted their camps at Apſus about the ſame time; POMPEY privately by night, CÆSAR publickly in the day-time: but he had the longer circuit to take before he could ford the river; whereas POMPEY, having no occaſion to croſs the Apſus, marched by long journeys towards ANTONY: ſo ſoon as he had intelligence of his approach, he choſe a convenient place to encamp in, and gave orders there ſhould be no fires, that the other might know nothing of his being there. But ANTONY was ſoon informed of his deſign by the natives; and having communicated an account of the enemy's motions to CÆSAR, ſtayed one day within his camp. On advice of CÆSAR's arrival, POMPEY, to prevent being blocked up by two armies, removed with all his forces to Aſparagium, a town belonging to the people of Durazzo, where he pitch'd his tents in an advantageous place

Pompey and Cæſar both have notice of Antony's arrival.

Cæſar marches to join him.

Pompey to intercept their meeting;

but with ill ſucceſs.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Scipio's avarice and heavy impoſitions.

IN the mean while SCIPIO, notwithſtanding the ſeveral loſſes he received near the mount Amanus, ſtiled himſelf emperor; exacting great ſums of money from the ſtates and princes of that country. He obliged the receivers to pay in the two years taxes which lay in their hands, and advance a third, by way of loan. He likewiſe diſtributed orders to the whole province for levying cavalry, and ſo ſoon as they were raiſed, leaving his neighbouring enemies, the Parthians, behind him, who not long before had defeated M. CRASSUS, and beſieged BIBULUS, he marched out of Syria with his horſe and legions. When he came into the * province, he found the natives mighty uneaſy for fear of the Parthian war; and his army declared, though they were ready to march againſt an enemy, yet they would not bear arms againſt the conſul and their fellow-citizens. But to ſecure them in his intereſt, he gave them conſiderable preſents; and having quartered them at Pergamus, and the richeſt towns, gave them free liberty to plunder.

* Aſia.

Scipio's taxes.

In the mean while, he omitted not laying heavy taxes upon the province; for he made both ſlaves and free-men, without deſtinction, pay poll-money. Impoſts were placed upon pillars and doors of houſes, upon corn, watermen, arms, engines, and carriages; in fine, nothing that had a name eſcaped being taxed, not only in cities, but little towns and villages: and he that collected theſe ſubſidies with the greateſt rigour, was eſteemed the honeſteſt man and beſt citizen. The province ſwarmed with catchpoles, officers, collectors, and overſeers; who, beſides the publick impoſitions, exacted money for their own private uſe; but to colour their extortions, alledged extream poverty, and their being expelled their own country. To add to theſe inconveniencies (as it generally happens during war-time) if the creditor prolonged the payment, the debtor was to eſteem this continuation as great a favour, as if the debt had been actually pardoned: thus, in two years time, the debts of the province were doubled. Nor were the Roman citizens only liable to theſe taxes; for certain ſums of money were demanded from every ſtate and corporation, as a loan on the credit of the ſenate's decree; and the receivers had orders to advance the next year's tribute upon intereſt.

The villany of his collectors.

Not

CIVIL WAR.

Not content with theſe ſums, he gave orders for taking all the money and images of DIANA, out of her temple at Epheſus, which had long been treaſured up there. But he no ſooner came into the temple, attended by a great many ſenators, but he received an expreſs, with news of CÆSAR's being landed with his legions, poſitive orders to come away immediately with his army, and make what diſpatch he could to join POMPEY. On receipt of theſe letters, he diſmiſſed the ſenators, marched directly towards Macedonia, and arrived there within a few days. Thus the temple of Epheſus eſcaped being plundered.

The treaſure of Diana at Epheſus narrowly eſcapes him.

CHAP. XII.

CÆSAR having joined ANTONY, thought it convenient to march further up into the country, and try the affections of the Greeks: wherefore he drew the legion out of Oricum, which he had left there to guard the coaſts. Embaſſadors ſoon came to wait upon him from Theſſaly and Ætolia, promiſing to declare for his party, if he would ſend them garriſons to defend their country. Whereupon he detached L. CASSIUS LONGINUS with the twenty-ſeventh legion, new levies, and two hundred horſe into Theſſaly: C. CALVISIUS SABINUS, with a ſmall party of horſe, and five cohorts, into Ætolia: deſiring they would take particular care to furniſh him with corn, becauſe thoſe provinces lay the neareſt to his army. He likewiſe ſent CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS with the ſecond, eleventh, twelfth legions, and five hundred horſe, into Macedonia: for MENEDEMUS, the greateſt man of that part of the province, which is called The Free, being ſent embaſſador to CÆSAR, had aſſured him of his countrymens affections.

Cæſar and Antony joined.

Theſſaly and Ætolia declare for Cæſar.

CALVISIUS, upon his arrival in Ætolia, met a welcome reception, and made himſelf intire maſter of the country, after having expelled the enemy's garriſons out of Calydo and Naupactum. But * CASSIUS, when he came with his legion into Theſſaly, found two factions there, one headed by EGESARETUS, a man of eſtabliſhed credit for POMPEY; the other by PETREIUS, a noble youth, who employ'd his utmoſt intereſt for CÆSAR's ſervice.

Calviſius arrives in Ætolia.

Ayton and Lepanto.

* Caſſius in Theſſaly.

DOMITIUS, about the ſame time, arrived in Macedonia; and whilſt embaſſadors from all parts were attending him, news arrived of SCIPIO's approach with his legions, which alarmed the whole country: for fame gene-

Domitius comes into Macedonia.

CIVIL WAR.

rally renders things more dreadful than they really are. SCIPIO marched by long journies, without intermiſſion, towards DOMITIUS; but when he was arrived within twenty miles of him, on a ſudden wheeled about for Theſſaly: which he did with ſo much expedition, that CASSIUS LONGINUS had no notice of his marching that way, before he was actually come thither. For SCIPIO, that he might make the more diſpatch, left his baggage behind him at the river Haliacmon, which divides Macedonia from Theſſaly, with a guard of eight cohorts, under the command of M. FAVONIUS; whom he ordered to erect a fort there. At the ſame time * COTUS's cavalry, that frequently made inroads into Theſſaly, came to attack CASSIUS's camp; who being mightily ſurprized at the news of SCIPIO's arrival, and diſcovering theſe horſe, which he believed to be his, made the beſt of his way towards the mountains to ſurround Theſſaly; deſigning from thence to march towards Ambracia. But whilſt SCIPIO was cloſely purſuing CASSIUS, there arrived a courier from FAVONIUS, to acquaint him, that DOMITIUS was marching to beſiege him; and it was impoſſible for him to defend himſelf without his aſſiſtance. Whereupon SCIPIO, changing his reſolution, deſiſted from the purſuit, and returned to FAVONIUS. Marching day and night he arrived ſo opportunely to his relief, that the duſt of DOMITIUS's army, and his van-guard, were deſcried at the ſame inſtant. Thus DOMITIUS's care preſerved CASSIUS, and SCIPIO's diſpatch FAVONIUS.

Scipio marches towards him; but wheels about for Theſſaly.

Leaves his baggage at Haliacmon with Favonius.

* King of Thrace.

But on notice of Domitius's coming to beſiege Favonius, returns.

CHAP. XIII.

SCIPIO ſtay'd two days with FAVONIUS on this ſide the Haliacmon, which parted his from DOMITIUS's army: but the next day, early in the morning, he forded the river; and the day after, drew his forces up in order of battle before his camp. DOMITIUS, being ready for an engagement, did the like; and, becauſe there was a † large field between the two armies, he led his legions cloſe up to SCIPIO's camp.

Scipio and Domitius both drew out their armies.

The

† The original is *Campus circiter millium paſſuum ſex*, but muſt be a corruption of the text; for the laſt chapter tells us, he was ſo near FAVONIUS, that the duſt raiſed by his march was perceived; which could hardly be at ſix miles diſtance: and to what purpoſe did SCIPIO draw his army up in order of battle, or how could DOMITIUS ſee it, if he had been ſo far off?

The enemy moved not from their rampier; yet DOMITIUS could hardly reſtrain his ſoldiers from fighting, though a rivulet, with ſteep banks, oppoſed their paſſage. SCIPIO obſerving how eager our ſoldiers were for the engagement, that he might not be obliged the next day either to fight againſt his will, or remain with diſgrace within his trenches; though he croſſed the river big with expectation, ended his raſh attempt with diſgrace; for he was obliged to eſcape by night croſs the river Haliacmon, without giving the uſual ſign for decamping, to prevent alarming DOMITIUS. After this retreat, he encamped upon a riſing ground, near the banks of the river; and having remained there a few days, laid an ambuſh of cavalry for our foragers, where they uſually came. When Q. VARUS, general of DOMITIUS's horſe, according to his daily cuſtom, was come to the place, they immediately diſcovered themſelves: but our men ſoon rallied in good order, received and returned their charge with equal vigour. We killed about eighty of the enemy upon the ſpot, put the reſt to flight, and returned again to the camp, with the loſs of only two on our ſide.

Domitius's ſoldiers eager to fight; but he reſtrains them.

Scipio's diſgraceful retreat.

Domitius's foragers rout a party Scipio had laid in ambuſh.

DOMITIUS, after this ſucceſs, that he might entice SCIPIO to fight, pretended to be mightily ſtreightened for want of corn; and having given the ſign for decamping, marched about three miles, where he drew his infantry and horſe up in a private and convenient place. SCIPIO being ready to follow, detached a party of horſe, and light-armed infantry, to diſcover what way he had taken. They had not marched very far, before their van-guard came within reach of our ambuſh, who ſuſpecting ſomething, becauſe they heard our horſes neigh, began to retreat; which they that followed after perceiving, made a halt. Whereupon our men, finding themſelves diſcovered, and thinking it in vain to expect the reſt of the army, intercepted two troops that were in their power. M. OPIMIUS, general of SCIPIO's horſe, was amongſt theſe, * who made his eſcape, all the reſt were either killed or taken priſoners.

Domitius's ambuſh, with pretty good ſucceſs.

* Which is not in the text, but muſt be added, to agree with what follows.

CHAP. XIV.

WE having already taken notice, that CÆSAR having drained his garriſons along the ſea-coaſts, had only left three cohorts to defend Oricum, and the gallies which

Young Pompey's exploits.

CIVIL WAR.

he brought out of Italy. This buſineſs was committed to the charge of ACILIUS, who, for the better ſecurity of the ſhipping, had cauſed them to be drawn up into that part of the haven behind the town, and faſtened to ſhore: he likewiſe ſunk a tranſport in the mouth of the haven, to block up the entrance; where he fixed another at anchor, upon which he built a tower, and filled it with ſoldiers, to prevent ſurprize.

Enters the haven of Oricum.

POMPEY'S ſon, who commanded the Ægyptian fleet, having notice of this, came to Oricum; where he weigh'd up the veſſel that was ſunk, and after a great deal of trouble, took the other, which had been placed by ACILIUS, for a guard to the haven: for he attacked it with ſeveral of his ſhips together, whereon he had likewiſe erected turrets to an equal height with ours; he took care to relieve his men perpetually; and to divert us from doing the like, ſtormed the town at the ſame inſtant both by ſea and land: but all our ſoldiers that were on board eſcaped in ſmall boats. After this, poſſeſſing himſelf of a natural mole on the other ſide, which almoſt formed a peninſula over-againſt Oricum, he cauſed four little gallies to be heaved over the neck of land upon rollers, into the inner-part of the haven, that lay behind the town: ſo aſſaulting the gallies, which were empty, and faſtened to the ſhore, from both ſides together, he carried away four, and burnt the reſt.

Carries off four of Cæſar's gallies, burns the reſt.

This affair diſpatched, leaving D. LÆLIUS, with a ſmall ſquadron, to intercept all proviſions from Biblis and Amantia, he ſailed for Liſſus; where he burnt the thirty tranſports which ANTONY had left in that haven. He endeavoured likewiſe to take the town; but the garriſon and Roman citizens made ſo vigorous a defence, that after three days labour loſt, they obliged him to quit the ſiege.

Burns thirty tranſports at Liſſus.

CHAP. XV.

Cæſar marches towards Aſparagium;

CÆSAR, having notice that POMPEY was at Aſparagium, marched thither with his army; and having taken in the capital of Parthenia by the way, where POMPEY had left a garriſon, he arrived in three days in Macedonia; where he encamped not far off the enemy. The day after, drawing out all his forces, he offered POMPEY battle; but finding he declined it, retiring to his camp, CÆSAR began to think of other meaſures.

offers Pompey battle; which he declines.

Wherefore the next morning he removed, and taking a large circuit about, through rough and narrow roads, he marched towards Durazzo; hoping either to oblige POMPEY to follow him thither, or elſe to cut off his communication with the town, where he had repoſed his magazines for the war: which happened accordingly; for POMPEY at firſt not perceiving his deſign, becauſe he had taken a different rout, believed he was obliged to decamp for want of proviſions; but being better informed by his ſcouts, he broke up from Aſparagium the day after, hoping to diſappoint him, by marching the nearer way. Which CÆSAR ſuſpecting, encouraged his ſoldiers patiently to endure the fatigue; and having allowed them but a ſmall part of the night to refreſh themſelves in, arrived the next morning early at Durazzo, where he encamped, before POMPEY's van-guard could reach the place.

Cæſar marches to Durazzo, to cut off Pompey's communication with the place.

POMPEY's communication with Durazzo thus intercepted, and his deſign defeated, as the beſt method which was left, he reſolved to poſſeſs himſelf of the Petra, a riſing ground, that has a tolerable good haven, which is ſheltered from ſome winds. Here he gave orders for part of his gallies to attend him, and corn to be brought from Aſia, and thoſe other countries which were ſubject to his command. CÆSAR apprehending the war would be tedious, and deſpairing of ſupplies from Italy, becauſe the coaſts were ſo ſtraitly guarded by POMPEY's fleet, and his own ſhips, equipped the laſt winter in Sicily, Gaul, and Italy, were not arrived, diſpatched lieutenant L. CANULEIUS to Epirus for corn. But becauſe that country lay at ſo great a diſtance, he cauſed granaries to be built in ſeveral places, and ordered the neighbouring countries to furniſh him with waggons; not omitting to gather what corn was to be found in Liſſus, the country of Parthinia, and the adjacent ſtates; which was but inconſiderable, for the ſoil being mountainous and barren, the natives were obliged to relieve themſelves by imported grain: beſides, POMPEY, who foreſaw CÆSAR's occaſions, had already ravaged thoſe places, and having pulled down their houſes, his cavalry carried off all the corn the country afforded.

Pompey encamps on the Petra.

Cæſar ſends Canuleius into Epirus for corn.

CHAP. XVI.

Beſieges Pompey in his camp;

WHEREFORE CÆSAR reſolved upon a certain expedient, which the nature of the place ſuggeſted. POMPEY's camp was ſurrounded by ſteep and high mountains; on theſe CÆSAR firſt diſpoſed parties, and erected caſtles; deſigning, as the nature of the place would permit, afterwards to draw lines of communication from one turret to another, and encloſe the enemy with a ditch and a rampier. The reaſons which moved him to take this reſolution were, that being mightily diſtreſſed for want of corn, he might with leſs difficulty ſupply his camp, whilſt POMPEY's cavalry, of which he had great numbers, were ſhut up, and prevented from foraging; and that he might detract from that credit which POMPEY had required amongſt foreign nations; when it ſhould be reported through the world, he was beſieged by CÆSAR, and durſt not venture an engagement.

His reaſons for it.

Pompey's works within Cæſar's.

POMPEY in the mean while reſolved neither to quit the advantage of the ſea, nor Durazzo, where he had ſtored all his preparations for the war, as darts, arms, engines, with corn both for his fleet and army: nor could he prevent the progreſs of CÆSAR's works without fighting him, which he thought at that time inconvenient. The only refuge therefore he had left, was to encloſe as many hills, and take in as much ground within his works as poſſible; that he might diſperſe CÆSAR's forces. The deſign ſucceeded; for having erected twenty-four caſtles, and encloſed a circuit of fifteen miles, he had room enough for his cavalry to forage in; beſides, great part of the ground was cultivated. Whilſt our men were drawing their circumvallation, they were uneaſy, leſt they ſhould have left any part of the work imperfect, that might furniſh the enemy with an opportunity of ſallying, and attacking them from behind. Nor were POMPEY's ſoldiers leſs careful in perfecting their lines to defend themſelves from the like inconvenience. But their works went faſter on than ours, becauſe they had more hands, and a ſmaller ſpace of ground to encloſe. Wherefore when CÆSAR attempted to gain any place, though POMPEY deſigned not to give him battle; yet he endeavoured to interrupt his progreſs, by detaching parties of archers and ſlingers, which he had plenty of, to oppoſe him. Many of our men were wounded, and the reſt ſo frightened, that

Pompey builds twenty-four caſtles, includes fifteen miles within his lines.

that they made themſelves coats of mail, or thick leather, to defend them from danger. In fine, both generals endeavoured to make themſelves maſters of every poſt; CÆSAR, that he might block up POMPEY in a narrow compaſs; and POMPEY, that he might gain as much liberty as poſſible; which occaſioned many ſkirmiſhes.

CIVIL WAR.

Cæſar encloſes Pompey's works within his fortifications.

CHAP. XVII.

AMONGST other rencounters, it happened, as CÆSAR's ninth legion had poſſeſſed themſelves of a piece of ground, and were going to fortify it, POMPEY gained the oppoſite mount, and began to interrupt their works. Our hill on one ſide was of eaſy acceſs; that way therefore he firſt detached parties of archers, ſlingers, and afterwards a ſtrong battalion of light-arm'd foot; plying us warmly at the ſame time with his engines: nor was it eaſy for our ſoldiers at once to ſuſtain their charge, and go forward with their lines. CÆSAR perceiving his men were wounded from all ſides, ſent them orders to quit the place and retire: but the deſcent being very ſteep, the enemy believing we gave ground for fear, purſued us ſo cloſe, they allowed us no time to retreat. 'Tis reported that POMPEY ſhould vainly ſay upon this occaſion, to thoſe that were near him, "He would forfeit his reputation, if CÆSAR's legions could extricate themſelves from the danger their raſhneſs had plunged them into, without a conſiderable loſs."

A ſkirmiſh between Cæſar's ninth legion and a party of Pompey's.

Cæſar's at firſt have the worſt.

Pompey's vanity.

But CÆSAR, being uneaſy for his ſoldiers retreat, cauſed hurdles to be placed on the ridge of the hill, between them and the enemy; ſunk a trench behind of a pretty good breadth, diſpoſed ſlingers in convenient places to cover his men, and having omitted nothing to render the enemy's purſuit difficult, commanded them to retreat. Which POMPEY's party perceiving, eagerly purſued, and having pulled up the hurdles, attempted to get over the ditch. Whereupon CÆSAR, apprehending his mens diſorderly retreat might be miſconſtrued for a rout, which would have been a great diſgrace, ordered ANTONY, who commanded that legion, to encourage his men, and give them the ſign of battle; upon which, after they had retired half way down the hill, they rallied, caſt their piles, and charged the enemy ſo briſkly, that for all the advantage of the upper ground, they routed them: nor

But Cæſar ſecures their retreat.

CIVIL WAR.

were POMPEY's men a little incommoded by the hurdles, ſtakes and trenches, when they endeavoured to make their eſcape. But our ſoldiers, who were contented to have ſecured their retreat, having killed ſeveral of the enemy, and loſt only five of their own number, quietly retired ſome paces diſtance; where, having gained other hills, they proceeded with their lines.

CHAP. XVIII.

THE management of this war was particularly new and unuſual, as well in reſpect of the number of caſtles, which encloſed ſo vaſt a circuit of ground, and the nature of the works, as of other circumſtances that attended it. For generally they who beſiege another, do it with a deſign to cut off his proviſions, grounding the attempt upon their own ſuperiority of forces, or on the fear and weakneſs of the enemy, after the loſs of a battle, or ſome other diſadvantage has daunted him. But CÆSAR beſieged POMPEY, when he was inferior to him in number, whilſt the other's troops were entire, in good order, and had plenty of all kind of proviſions: for ſeveral ſhips arrived every day from all parts, which ſupplied them with what they wanted; nor could any wind blow, but would waft their convoys from one place or other. Whereas CÆSAR's army, having conſumed all the corn round about, were reduced to the laſt neceſſities; which they endured with ſingular patience, remembring they had laboured under the ſame inconveniencies in Spain but the year before; yet ſurmounted them, and brought an important war to a happy concluſion. Nor did they forget the great difficulties they were oppreſſed with at Aliſe, though not comparable to thoſe at Bourges, where their virtue ſubdued the moſt famous nations. They were content with peaſe or barley; and thought themſelves feaſted when they got any cattle, which Epirus furniſhed them with in great numbers.

Cæſar's army reduced to great ſtraits for want of proviſions.

Their extraordinary patience,

During this extremity, VALERIUS's men found out certain roots, called Charæ; theſe they mingled with milk, and made into bread, which relieved their hunger. The country afforded plenty of them; they were of ſingular ſervice to us, and whenever POMPEY's men reflected on our want of proviſions, our ſoldiers, to daſh their hopes, often flung them theſe loaves.

Now

Now the corn began to ripen, and hopes of immediate plenty, made our ſoldiers endure the preſent want with chearfulneſs: they would often declare in their diſcourſe with each other, or when they were upon the guard, "They would ſupport their hunger by the barks of trees, rather than ſuffer POMPEY to eſcape them." In the mean while, we were frequently informed by the deſerters, that their horſes were almoſt ſtarved, the reſt of their cattle actually dead, and the army much diſordered by being encloſed within ſo narrow a compaſs; where they were ſubject to ſeveral noiſom ſmells, beſides thoſe that proceeded from dead carcaſſes, fatigued by perpetual labour, which they were unuſed to, and reduced to great extremities for want of water. For CÆSAR had either turned the courſe of all the rivers that diſchaged themſelves that way into the ſea, or damm'd up their currents. The ground being mountainous, with ſome few narrow intervening vallies, by driving piles in the earth, covered over with mould, he ſtopped out the water; which obliged the enemy to ſearch for low and marſhy places to dig wells in, and encreaſed their daily labour: yet theſe fountains lay at a conſiderable diſtance from ſome parts of their army, and were ſoon dried up by the violence of the heat. But CÆSAR's army were in perfect health, had plenty of water, and all kinds of proviſions but wheat, which the ſeaſon of the year promiſed them plenty of in a very ſhort time, for harveſt approached.

and reſolution.

Pompey mightily incommoded for want of room and water.

In this new-faſhioned way of waging war, both generals made uſe of ſeveral ſtratagems: they obſerving by our fires that our cohorts guarded the lines in the night-time, ſilently approaching the works, diſcharged a flight of arrows upon our men, then retreated as faſt as they could within their own fortifications. But our ſoldiers, who wanted not experience, ſoon found out a remedy for this miſchief, to watch in one place, and make fires in another.

CHAP. XIX.

*** In the mean while P. SYLLA, whom CÆSAR had left to command the camp during his abſence, having notice how the engagement ſtood, came to the aſſiſtance of the cohort with two legions; and eaſily repulſed POMPEY's forces, who could hardly ſtand the fight, much leſs

*** Here is a great deal wanting: I ſuppoſe CÆSAR's attempt upon Durazzo,

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leſs ſuſtain the charge of our ſoldiers. Their firſt ranks being broken, the reſt turned their backs and were routed: but SYLLA, to prevent his mens purſuing too far, ſounded a retreat. 'Twis generally believed, if he had puſhed his ſucceſs, that day might have determined the war: yet he was not to be condemned, becauſe the offices of a lieutenant and a general are very different; the firſt ought never to exceed his orders, but upon a very extraordinary occaſion; though the other may act without reſtraint. SYLLA thought he had done enough to deliver his own party out of danger, and had he gone further, perhaps he might have been reflected on for aſſuming a greater power than belonged to him. POMPEY's men found great difficulty in retreating; for having mounted to the top of a hill, when they came to deſcend again, our ſoldiers had a great advantage over them: the diſpute continued till almoſt ſun-ſet; for hope of accompliſhing their deſign made them maintain the fight with great obſtinacy. But POMPEY at laſt, finding no other way, poſſeſſed himſelf of another hill, beyond the reach of darts and engines from our turret: here he ſat down, fortified the place, and brought all his forces thither.

Sylla relieves his party, then retreats.

The difference between a lieutenant and a general.

Our men were engaged in two other places at the ſame time; for POMPEY attacked ſeveral caſtles at once, to diſperſe our forces, and prevent one from ſending relief to the other. VOLCATIUS TULLUS, in one place, ſuſtained and repulſed the charge of an entire legion with three cohorts; in another, the Germans ſallying out, ſlew ſeveral of the enemy, and returned ſafe again within our lines.

Volcatius Tullus repulſes a legion of Pompey's with three cohorts.

Thus in one day CÆSAR had ſix engagements, three at Durazzo, three at his works; and computing the ſlain on both ſides, it appeared POMPEY had loſt two thouſand; amongſt which number were ſeveral centurions and volunteers, as VALERIUS FLACCUS, the ſon of LUCIUS, who was formerly governor of Aſia; with ſix ſtandards. On our ſide, not above twenty were killed, but not a ſoldier in the fort eſcaped wounding. Four centurions in one cohort loſt their eyes: as an argument of their courage and danger, they brought CÆSAR about thirty thouſand arrows that had been ſhot into the caſtle, with the centurion * SCÆVA's ſhield, which had two hundred and thirty holes

The number of the ſlain on both ſides.

Scæva's courage,

* The number of theſe arrows, and the holes SCÆVA had in his ſhield, are almoſt incredible; but the encreaſe no doubt is owing to thoſe that have tranſcribed the original; ſome manuſcripts reduce theſe holes to 120, which agrees with the number mentioned by SUETONIUS.

holes in it. CÆSAR therefore, to reward a perſon that had ſo well merited from him and the republick, preſented him with * ſix hundred ſixty-ſix pounds, thirteen ſhillings and four-pence ſterling; and promoted him from the eighth rank to be firſt centurion of the legion; for his courage had contributed much to the ſaving of the fort. As for the cohorts, he decreed them double pay, and double allowances for meat and cloathing, with many other military ornaments. CIVIL WAR. and reward.

POMPEY, having wrought all the night to compleat his trenches, built his turrets afterwards, and raiſing his fortifications fifteen foot high, covered that part of his camp with mantlets. Having ſtaid there five days, by the favour of a very dark night he retreated in ſilence to his former works, after he had cloſely blocked up the gates of his camp, to prevent a purſuit.

* The original is *millibus ducentis æris*. Mr. D'ABLANCOURT tranſlates this *duæ mille ecus*, two thouſand crowns; Mr EDMUNDS 600l. But if THOMASIUS's account be true, whoſe excellent (though ſhort) diſſertation on Latin monies, I dare venture to rely on, both theſe gentlemen muſt be miſtaken, eſpecially the French; for computing their crowns at Engliſh value, which they fall conſiderably ſhort of, the ſum will but amount to 500l.

CHAP. XX.

LONGINUS and CALVISIUS having poſſeſſed themſelves of Ætolia, Acharnania, and Amphilochis, CÆSAR thought it convenient to purſue his good fortune, and attempt the gaining of Achaia: wherefore he ſent FUSIUS KALENUS, Q. SABINUS, and CASSIUS thither, with a detachment. On notice of their approach, RUTILIUS LUPUS, who commanded that province for POMPEY, lodged himſelf in the Iſthmus, hoping to ſtop their paſſage. But Delphos, Thebes, and Orchomenus, of their own accord ſubmitted to KALENUS; ſome ſtates he obtained by force, and to others ſent embaſſadors, perſuading them to embrace CÆSAR's intereſt. Kalenus, Sabinus, and Caſſius ſent to Achaia.

Thus FUSIUS employ'd his time: CÆSAR, in the mean while, omitted not drawing out his forces every day, offering POMPEY battle on equal ground; and, to provoke him to accept it, led his army up ſo near the enemy's camp, that his van-guard was almoſt within engine-ſhot of their rampier. POMPEY, indeed, to ſave his credit, drew out his legions too; but ſo cloſe to their trenches, that his third line touched the rampier, and all his Cæſar offers Pompey battle; which he declines.

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his army might have been convered by the weapons caſt from thence.

Such was the poſture of affairs in Achaia, and at Durazzo, when CÆSAR had notice of SCIPIO's arrival in Macedonia: and ſtill retaining the ſame peaceable eſires, he diſpatched away CLODIUS to him, an intimate friend to them both; whom CÆSAR had entertained upon SCIPIO's recommendation. Before his departure, he gave him a letter to deliver, with other inſtructions to this effect; "That he had left nothing unattempted to obtain a peace, though he believed his endeavours had been fruſtrated by the neglect of the perſons he had employ'd; who durſt not mention his demands to POMPEY at a proper time: but he knew SCIPIO's power to be ſo conſiderable, that he could not only freely adviſe, but enforce the execution of his own counſels, and oblige POMPEY to hearken to reaſon. For he had the independant command of an army, could back his authority by arms, bleſs Italy and the provinces with peace; and make the whole empire his debtor, for the reſtoration of her health".

Cæſar ſends Clodius to Scipio to treat about a peace.

His meſſage;

CLODIUS performed his commiſſion, and at firſt met a favourable audience, but afterwards could not be heard; for FAVONIUS, having reprimanded SCIPIO, rendered the negotiation ineffectual, as was diſcovered after the concluſion of the war. CÆSAR in the mean while, that he might the eaſilier ſhut up POMPEY's horſe in Durazzo, and prevent their foraging, blockaded all the roads (which we have already ſaid were narrow) with mighty ſtrong works, on which he erected caſtles. But POMPEY, finding they could not effect what he had deſigned, conveyed them by ſea from Durazzo to his camp again. Forage was ſo ſcarce, they were obliged to feed their horſes with green reeds, or leaves taken off the trees; for all the corn they had ſown within their lines was conſumed, and they were obliged to ſend a great way about by ſea for forage to Corfu and Acharnania; which falling ſhort, they mixed it with barley, to ſupport their horſes. But afterwards having conſumed all their barley, graſs, herbs and boughs of trees, their horſes being almoſt dead with famine, POMPEY thought it high time to make an eruption.

which proves ineffectual.

Extream want of forage in Pompey's camp.

BIBLIOTHECA ROULEANA

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

IN CÆSAR's camp were two Savoyards, that came along with the cavalry their country ſent, ROSCILLUS and ÆGUS, ſons of ADBUCILLUS, who for many years together had bore the moſt conſiderable ſway of any perſon in Savoy. Theſe were gentlemen of extraordinary courage, and had done CÆSAR particular ſervice during his wars in Gaul; wherefore he rewarded them with great offices, took care to get them introduced into the ſenate before the uſual age, gave them great ſums of money, and raiſed their fortunes by ample grants of forfeited eſtates: nor had their perſonal merit gained them leſs credit with the army than with CÆSAR; but preſuming upon his favour, and growing barbarouſly proud and haughty, they deſpiſed their countrymen, cheated the cavalry of their pay, and applied the money to their own private uſe. Whereupon the ſoldiers complained of this uſage in a body to CÆSAR, taxing them, amongſt other articles, with making falſe muſters.

Roſcillus and Ægus cheat their countrymen the Savoyards of their pay.

CÆSAR, thinking it no proper time to take notice of the matter, and having a particular reſpect for the perſons complained of, took an occaſion to reprimand them in private, for defrauding their ſoldiers; telling them, they ought to expect that reward for their ſervices, from his favour, which their merits deſerved. However, this affair diſguſted them, becauſe it diminiſhed their former credit; for conſciouſneſs of the fact rendered them as uneaſy as the reflections that were caſt upon them for it. Thus prompted by ſhame, and perhaps by fear, not believing themſelves cleared, but that their puniſhment was only deferred to another time, they reſolved to deſert, try their fortunes elſewhere, and ſearch for new friendſhips. Having communicated their deſign to a few of their clients, whom they might entruſt with ſo criminal a project, they at firſt attempted to murder C. VOLUSENUS, general of the horſe (as was diſcovered, when the war was over) that they might render themſelves more welcome to POMPEY by ſo ſignal a piece of ſervice. But finding this deſign impracticable, becauſe they could not obtain an opportunity for accompliſhing it; having borrowed vaſt ſums of money, on pretence of making reſtitution, inſtead of that, they bought up great numbers of horſes, and

Cæſar reprimands them for it.

They deſign to murder Voluſenus, and then deſert.

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and went over to POMPEY, with thoſe they had admitted into the ſecret.

They deſert to Pompey;

POMPEY, becauſe they were perſons of quality, liberally educated, came well attended with ſervants and horſes, were reputed men of courage, and in great eſteem with CÆSAR, waited on them round about his works, to ſhew them to his ſoldiers, as a very unuſual ſight: for before that time neither horſe nor foot ſoldiers had ever deſerted from CÆSAR to him, though deſerters flocked almoſt every day from POMPEY to CÆSAR, eſpecially from amongſt the new levies in Epirus, Ætolia, and thoſe countries that had declared for his intereſt.

give him intelligence where Cæſar's works are ſtrong, and where the weakeſt.

The Savoyards, having accurately remarked all the ſtrong places and defects in our works, the particular times, diſtance of place, the ſtrength and vigilance of the guards, with the character each individual officer, gave POMPEY an exact account.

CHAP. XXII.

Pompey's preparations for a ſally.

UPON this intelligence, POMPEY reſolved to put his former deſign of breaking out in execution: wherefore he commanded the ſoldiers to cover their helmets with oſiers, and prepare facines; which being done, he ſent a ſtrong party of light-armed infantry and archers, ſo ſoon as it was dark, with the materials for filling up CÆSAR's trenches, on board ſome ſmall veſſels which he ordered to meet him, together with the gallies that lay at Durazzo, at that part of CÆSAR's lines neareſt the ſea, which lay the fartheſt diſtant from his head-quarters. Having given theſe their ſeveral inſtructions, about midnight he made a draught of ſixty cohorts from his camp and fortifications, then marched to the place appointed. The works which POMPEY deſigned to ſtorm, were guarded by LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, the treaſurer, with the ninth legion, who had taken FULVIUS POSTHUMUS for his coadjutor, becauſe he found himſelf indiſpoſed. Here was a ditch fifteen foot deep, with a rampier ten foot high, and of an equal breadth: about two hundred yards within them was another rampier ſomething lower than the former, and with a contrary front, which CÆSAR had raiſed not many days before, to prevent being attacked from the ſea, and defend his men if the conflict ſhould grow dubious. But the extent of the lines, and the perpetual fatigue the ſoldiers had endured in incloſing a circuit

A deſcription of the place Pompey ſtormed.

of eighteen miles, had interrupted this work: ſo the croſs rampier, which ſhould have made a communication between theſe and the reſt of our lines, was not compleat: this POMPEY had notice of from the Savoyards, which was of fatal conſequence to us. The out-guards of the ninth legion, by break of day, diſcovered POMPEY's forces; which ſurprized them extreamly; for at the ſame inſtant the foot and archers from on board caſt ſhowers of darts upon the outward rampier; thoſe that came thither by land were filling up their trenches, fixing their ſcaling-ladders, and driving our ſoldiers from the inner works by their darts and engines; having firſt diſpoſed conſiderable numbers of archers on both ſides our fortifications. The only refuge we had left in this extremity, was to ply the enemy with ſtones; but the oſiers they had wound about their helmets, prevented our doing any great execution. To add to theſe misfortunes, having deſcried the defect in our lines, they landed their men betweeen the two rampiers, attacked our ſoldiers in the rear, and obliged them to quit both ſides of the works.

MARCELLINUS, on notice of this diſorder, ſent a party to ſuſtain his out-guards; which arrived not before they were routed; and could neither perſuade them to rally, nor were able themſelves to maintain their ground. The more ſupplies he ſent, the more confuſion he created; for they were no ſooner arrived, but they were infected with the ſame fear that poſſeſſed their fellow-ſoldiers, and only ſerved to prevent each others retreat. During this engagement, the eagle-bearer of the legion, finding himſelf mortally wounded, and almoſt ſpent with loſs of blood, thus addreſſed the cavalry: "Many years have I carefully guarded this enſign, and now I ſurrender it ſafe to CÆSAR before I die: let me conjure you, therefore, deliver it into his own hands, nor ſuffer ſo great an ignominy as the loſs of an eagle, a thing never heard of in CÆSAR's army." Thus the ſtandard was preſerved, though all the centurions of the firſt cohort, except the primiple, were killed.

The courage of the Eagle-bearer.

The enemy, having made a dreadful ſlaughter amongſt our men, had almoſt forced their way to MARCELLINUS's quarters, and ſtruck no ſmall terror into the reſt of the cohorts of that legion; when M. ANTONY, who lay neareſt MARCELLINUS, on advice of the diſpute, deſcended with twelve cohorts from the higher ground to his relief. ANTONY's arrival ſoon put a ſtop to their career,

CIVIL WAR.

career, and inſpired our party with freſh courage. Not long after, CÆSAR, having notice by the ſmoke of the caſtles, the uſual ſignal upon ſuch occaſions, having drawn ſome cohorts out of the lines, came up to the aſſiſtance of his ſoldiers.

CHAP. XXIII.

Pompey breaks out of the fortifications.

CÆSAR, underſtanding the loſs he had ſuſtained, perceiving POMPEY had now eſcaped out of his works, was encamped ſo conveniently near the ſea, that his horſe had liberty enough to forage, and he ſtill enjoyed the ſame uſe of his ſhipping as before, altered his former ſcheme, which had proved ineffectual, and encamped as near POMPEY as he could. When his camp was fortified, CÆSAR had notice from his ſcouts, that a certain number of the enemy's cohorts, which to them appeared a compleat legion, were retired behind a wood into the works that had formerly been deſerted. For ſome few days before, CÆSAR's ninth legion being attacked by a party of POMPEY's, whilſt they were carrying on the lines, retired a little farther off, and encamped themſelves upon another hill, adjoining to a wood, not above four hundred paces diſtant from the ſea: but afterwards, CÆSAR, for certain reaſons, removed beyond that place, which POMPEY, not many days after, poſſeſſed himſelf of: and becauſe the works were not large enough to contain ſo many legions as he deſigned to lodge there, leaving the old rampier ſtanding, he caſt up another beyond it, deſigning the firſt ſhould ſerve inſtead of a citadel; from the left angle of his camp he had likewiſe drawn a line of communication to the river, about ſix hundred foot long, that his army might fetch water without danger. But ſome time after, changing his mind for ſome reaſons not neceſſary to be mentioned at preſent, he left the place: ſo the camp, with all the works, remained ſeveral days entire.

Cæſar and Pompey's new camp.

Hither the ſcouts reported they ſaw the ſtandard of a legion carried, which was confirmed by advice from the higher turrets. This place was about five hundred paces diſtant from POMPEY's new camp; CÆSAR therefore, being deſirous to repair the loſs he had ſuſtained, and hoping he might ſurprize this legion, left only two cohorts, for a blind, to carry on the works; and taking a different rout, marched as privately as he could with thirty-three

three more (amongſt which number was the ninth legion, that had ſuffered ſo ſeverely in the late action, by the loſs of ſeveral centurions and ſoldiers) he led them, ready drawn up in two lines, to the leſſer camp, where POMPEY's legion had lodged themſelves. Nor was CÆSAR deceived in his opinion, for he arrived at the place before POMPEY could have notice of his deſign; and though the fortifications were ſtrong, yet the left wing, where he himſelf was preſent, briſkly charging the enemy, obliged them to quit the rampier: but the port being ſtopped by a * turn-pike, gave them an opportunity to maintain their ground, and oppoſe our entrance. Here T. PULFIO, who betrayed ANTONY's forces, gave ſignal proofs of his courage. But at laſt the virtue of our men prevailed; and having forced the bar, they firſt entered the outward trenches, afterwards the inner works or citadel, and killed ſeveral of the enemy, for thither they had retired. But fortune, whoſe influence is powerful in all things, eſpecially in war, where ſhe cauſes the greateſt revolutions in a moment, now exerted her prerogative. For the right wing of CÆSAR's party, being unacquainted with the place, ſeeking for another gate, followed the rampier, which led to the river, where they arrived before they perceived their miſtake: then finding there was no body to oppoſe them, got over the rampier, and were followed by the horſe.

Cæſar's attempt to cut off a party of Pompey's. He has great ſucceſs at firſt.

* Eritius, which SUETONIUS calls Ericus, and differs not much from the modern Cheval de Frize.

CHAP. XXIV.

IN the mean while POMPEY, having ſufficient notice, detached the fifth legion to relieve his party. Thus, at the ſame inſtant, his cavalry approached ours, and our ſoldiers, who had poſſeſſed the camp, deſcried the fifth legion marching to the place of action in order of battle; which immediately changed the poſture of affairs. For the enemy, encouraged by hopes of ſpeedy relief, poſſeſſed themſelves of the Decuman port, and charged our cohorts. Our cavalry having got over the rampier into a narrow paſſage, fearing they could not ſecure their retreat, firſt began to fly; the right wing perceiving their diſorder, and finding themſelves cut off from the reſt of their party, to prevent being ſet upon in ſo diſadvantageous a place, followed their example; ſeveral of them, to avoid being

But fortune turns about,

and Pompey gets the better.

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ſhut up between the two rampiers, which were ten foot high, caſt themſelves from thence into the trenches; where the firſt ranks being trodden to death, procured a ſafe retreat to thoſe that came after. In the mean while the ſoldiers of the left wing, perceiving POMPEY's approach, and obſerving the confuſion of the right, apprehending they ſhould be encloſed, and attacked from without as well as within, began to think of retreating the ſame way they came thither: in fine, nothing was to be ſeen but fear, flying, and diſorder. And when CÆSAR, to ſtop their flight, laid hold of the enſigns, and commanded them to halt, ſome rid away as faſt as their horſes could carry them, others were ſo frightened, they let the ſtandards drop out of their hands, and no body obeyed his orders.

Whilſt affairs were in this deſperate condition, it happened very fortunately, to prevent all our party from being cut off, that POMPEY, apprehending an ambuſcade, as I ſuppoſe, becauſe the buſineſs looked ſo much better on his ſide than could be expected; for juſt before he ſaw his ſoldiers flying out of the camp, durſt not for ſome time approach the works. His cavalry were prevented purſuing by the narrowneſs of the way, and the difficulty of paſſing the ports, which CÆSAR's ſoldiers were maſters of. So ſmall a matter happened to be of great importance to both parties. For the works that led to the water, as they deprived CÆSAR of the victory he had obtained, ſo they preſerved his men by retarding the purſuit of the enemy.

In the two engagements of this day CÆSAR loſt thirty-two colours, with nine hundred and ſixty men, amongſt which number fell many Roman knights of note, as FELGINAS TUTICANUS, GALLUS a ſenator's ſon, C. FELGINAS of Placentia, A. GRAVIUS of Puteoli, M. SACRATIVIR of Capua, beſides thirty tribunes and centurions: but the greateſt part of them died without wounds, being loſt in the trenches, works and river, ruined by their own fear and diſorderly flight. After this engagement POMPEY was ſaluted by the name of emperor, a title he wore ever after; however he uſed it not in the ſtyle of his letters, nor ſuffered lawrel to be carried before in his conſular rods. But the traitor LABIENUS, having begged the priſoners might be delivered into his hands, cauſed them to be brought out for oſtentation, and calling them fellow-ſoldiers, demanded, in a haughty manner,

Pompey obtains the title of emperor.

Labienus's cruelty to Cæſar's ſoldiers that were taken.

CIVIL WAR.

manner, whether veteran ſoldiers uſed to fly; then cauſed them to be murdered in the preſence of the whole army, to gain himſelf the greater credit with POMPEY.

Pompey's party proud of this ſucceſs.

The enemy were ſo puffed up with this ſucceſs, that they thought no longer of carrying on the war, believing themſelves compleat victors already: not remembring the inequality of number on our ſide, their advantage of place, the inconvenience of the paſſage, their being firſt maſters of the camp; our confuſion within and without the fortifications, with the ſeparation of our forces that could not relieve each other, which were the real cauſes of the defeat: not conſidering the battle was managed with no manner of order, no former engagement; that our ſoldiers did themſelves more harm in the narrow paſſes, than they received from the enemy: and laſtly, they made no allowance for the common events of war; where the moſt inſignificant cauſes, groundleſs ſuſpicions, ſurprizes or ſcruples, prove of fatal conſequence; where an army is often loſt by the fall of a general, or the error of a tribune: but as if the ſucceſs of the day was wholly owing to their own virtue, and fortune had no further power over them, divulged the fame of this action throughout the univerſe.

CHAP. XXV.

Cæſar decamps, firſt makes a ſpeech to his ſoldiers.

CÆSAR's former ſcheme thus rendered ineffectual, he reſolved to think of other methods; wherefore, having drained all his forts, quitting the ſiege, he appointed his men a general rendezvous, where he made an harangue to encourage, "And adviſe them not to be dejected; that fortune, to whom they were indebted for the reduction of Italy without bloodſhed, the acquiſition of Spain, though guarded by two powerful and experienced generals, and the friendſhip of neighbouring provinces that furniſhed them with corn, had mingled one diſappointment with ſo continued a ſeries of ſucceſs. That they ought to remember how they had eſcaped falling into the enemy's hand, when they ſailed through the midſt of their ſquadrons, which poſſeſſed all the coaſts and havens; and endeavour to overcome ill fortune by their induſtry, attributing the damage to her alone, not to him who had led them to an advantageous place, poſſeſſed himſelf of the enemy's camp, expelled and overcame them that oppoſed him: but whether the loſs of the victory he had actually obtained was

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owing to the confuſion his ſoldiers were in, their miſtake, or fortune, it imported them all to endeavour to retrieve it by their application: which might turn the ſcales again to their advantage; as happened at Clermont; where, of their own accord, they offered the enemy battle, who not long before were afraid to engage them."

Cæſar caſhiers ſome enſigns. The ſoldiers deſire to redreſs the loſs.

After he had ended this ſpeech, he caſhiered ſome enſigns: but the whole army were ſo ſenſibly afflicted for the diſgrace they had received, and ſo deſirous to regain their credit, that there was no occaſion either for the tribunes or centurions to remind them of their duty; for every man impoſed a harder taſk upon himſelf, than either his duty or CÆSAR required from him, as a puniſhment for the late diſhonour; all were eager to engage the enemy, and ſome officers of note were ſo touched with their intreaties, that they deſired CÆSAR to venture a battle. But he thought it not convenient to depend upon an army that had been ſo lately daunted, till further times ſhould have ſettled their minds; beſides, having quitted his works, he was in pain for his convoys.

He decamps.

Wherefore having taken care for the ſick and wounded, without further delay, as ſoon as night approached, he ſent away all his baggage under a guard of one legion towards Apollonia, with orders not to halt till they ſhould have performed their journey. This affair diſpatched, keeping only two legions, about three in the morning he drew out the main body of the army at ſeveral gates of the camp, and ordered them to follow the ſame rout the baggage had taken. Soon after theſe had began their march, that military diſcipline might be obſerved, and the news of his removing known as late as poſſible, he ordered the uſual ſign for decamping to be given; then ſetting out himſelf, overtook the reſt of his forces.

POMPEY immediately took the alarm, and hoping to ſurprize CÆSAR's army during their march, whilſt they were incumbered with their baggage, drew out all his forces, ſending his cavalry before to ſtay the rear; but CÆSAR having diſpoſed of his carriages, marched with ſo much diſpatch, that he arrived at the river Genuſus, before the enemy's horſe could come up with him. Here they charged his army in the rear; but he ſent his cavalry, with a party of Anteſignani, to ſuſtain their charge, who obliged them to retreat; and after having killed ſeveral of the enemy, returned ſafe again to the main body.

Pompey's cavalry attack his rear, but are defeated.

CÆSAR,

CÆSAR, having marched as far as he deſigned that day, and croſſed the Genuſus, took up his quarters in his old camp, over-againſt Aſparagium. He commanded all the foot to keep themſelves within the rampier; but ſent out the cavalry to forage, with orders to return immediately by the Decuman port.

Cæſar encamps over-againſt Aſparagium.

CHAP. XXVI.

POMPEY likewiſe, having compleated his day's journey, lodged himſelf in his former camp at Aſparagium; but his ſoldiers, finding themſelves at leiſure, becauſe the works were entire, ſome made long excurſions to fetch wood or forage, and others, having ſet out upon ſo ſhort notice, that they were obliged to leave great part of their baggage, enticed by the nearneſs of the place, laid down their arms, and went back again to fetch what they had left behind them.

Pompey does the like.

CÆSAR foreſeeing the abſence of the ſoldiers would prevent POMPEY's purſuit, about noon gave the ſign for decamping, drew out his army, and having marched twice as far as the day before, removed eight miles from POMPEY, who could not follow him.

Cæſar gains a day's march before him;

The day after CÆSAR decamped again about four in the morning, having ſent away his baggage over night; that in caſe he ſhould be obliged to engage the enemy, he might the better prevent a ſurprize; having no carriages to hinder him. This order he obſerved in his march every day, by which means he croſſed the deepeſt rivers, and moſt rugged paſſes, without the leaſt inconvenience. For POMPEY, having entirely loſt the firſt day, and in vain attempted by long journies to overtake CÆSAR afterwards, finding he could not accompliſh his deſires, reſolved the fourth day to purſue no farther.

and he cannot overtake him again.

CÆSAR was obliged to call at Apollonia, to leave the wounded there, pay his army, confirm his friends in their fidelity, and diſpoſe garriſons for the ſafety of the country. But he allowed no longer time for theſe affairs than was abſolutely neceſſary; for apprehending DOMITIUS might be ſurprized by POMPEY, he made all imaginable haſte to join him; for the ſcheme which CÆSAR proceeded on, was this; that POMPEY would either follow him, and being drawn far diſtant from the ſea, and thoſe proviſions which he had treaſured up at Durazzo, be reduced by want of ſubſiſtence to engage him upon equal

Cæſar calls at Apollonia; from thence marches to join Domitius.

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terms; or croſs the ſeas for Italy; whither, having joined DOMITIUS, he would follow him through Illyricum. But ſhould POMPEY inveſt Apollonia or Oricum, and endeavour to deprive him of the ſea-coaſts, then CÆSAR would beſiege SCIPIO, which would oblige him to deſiſt from that attempt. Wherefore having wrote to DOMITIUS, to acquaint him with his deſign, and left a garriſon of four cohorts at Apollonia, of one at Liſſus, of three at Oricum, and diſpoſed of the ſick and wounded, he marched through Epirus and Acarnania.

CHAP. XXVII.

POMPEY gueſſing at CÆSAR's deſign, thought it neceſſary to make what haſte he could to SCIPIO's relief, if CÆSAR marched that way: but if he reſolved not to quit CORFU and the ſea-coaſts till he received the legions and cavalry he expected, then POMPEY would attack DOMITIUS. Thus the affair depended on diſpatch, for it highly imported each army to relieve their friends, and not loſe a moment, which might furniſh them with an opportunity of ſurprizing their enemies.

Pompey marches to Macedonia.

POMPEY marched the neareſt way through Candavia for Macedonia; and it happened very unluckily, that DOMITIUS, who for many days together hah encamped over-againſt SCIPIO, was now gone to Heraclea Sentica, a fief of Candavia, to provide his army with corn: thus fortune ſeemed to throw him directly in POMPEY's way, which CÆSAR then had no notice of. POMPEY had taken care to ſend letters before him to every ſtate and province, with an account of the action at Durazzo; wherein he enlarged ſo much to his own advantage, that it was generally believed CÆSAR had loſt almoſt all his forces, and was obliged to fly. This report made ſome ſtates come over to POMPEY, and ſecure the paſſes of their country; ſo that ſeveral expreſſes were ſent between CÆSAR and DOMITIUS, which were all intercepted: but the Savoyards that attended on ROSCILLUS and ÆGUS, meeting DOMITIUS's couriers upon the road, either out of vain-glory, or ancient friendſhip (becauſe they had ſerved together in Gaul) gave them an exact account of the poſture of affairs, CÆSAR's march, and POMPEY's arrival. Thus DOMITIUS was obliged to the enemy for his intelligence, narrowly eſcaped the danger, being not above four hours march before them, and arrived at Æginium

Domitius narrowly eſcapes him by advice from ſome of his own party.

Cæſar and Domitius joined.

nium, a town ſituate on the frontiers of Theſſaly, where he joined CÆSAR's army.

CHAP. XXVIII.

CÆSAR, having joined DOMITIUS, marched to Gomphi, the firſt town in Theſſaly towards Epirus; which nation, not many months before, of their own accord had ſent embaſſadors to CÆSAR, to deſire he would ſend an army to defend them, and command what their country afforded. But hither likewiſe had the fame of the battle of Durazzo extended, and ANDROSTHENES, prætor of the province, deſiring rather to be a companion of POMPEY's ſucceſs, than CÆSAR's adverſity, ſummoned all the ſervants and children out of the fields in the town, where he ſhut the gates againſt CÆSAR, diſpatching meſſengers to POMPEY and SCIPIO to relieve him; for he durſt rely upon the fortifications of the town, provided they would come immediately, though it would be impoſſible for him to hold out any time. But SCIPIO, on advice of the army's quitting Durazzo, marched to Lariſſa, and POMPEY was not near Theſſaly. Wherefore CÆSAR having encamped himſelf, cauſed all things neceſſary for a ſtorm to be prepared; then, to encourage his ſoldiers to make a vigorous aſſault, he told them what importance it would be of, to render themſelves maſters of ſo rich a town, ſtored with ſufficient proviſions to relieve all their wants; that the taking this place would ſtrike a terror into other ſtates, but it muſt be done before the enemy came to their relief. The ſoldiers were ſo eager to effect the buſineſs, that though they began not the ſtorm till three in the afternoon the ſame day they arrived there, yet they carried the place before ſun-ſet. As a reward for their valour, CÆSAR gave them free leave to plunder; and having decamped, marched to Metropolis, not allowing ſame time enough to acquaint them with the fate of Gomphi before his arrival.

Cæſar marches into Theſſaly.

Androſthenes ſhuts the gates of Gomphi againſt him.

Cæſar ſtorms and takes the town in four hours time.

The inhabitants, moved by the ſame reaſons, at firſt denied him entrance, and manned the walls with ſoldiers; but afterwards, being informed from the priſoners whom CÆSAR brought from Gomphi, that their city was ſack'd, they opened their gates, and CÆSAR took care the ſoldiers ſhould commit no exceſſes in the town. The other ſtates of Theſſaly, reflecting on the different uſage Metropolis

Metropolis ſurrenders.

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tropolis and Gomphi had met with, one for receiving, the other for oppoſing CÆSAR, all immediately ſubmitted to him, except Lariſſa; which SCIPIO poſſeſſed with a conſiderable army. Thus CÆSAR having rendered himſelf maſter of a plentiful country, where the corn was almoſt ripe, here reſolved to take up his quarters, attend POMPEY's arrival, and determine the war.

All the ſtates of Theſſaly, except Lariſſa, do the like.

CHAP. XXIX.

Pompey arrives in Theſſaly; joins Scipio; his ſpeech to his ſoldiers.

POMPEY, not many days after, came into Theſſaly, and having joined SCIPIO, aſſembled both armies, made a ſpeech to the ſoldiers, wherein "He firſt returned his own thanks for the ſervices they had done; then encouraged SCIPIO's to put in for ſharers with them of the booties and rewards, the victory being already obtained." Having received both armies into one camp, he divided his command with SCIPIO, ordering a Prætorian tent to be erected for him, and the trumpets to attend him. POMPEY's forces being thus encreaſed by the uniting of two ſuch powerful armies, his ſoldiers courage was confirmed, and they made themſelves ſo ſure of victory, that every moment ſeemed to delay their return to Italy; wherefore when POMPEY acted ſlowly, or with conſideration, they would often ſay, the buſineſs only required a day to diſpatch it; but POMPEY was in love with authority, and cared not how long he detained the conſuls and prætors amongſt the number of his ſervants. They began already to diſpute in publick about the rewards they were to have, the prieſts offices, and pitched upon thoſe who ſhould annually ſucceed to the conſulat. Others put in for the goods and houſes of thoſe that were of CÆSAR's party: and it was warmly debated in council, whether L. HIRRUS, whom POMPEY had ſent againſt the Parthians, ſhould ſtand the next election for prætor by proxy: ſome urged POMPEY's promiſe in his behalf; and deſired their friend, who depended on the general's honour, might not find himſelf deceived; others oppoſed it, ſaying, ſince he was not the only perſon that embarked in that dangerous enterprize, there was no reaſon he ſhould be preferred before the reſt.

Hot diſputes in Pompey's army about the ſharing of offices.

DOMITIUS, SCIPIO, and LENTULUS SPINTHER, were perpetually quarrelling for CÆSAR's prieſthood, and publickly affronted each other about it; LENTULUS urging the reſpect due to his age, DOMITIUS the intereſt he

Flamen Dialis.

he had at Rome, and SCIPIO depending on his alliance with POMPEY. ATTIUS RUFUS accuſed L. AFRANIUS for betraying the army in Spain; and DOMITIUS moved in council, there might be a high-commiſſion of ſenators erected, who had been preſent in the war, for trying ſuch as had ſtaid at Rome, with thoſe that attended POMPEY, but had not performed their duty. And that theſe commiſſioners might be entruſted with a tripple power, to acquit, condemn to death, or impoſe an amercement. In fine, the whole army was taken up with the thoughts of rewards, honours, and revenge; not contriving how to gain, but how to employ the victory after they ſhould obtain it.

CHAP. XXX.

CÆSAR, having now provided his army with corn, and allowed the ſoldiers ſufficient time to re-aſſume freſh courage, after the battles of Durazzo, when he thought their minds were ſettled, reſolved to try whether POMPEY was inclinable to fight. Wherefore having drawn out his forces, he ranged them in order of battle near their own trenches, ſome diſtance from POMPEY's: but the following days he led them up to the foot of the riſing ground where POMPEY was encamped; which inſpired his ſoldiers with courage. His cavalry being much inferior to POMPEY's in number, he obſerved his former diſcipline, of mingling the ſtouteſt and moſt active of the Anteſignani amongſt them, who by daily practice and ſkirmiſhes became expert in that way of combat. Thus he rendered his cavalry ſo hardy, that though they were but one thouſand, they would upon occaſion ſuſtain the charge of POMPEY's ſeven thouſand, even in open field, without being ſurprized at their numbers. For ſeveral days they ſkirmiſhed with good ſucceſs, and killed one of the Savoyard brothers who deſerted to POMPEY, with ſeveral others of his party.

Cæſar daily offers Pompey battle; which is not accepted.

POMPEY having lodged himſelf upon a hill, drew his army up at the foot of the mountain, expecting to draw CÆSAR into a diſadvantageous place. But CÆSAR, finding he could not perſuade POMPEY to accept of battle, thought it the moſt convenient way to remove, and always be upon the march; hoping his frequent decampings might furniſh him more commodiouſly with corn, and perhaps with an opportunity of fighting; at leaſt he

was

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was ſure of harraſſing POMPEY's army, who were not inured to ſo much fatigue. Moved by theſe reaſons, he gave the ſign for decamping; but the tents were no ſooner ſtruck, e'er it was obſerved, that POMPEY, contrary to his uſual cuſtom, had drawn his legions out at a farther diſtance from his camp, and ſeemed to offer battle upon equal terms. Upon this CÆSAR addreſſing himſelf to the ſoldiers, when the army was juſt ready to march out of their trenches, ſaid, "We muſt not think of decamping at preſent, but of giving the enemy battle, which we have ſo long deſired; we ſhall not eaſily find ſuch another opportunity as this again; let us therefore prepare to engage them." This being ſaid, he immediately drew out his forces.

Cæſar deſigns to decamp; but perceiving Pompey had drawn out his forces, does the like.

POMPEY likewiſe, as was afterwards known, had reſolved to offer battle, in compliance to the repeated deſires of his friends. He had declared in council, "He would defeat CÆSAR's forces before both armies could engage." But obſerving ſeveral could not conceive his meaning; "I am ſenſible, ſaid he, that my promiſe almoſt exceeds belief; but I will give you my reaſons, that you may fight with more aſſurance. I have taken care our horſe, when they approach the enemy, ſhall flank their right wing, and encloſe them behind: this they have promiſed to perform, which muſt certainly diſorder them before the foot can meet each other. Thus, added he, we ſhall decide the diſpute without hazarding the legions, and almoſt without receiving a wound. Nor can there be any difficulty in the deſign, ſince we are ſo much ſuperior to them in cavalry. Be ready therefore for the combat to-morrow, ſince the happy occaſion you have ſo long attended is come; and behave yourſelves worthy of that opinion the world has of your valour and experience."

Pompey brags he will defeat Cæſar without engaging both armies.

Here ended POMPEY's ſpeech, when LABIENUS, as well to applaud his deſign, as to diſcredit CÆSAR's army, began thus: "Think not, POMPEY, you are to engage the conquerors of Gaul and Germany: I was preſent at all thoſe battles, and of my own certain knowledge can affirm, there are but few of that army now remaining: many have been killed, as muſt of neceſſity happen in ſo many conflicts; many were conſumed by the plague in Apulia; many have quitted their arms; and ſeveral are left behind to guard Italy. Have you not been informed that the cohorts at Brindiſi conſiſt of invalids? and the forces which you now behold, are compoſed of new levies, raiſed

Labienus's ſpeech.

raiſed in Lombardy, and the colonies beyond the Po. For the flower of CÆSAR's army fell in the two defeats at Durazzo." Having finiſhed what he had to ſay, LABIENUS took an oath never to return to the camp again, unleſs victorious; and deſired all the reſt of the council might do the like. POMPEY ſo well approved the motion, he was the firſt that followed his example. Thus the council broke up full of joy, and big with expectation; aſſuring themſelves of victory, becauſe they thought ſo great a captain would not ſpeak, but upon very good grounds, in ſo important an affair.

He ſwears never to return to the camp, unleſs victorious.

CHAP. XXXI.

CÆSAR approaching near POMPEY's camp, perceived this to be the diſpoſition of his forces: the firſt and third legions with CÆSAR, at the beginning of the wars, in obedience to the ſenate's decree, had delivered to POMPEY, formed the left, where he himſelf commanded: SCIPIO was in the middle, with the Syrian legions; and AFRANIUS in the right, with the Cilicians, united to the cohorts brought from Spain; which POMPEY eſteemed his beſt troops: the reſt of his forces were diſpoſed between the two wings, and middle ſquadron; amounting to fifty-five thouſand men, or an hundred and ten cohorts, beſides two thouſand volunteers, which he had diſperſed amongſt the whole army; for he had left his other ſeven cohorts, to ſecure his camp and the adjoining forts. His right was defended by a river with ſteep banks, wherefore he had placed all his cavalry and archers in the left.

The diſpoſition of Pompey's army.

CÆSAR, obſerving his ancient cuſtom, diſpoſed the tenth in the right, and the ninth legion in the left wing, though conſiderably weakened by the action at Durazzo; but he joined the eighth ſo very cloſe to it, that they were almoſt united into one, and had orders to relieve each other. His whole army conſiſted of twenty-two thouſand men, or eighty cohorts; for he left two behind to guard his baggage. He gave the command of the left wing to ANTONY, of the right to P. SCYLLA, and of the main body to CN. DOMITIUS, poſting himſelf directly over-againſt POMPEY. Having drawn his forces up in this order, to prevent his right wing from being ſurrounded by the enemy's horſe, he detached a cohort from every legion in the third line, and of them compoſed a fourth,

Of Cæſar's.

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to engage the cavalry: he gave them the neceſſary orders; foretold that the ſucceſs of the day would depend on their courage; and commanded the whole army not to begin the battle, till he ſhould ſee convenient to give them the ſignal.

Cæſar's army drawn up; his ſpeech.

After he had encouraged his ſoldiers, as military diſcipline required, and reminded them of the many favours they had from time to time received at his hands; he told them, "They themſelves could witneſs for him, how earneſtly he had ſought a peace; how he had employed VATINIUS to demand a conference, ſent A. CLODIUS to treat with SCIPIO, and how eagerly he preſſed LIBO at Oricum, to grant his lieutenants a paſs. For he had always been deſirous to prevent the effuſion of his ſoldiers blood, and the empire's being deprived of either of her armies." Having ended this ſpeech, in compliance to the ardent deſire of the ſoldiers, he commanded the trumpets to ſound a charge.

CHAP. XXXII.

Craſtinus's character and courage.

IN CÆSAR's army was one CRASTINUS, a volunteer, a man of extraordinary courage, who the year before had been primiple of the tenth legion. So ſoon as the ſignal was given, "Follow me, cried he, you that were formerly under my command, and do your utmoſt for the man you have choſen for your general: this battle once decided, he ſhall recover his dignity, and we our freedom." Then looking back upon CÆSAR, "This day, O emperor, added he, I will ſo behave myſelf, that you ſhall return me thanks alive or dead." Having ſaid this, immediately he ruſhed out of the right wing, attended by an hundred and twenty ſelect men of the ſame legion, who voluntarily followed him, and began the fight.

The ſign of battle given. Craſtinus begins the fight.

The battle of Pharſalia. Pompey orders his men to receive Cæſar's charge without moving out of their places.

Between the two armies was ſpace enough for both to meet and attack each other; but POMPEY had ordered his men to receive our onſet, without ſtirring out of their poſts till our army ſhould be diſordered. This he did, upon C. TRIARIUS's advice, that the force of our firſt excurſion being broken, and our army diſperſed, they might attack us in good order, to the greater advantage: beſides, they thought our piles would do leſs execution ſo, than if they advanced to meet them; flattering themſelves with the hopes of our ſoldiers being out of breath, and wearied with running twice as far as uſual. But in my opinion this was a very ſhallow project, for there is a natural ar-

dor and alacrity of mind planted in every man, that inflames him with the desire of fighting; which should not be suppressed, but rather encouraged by a general: our ancestors therefore wisely ordained, that trumpets should sound on every side, and all the soldiers raise a shout, as well to encourage their companions, as daunt the enemy. CIVIL WAR.

On the signal given, our men rushed forward with their piles ready to be thrown; but observing the enemy did not advance to meet them of their own accord, halted about the middle of the way, lest they should spend their vigour before they approached them; for constant practice and experience had taught them what to do on all emergencies: having allowed themselves respite enough to take breath, they renewed their course, cast their piles, and immediately charged the enemy sword in hand, as CÆSAR had commanded them. Nor did POMPEY's men betray want of presence of mind upon this occasion, for they maintained their ranks, sustained our charge, received our piles, and having cast their own, had quickly recourse to their swords. The battle begins.

At the same instant all POMPEY's cavalry sallied from the left, according to their orders, attended by the archers. Our men, not being able to maintain their ground, retreated a few paces, which made the enemy pursue more eagerly, divide themselves into several squadrons, and endeavour to inclose that part of our army. Which CÆSAR observing, gave the fourth line, which consisted of six cohorts, the appointed signal: upon which they charged POMPEY's horse so vigorously, that they routed and obliged them to fly for refuge to the highest mountains. Their retreat exposed the archers and slingers to the fury of our soldiers, who cut them to pieces; and pursuing their success, surrounded POMPEY's left wing, and attacked his army in the rear, maugre all the resistance he was able to make. At the same instant CÆSAR ordered the third line to advance, which hitherto had had no share in the action: thus the enemy were entirely routed; for our men being relieved by fresh supplies, and their army surrounded, they could no longer maintain the dispute. Pompey's cavalry broken. His left wing surrounded. His whole army intirely routed.

Nor was CÆSAR deceived in his opinion, that the cohorts, which he disposed in the fourth line, against the enemy's horse, must make the first step towards the victory, as he had publickly declared, to encourage the soldiers; for they repulsed the cavalry, cut the archers and slingers to pieces, surrounded the enemy's left wing, and were the first

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Pompey retreats into the camp.

first that obliged them to fly. But POMPEY perceiving his horſe were routed, and that part of his army which he moſt depended on diſordered, deſpairing of the reſt, forthwith retreated on horſeback into his camp. As he entered the Prætorian port, he ſpoke aloud to the centurions who guarded it, that the ſoldiers might hear, "To take particular care to ſecure the camp againſt all accidents that might happen; and he would viſit all the other gates himſelf, to diſtribute the like orders." Having ſaid this, he retired to his pavillion, deſpairing of ſucceſs, yet attending the event.

CHAP. XXXIII.

POMPEY's ſoldiers thus obliged to retreat within their trenches, CÆSAR, not allowing them time to recover their diſorder, encouraged his men to puſh their fortune, and ſtorm the camp, though mightily fatigued with what they had already done, for the fight continued almoſt till noon, yet they chearfully obeyed his orders. The cohorts, who were left to guard the camp, made a vigorous reſiſtance; but their Thracians and barbarous allies did wonders: for the greateſt part of thoſe that had been engaged in the battle, being weary and frightened, laid down their arms and enſigns, meditating rather on their eſcape than the defence of the trenches. But at laſt being no longer able to ſtand the ſhowers of darts our ſoldiers poured upon them, after having received ſeveral wounds, they quitted the rampier, and under the conduct of the tribunes and centurions, betook themſelves to the higheſt mountains adjoining to the camp.

The luxury of Pompey's camp.

Having forced the trenches, we found ſeveral tables ready laid, ſide-boards adorned with abundance of plate, and the tents ſtrewed with freſh herbs; that of L. LENTULUS, with ſome others, were ſhaded with ivy; but ſeveral proofs of their luxury, and too great aſſurance of conqueſt, beſides theſe, appeared: from whence we may conclude they little dreamed of ſuch ill ſucceſs, having taken ſo much care to indulge their appetites. Yet notwithſtanding they fared thus deliciouſly, they often upbraided CÆSAR's army with exceſs, who always wanted even neceſſaries.

Pompey eſcapes to the ſea-ſide.

POMPEY, when our men had got over the rampier, mounted his horſe, having thrown away all marks of conſular dignity, went out of the Decuman port, and galloped

galloped towards Lariſſa: here he made no longer ſtay than to take freſh horſes; and being attended only by thirty followers that eſcaped the ſlaughter, poſted day and night till he arrived at the ſea, where he embarked in a tender; "Often complaining, how much he had been miſtaken, in thoſe he expected the victory from, who beginning firſt to fly, almoſt purſuaded him he had been betrayed."

Complains of his cavalry for deceiving him.

CHAP. XXXIV.

CÆSAR having rendered himſelf maſter of POMPEY's camp, deſired his ſoldiers, they would not be ſo intent upon the plunder, as to omit putting the laſt hand to the buſineſs: they granted his requeſt, and according to his orders began to draw lines about the mountain, where POMPEY's forces had eſcaped to. Which they perceiving, conſidered the place wanted water, therefore quitted it, and retired towards Lariſſa. Whereupon CÆSAR, dividing his army into three ſquadrons, left one in POMPEY's camp, another in his own, and went with four legions a nearer way, to intercept the enemy. Having marched about ſix miles, he drew his forces up in order of battle; which they obſerving, gained the neareſt hill, whoſe foot was waſhed by a river. CÆSAR, though his men had been fatigued all the day, and night approached, encouraged them to cut off the enemy's communication with the water, that they might not have an opportunity of drinking in the night. When our works were perfected, they ſent deputies to treat of a ſurrender: but ſome few ſenators that were of their party, had eſcaped by favour of the night.

Cæſar having gained the camp,

divides his army into three parts, one to purſue, and one to guard each camp.

Early in the morning CÆSAR commanded them all to deſcend from the hill, and deliver up their arms. They immediately obeyed his orders, and proſtrating themſelves at his feet, with tears in their eyes, beſought him to pardon their lives. He comforted them, commanding they ſhould riſe; then ſpeaking of his mercy to alleviate their fears, preſerved them all; ordering his ſoldiers neither to plunder, nor do them any injury. This affair ſo happily diſpatched, he ſent for other legions to relieve thoſe he had with him, whom he ordered to return to the camp for refreſhment, and arrived the ſame day at Lariſſa.

Some of the enemy's forces, that had attempted to eſcape, ſurrender.

Arrives at Lariſſa.

In

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In this battle, on CÆSAR's ſide, fell only two hundred ſoldiers, but he loſt thirty centurions, men of ſingular courage. Here CRASTINUS, likewiſe fighting bravely, loſt his life, being run into the mouth with a ſword; nor did he falſify the promiſe he made CÆSAR, when he ruſhed into the battle; for he certainly behaved himſelf to admiration, and deſerved as much applauſe as man could do. On POMPEY's ſide were killed fifteen thouſand, and above twenty-four thouſand taken priſoners, for thoſe that guarded the forts ſurrendered to SYLLA; though many eſcaped into the adjacent countries: a hundred and eighty colours were brought to CÆSAR, beſides nine eagles. And L. DOMITIUS, who made his eſcape to the mountains, growing faint, was killed by our cavalry.

Cæſar loſt only 200 in the battle, with thirty centurions and Craſtinus.

Domitius killed.

CHAP. XXXV.

WHILST theſe affairs were tranſacting, D. LÆLIUS arrived with his navy at Brindiſi, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the iſland at the mouth of the haven, as LIBO had formerly done. VATINIUS, governor of the place, following ANTONY's example, equipped ſeveral boats, and having enticed ſome of LÆLIUS's ſhips within the haven, took a five-banked gally, and two ſmaller veſſels that had ventured fartheſt within the port: then diſpoſing his cavalry along the ſhore, prevented the fleet from getting freſhed water. But LÆLIUS having choſen a more convenient ſeaſon of the year for ſailing, ſupplied his ſhips with water from Corfu and Durazzo; nor could he be perſuaded to quit the blockade, by the diſgrace of loſing his ſhips, or want of proviſions, till he had notice of the battle of Pharſalia.

Lælius blockades Brindiſi, as Libo had done.

Vatinius takes three of his ſhips.

About the ſame time likewiſe CASSIUS came to Sicily with a ſquadron of Syrian, Phœnician, and Cilician ſhips; where CÆSAR had a fleet commanded by P. SULPICIUS the prætor, and M. POMPONIUS; the firſt of theſe lay at Vibone in the ſtreights, the other at Meſſina, where CASSIUS arrived before POMPONIUS had notice of his coming: having ſurprized him in this diſorder without any guards, he took the opportunity of the wind, and ſent ſeveral fire-ſhips into the port of POMPONIUS's fleet, which immediately conſumed them all: they were thirty-five in number, amongſt which were twenty men of war: this action ſtruck ſuch a terror into Meſſina, that though there was a legion there in garriſon, the place had certainly ſurrendered,

Caſſius with his ſquadron comes to Sicily.

Burns 35 of Pomponius's ſhips at Meſſina.

Almoſt ſurprizes the town.

ſurrendered, had not an account of the action in Theſſaly opportunely arrived to encourage them. From hence CASSIUS went to Vibone, where finding SULPICIUS's fleet at anchor, to infuſe the like terror, the wind offering fair, he put the ſame ſtratagem in practice he had made uſe of at Meſſina, ſent forty fire-ſhips into the harbour, and the flame catching hold on both ſides, quickly reduced five gallies to aſhes: the wind had already began to diſperſe the fire farther, when the veteran ſoldiers, who had been left in garriſon there, till they recovered their health, could no longer endure the diſgrace, but of their own accord embarked, weighed anchor, and attacked CASSIUS's fleet ſo furiouſly, that they took two three-bank'd, and as many four-bank'd gallies; in one of which latter was CASSIUS himſelf, but he made his eſcape in the boat. Not many days after, the news of CÆSAR's victory was ſo ſtrongly confirmed, that it met with credit even amongſt POMPEY's party; for before they believed it a falſe report, ſpread abroad by CÆSAR's friends or lieutenants; and upon this CASSIUS left Vibone.

From thence he goes to Vibone.

Burns five of Sulpicius's gallies, but loſes four of his own.

On news of Cæſar's victory, quits the place.

CHAP. XXXVI.

CÆSAR, laying all other thoughts aſide, reſolved to purſue POMPEY ſo cloſe, wherever he went, as not to allow him time to levy new forces, and renew the war: he marched, therefore, every day as far as his cavalry could hold out, commanding one legion to follow after by leſſer journeys. POMPEY iſſued a proclamation at Amphipolis, for raiſing all the Grecians and citizens of Rome that were able to bear arms: but whether he did this the longer to conceal his deſign of flying, or to attempt the keeping of Macedonia, if no body purſued him, is hard to determine. One night he laid at anchor at Amphipolis, ſent for his old friends and acquaintance, of whom he borrowed monies for his neceſſary occaſions: and on notice of CÆSAR's approach, hoiſted ſail for Mytelene, where he arrived in a few days after. Here the wind detained him two days; but having encreaſed his fleet with a few gallies, he ſailed to Cilicia, and from thence to Cyprus, where he had notice that the townſmen and Roman citizens at Antioch, by general conſent, had ſeized the caſtle, reſolved to ſhut the gates of the town againſt him, and ſent deputies to ſuch of his party as had taken refuge in the neighbouring countries, not to

Cæſar purſues Pompey.

Pompey iſſues a proclamation for raiſing all the youth in Amphipolis.

From whence he ſails to Mytelene.

From thence to Cyprus.

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come near Antioch at their peril. L. LENTULUS, who had been conſul the year before PUB. LENTULUS, and ſome others of conſular rank, met the like reception at Rhodes, whither they followed POMPEY; for they no ſooner landed, but the gates of the town were ſhut againſt them, and meſſengers ſent to bid them quit the iſland; which obliged them, much againſt their wills, to weigh anchor: for by this time CÆSAR's purſuit was known amongſt all the countries round about.

Lentulus ſhut out of Rhodes.

POMPEY, on advice of theſe affairs, altering his deſign of going to Syria, ſeized all the money he found in the publick bank, borrowed as much more as he could of his acquaintance, ſent great quantities of iron on board for military uſes, and having raiſed two thouſand ſoldiers amongſt the publick officers of the place, merchants, ſervants, and ſuch other perſons as he thought fit for his purpoſe, went to Peluſium. Here, by accident, was king PTOLEMY, a youth under age, with a conſiderable army encamped near his ſiſter CLEOPATRA, whom, not many months before, by the aſſiſtance of his friends and relations, he had expelled the kingdom. POMPEY ſent to demand his protection and aſſiſtance, with leave to come to * Alexandria, upon the ſcore of the ancient friendſhip which had been between him and the young king's father. But his deputies having performed their commiſſion, began to diſcourſe too freely with the king's ſoldiers, adviſing them to aſſiſt their maſter, notwithſtanding the low ebb fortune had reduced him to; for in PTOLEMY's army were ſeveral men that had formerly ſerved under POMPEY, whom GABINIUS brought from Syria to Alexandria, and after the war was ended, left them in the late king's ſervice.

Pompey ſails to Peluſium.

Demands Ptolemy's protection.

* Now called Scandria.

PTOLEMY's friends, who were protectors of the kingdom during his minority, having notice of this, either out of fear, as they afterwards declared, leſt POMPEY ſhould corrupt the army, and render himſelf maſter of Alexandria and Egypt; or, deſpiſing his low condition (for generally friends turn enemies when fortune frowns) gave the deputies a grateful anſwer in publick, ordering POMPEY to attend the king; but privately contrived to ſend ACHILLAS, captain of the king's guards, a man of ſingular boldneſs, with SEPTIMIUS, tribune of the ſoldiers, to murder him. They ſpoke him very fair; and POMPEY having formerly known SEPTIMIUS, who commanded a company under him in the pirates war, was eaſily

Is invited on ſhore.

eaſily perſuaded to go on board a ſmall veſſel, with a ſlender attendance, where he was killed by ACHILLAS and SEPTIMIUS. L. LENTULUS likewiſe being taken by the king's command, was put to death in priſon.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Ampius prevented from taking the treaſure of Diana's temple by Cæſar's arrival.

ON CÆSAR's arrival in Aſia, he found T. AMPIUS had ſummoned all the ſenators in the province to attend him, that in their preſence he might take the money out of the temple of DIANA at Epheſus; but the news of CÆSAR's approach interrupted his deſign, and obliged him to fly: thus CÆSAR twice preſerved the treaſure of DIANA.

Strange prodigies that happened the ſame day Cæſar defeated Pompey.

It was remarked in the temple of MINERVA at Elis, upon a juſt calculation of the time, that the very ſame day CÆSAR defeated POMPEY, the image of victory, which fronted MINERVA, turned her face towards the portal of the temple. At the ſame inſtant ſuch a noiſe of fighting and trumpets alarmed the inhabitants of Antioch in Syria, that they repaired to their arms, and manned the walls. The like happened at Ptolemais: and at Pergamus, in the remote and hollow places of the temple, called by the Grecians ἄδυτα, where none, except the prieſts, may enter, was heard the beating of drums. But in the temple of victory in Trallis, where a ſtatue was conſecrated to CÆSAR, a palm had ſprouted between the joining of the ſtones that paved the floor.

Cæſar follows Pompey to Alexandria.

CÆSAR, having ſtaid a few days in Aſia, on advice that POMPEY had been ſeen at Cyprus, imagining he might be gone from thence to Egypt, becauſe of the intereſt he had in that kingdom, and the advantage of the place, reſolved to go to Alexandria with two legions, one brought from Theſſaly, the other detached from lieutenant FUSIUS's army in Achaia; eight hundred horſe, ten Rhodian gallies, and a few from Aſia. In theſe legions were not above three thouſand two hundred men, the reſt were either diſabled in the former actions, or ſo fatigued with long marches, they could not travel any farther. But CÆSAR depending on the fame of his former exploits, made no ſcruple of embarking with ſo ſmall an army, believing every place would gladly receive him.

Hears the news of his death.

At Alexandria he had news of POMPEY's death: ſo ſoon as he landed, he heard a noiſe amongſt the ſoldiers, whom PTOLEMY had left to guard the town, and found himſelf ſurrounded by a concourſe of people, who thought

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the king's authority diminiſhed, becauſe CÆSAR had the * conſular ax and bundle of rods carried before him. This tumult was ſoon appeaſed; but there were commotions amongſt the people every day after; and many of CÆSAR's ſoldiers were murdered in ſeveral parts of the city; which obliged him to ſend for thoſe other legions out of Aſia, which he had levied amongſt the remainders of POMPEY's army. But he was prevented ſailing from Alexandria himſelf by contrary † winds.

Inſurrections in Alexandria.

† Called by them Eteſiæ.

In the mean while, conſidering the diſpute between the king and his ſiſter belonged to the juriſdiction of the people of Rome, and to him as conſul, eſpecially ſince during his former conſulat, the ſenate had entered into league with PTOLEMY the father; he gave the king and CLEOPATRA to underſtand, they ought both to diſband their armies, and ſubmit their cauſe to his deciſion, rather than that of the ſword.

Cæſar ſummons Ptolemy and Cleopatra to attend him.

POTHINUS the eunuch, governor to the infant, was entruſted with the adminiſtration of affairs during his minority. He thinking it below the king to plead his cauſe before CÆSAR, firſt began to complain of the order; and having raiſed a faction amongſt the council, ſent privately for the army from Peluſium to Alexandria; and having conſtituted ACHILLAS, whom we ſpoke of before, general of the forces, prompted him to execute ſuch orders as he ſhould receive from him, by promiſes both from himſelf and the king. PTOLEMY the father, by his laſt will had divided his kingdom between the eldeſt of his two ſons and daughters, and in the ſame will conjured the people of Rome, by all the gods, and by the league between them, to ſee his teſtament performed. A copy of this will he ſent his ambaſſadors with to Rome, to be recorded in the treaſury; but the confuſion of the times preventing it, it was left with POMPEY: the original being ſealed up, was kept at Alexandria.

Pothinus ſends to Achillas to bring the army to Alexandria.

The late king's will.

Whilſt this affair was depending before CÆSAR, and he doing all he could to compoſe the differences between the two antagoniſts, on a ſudden he was informed the army was arrived at Alexandria. CÆSAR's forces were ſo ſmall, he could not run the hazard of a battle without the town; his buſineſs, therefore, was to contain himſelf within the walls, to ſecure the moſt convenient poſts, and there get intelligence of ACHILLAS's deſigns. However,

Achillas arrives.

* The Egyptian prieſts had a prophecy, that when the ax and bundle of rods entered Alexandria, their king's authority ſhould ceaſe.

ever, he commanded all the ſoldiers to repair to their arms; and deſired the king to ſend ſome perſons of the greateſt authority about him, to demand what ACHILLAS meant. DIOSCORIDES and SERAPION, who had both been embaſſadors at Rome, and in great credit with PTOLEMY the father, were employed in this affair. They no ſooner arrived in ACHILLAS's preſence, but, without ſtaying to hear their buſineſs, he commanded them to be ſeized and murdered: one was killed upon the ſpot, but the other having received a dangerous wound, was carried off for dead by his attendants. Upon which CÆSAR endeavoured to get PTOLEMY into his hands, thinking his name and title might be of great authority amongſt the people; and that the war would then appear the contrivance of a few villains and malecontents, begun without the king's knowledge or approbation.

Dioſcorides and Serapion ſent to demand his buſineſs.

One killed, the other wounded.

Cæſar gets the young king into his power.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

THE forces under ACHILLAS's command, were neither to be deſpiſed for want of number, courage, or experience. He had twenty thouſand men, part conſiſting of GABINIUS's troops, who by ſtaying ſo long in the country, had forgot the Roman name and diſcipline: moſt of them had married wives there, by whom they had children, and were become perfect Egyptians in their licentious way of living. To theſe were added many Buccaneers from Syria, Cilicia, and the neighbouring countries, with ſeveral outlaws and condemned perſons. For all our refugees were ſure of reception, and entered into pay at Alexandria, immediately upon giving in their names. If any of their companions chanced to be apprehended by his maſter, all the reſt would reſcue him from juſtice, knowing themſelves in the ſame condition. Theſe would often take upon them to demand the heads of chief miniſters, to plunder the rich to encreaſe their pay, to beſiege the king in his palace, to baniſh ſome, and ſend for others home; which liberties the Alexandrian army claims by preſcription. Beſides theſe forces, he had likewiſe two thouſand horſe, veteran troops, perpetually inured to war; who reſtored PTOLEMY the father to his kingdom, killed BIBULUS's two ſons, and put an end to the Egyptian war; ſufficient proofs of their experience.

An account of Achillas's forces.

The licentiouſneſs of the Alexandrian army.

Depending on this army, and deſpiſing the ſmall number of CÆSAR's troops, ACHILLAS entered Alexandria,

Achillas enters the town.

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dria, ſtormed that part of the city poſſeſſed by CÆSAR, and attempted to break into the palace, where he had taken up his quarters: but he, having diſpoſed his cohorts in the ſtreets and avenues, prevented his deſign. At the ſame inſtant ACHILLAS likewiſe attacked us from that ſide next the ſea; where the conflict was long maintained with great obſtinacy. The diſpute grew warm in ſeveral places at once, for the enemy detached a ſtrong party to ſeize the fifty gallies which had been ſent to POMPEY'S aſſiſtance, and returned home again after the battle of Pharſalia: moſt of theſe were three and five-banked gallies well equipped: beſides them were twenty others in the port, which ſerved as a conſtant guard to Alexandria; and had ACHILLAS rendered himſelf maſter of them and CÆSAR'S fleet, the ſea and haven being entirely his, he might have intercepted all our ſupplies. Theſe motives induced each party to do their utmoſt; for as they fought for victory, ſo we contended for our lives. But CÆSAR obtained the point; and becauſe he was not able to defend ſo many things with ſo inconſiderable a number of forces, he ſet the ſhipping on fire, with all the veſſels that rid at anchor in the road; then landed a party at Pharus, a wonderful tower, built to a prodigious height in an iſland from whence it takes its name. This iſle, lying directly over-againſt Alexandria, makes a haven: former kings have enlarged it nine hundred paces in length, by raiſing great mounts in the ſea, and brought it ſo near Alexandria, that they are joined together by a bridge. In this iſland dwell ſeveral Egyptians, who have built a town, and live by plundering the ſhips that are ſo unfortunate to be thrown upon their coaſt either by miſtake or tempeſt. For the entrance into the port is ſo narrow, no veſſel can put in without leave from thoſe that are maſters of Pharus.

Storms Cæſar's quarters; but is repulſed.

The fight warmly maintained. Cæſar burns the Alexandrian fleet.

Gains Pharus: its deſcription.

CÆSAR therefore conſidering the importance of this place, whilſt the enemy were engaged in the aſſault, landed his ſoldiers, took the tower, and put a garriſon there. Thus he ſecured acceſs by ſea for ſupplies of men and corn, for he had diſpatched meſſengers to all the adjacent ſtates for aſſiſtance. In ſome parts of the town victory inclined to neither ſide, both parties gave over with equal loſs, for the narrowneſs of the paſſes enabled our men to maintain their ground: a few being killed on both ſides, CÆSAR ſecured the moſt neceſſary places, and fortified them in the night. In this quarter was contained a ſmall part of the king's palace, where CÆSAR had been lodged

Secures acceſs by ſea, and ſends to the adjacent ſtates for ſupplies.

lodged upon his firſt arrival, to which joined the theatre, that ſerved inſtead of a caſtle, commanding an avenue to the port and arſenal. The following days CÆSAR employed in enlarging his works, and building a wall, that he might not be obliged to fight againſt his will.

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and fortifies his quarters.

In the mean while, PTOLEMY's youngeſt daughter, hoping the throne would be vacant, eſcaped out of the palace to the army, where ſhe joined with ACHILLAS; but they ſoon diſagreed, which made well for the ſoldiers, whoſe affections were dearly bought by either party. Whilſt the camp was employed in this affair, POTHINUS, the infant's governor, and protector of the kingdom, ſent meſſengers, through CÆSAR's part of the town, to adviſe ACHILLAS to go on with his enterprize, and not deſpair of ſucceſs; but his courier was ſurprized, confeſſed the whole matter; upon which CÆSAR put POTHINUS to death: and thus began the Alexandrian war.

Ptolemy's youngeſt daughter goes over to Achillas, in hopes of being queen. They fall out.

Pothinus killed.

HIRTIUS PANSA, or OPPIUS's COMMENTARY OF THE ALEXANDRIAN WAR.

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CHAP. I.

ALEX. WAR.

Cæſar's preparations for the war.

THE Alexandrian war declared, CÆSAR ſent to Rhodes, Syria, and Cilicia for his fleet; to Crete for archers, and to MALCUS, king of Nabathæa, for cavalry; not omitting to get engines, corn, and all kind of proviſions. The works were daily encreaſed, and ſuch parts of the town as appeared leſs tenable, were ſtrengthened with teſtudo's and mantlets. Holes were made in the walls, to let the battering-rams through; and whatever houſes were demoliſhed, or taken in by force, he encompaſſed within the fortifications.

Their manner of building in Alexandria,

Alexandria is almoſt proof againſt fire, the houſes being built without wood, and ſtanding at a moderate diſtance from each other; for the roofs are arched, and either tiled

or plaiſtered. CÆSAR left nothing unattempted to encloſe the ſmalleſt part of the town within his lines, which is divided from the reſt by a moraſs towards the ſouth; that his forces might lie more compact together, relieve each other, when over-powered by the enemy, with greater eaſe, and be ſupplied with water and forage; both which the moraſs abounded with, and they wanted extremely, eſpecially water. Mean while the Alexandrians were as buſy as CÆSAR, for they ſent deputies to raiſe forces in all parts of Egypt and the neighbouring countries; prepared vaſt quantities of darts and engines, with innumerable troops of ſoldiers: their magazines were plentifully ſtored; they armed all their ſlaves that were fit for ſervice, who were maintained at the richeſt citizens expence. Theſe were employed to guard the remoteſt parts of the town; but the veteran cohorts were quartered in the moſt ſpacious places of the city, that, whatever ſide was ſtormed, they might readily come to maintain it. All the avenues and gates they fortified with a tripple rampier, built of ſquare ſtones, and raiſed compleatly forty foot high. The lower parts of the town were ſecured with turrets of ten ſtories; beſides, they built ſeveral caſtles upon wheels, of an equal height with the former; and where the ſtreets were even, drew them up and down with horſes, to what part they thought convenient.

The Alexandrians preparations.

Moving towers.

The city being rich and populous, furniſhed them with all materials they had occaſion for. The inhabitants were ſo ingenious and acute, they made whatever they ſaw us do, with ſo much diſpatch, that we rather appeared to imitate them, than they to copy after us: beſides, their own fancy ſupplied them with ſeveral machines; ſo at once they defended their own, and aſſaulted our fortifications. Their noblemen were a ſpur to their induſtry, declaring at council, and in their harangues, "That the Romans, according to their ancient cuſtom, were come to render themſelves maſters, by degrees, of all Egypt: that POMPEY retreated thither after his defeat; but CÆSAR was come with his forces, nor returned, though he heard of his rival's death; therefore they might depend upon it, unleſs they immediately expelled him their country, from a kingdom they would find themſelves reduced to a province: for nothing but the ſeaſon of the year prevented his receiving ſupplies from beyond ſea."

The induſtry and ingenuity of the Egyptians.

The noblemens arguments to prompt the people to be laborious

In the mean time, the miſunderſtanding between ACHILLAS, who commanded the veteran army, and ARSI-

Achillas killed by Arſinoe.

ALEX. WAR.

ARSINOE, the king's younger ſiſter, daily encreaſed; each laid wait for the other, ſtriving to engroſs the ſupreme authority; but ARSINOE, by the aſſiſtance of her governor, the eunuch GANYMEDE, prevailed, and killed ACHILLAS. After his death ſhe governed without a partner, and conferred the command of the army upon GANYMEDE; who on his entry into that office encreaſed the ſoldiers pay, and diſcharged all other parts of his duty with equal diligence.

She makes Ganymede general in his ſtead.

CHAP. II.

THE greateſt part of Alexandria is undermined, and has aquæducts to the Nile, that furniſh private houſes with water, which, after it is ſettled, becomes very clear. This is preſerved for the uſe of the maſter and his relations; for, when the water firſt comes in, it is ſo thick and muddy, it breeds ſeveral diſtempers; however, the ſervants and meaner ſort are forced to be contented with it, for there is not a fountain in all the city. The river lay on the other ſide the town that was poſſeſſed by the Egyptians; which GANYMEDE conſidering, hoped to deprive our army of freſh water; who being diſtributed into ſeveral ſtreets, and quartered in private houſes, that they might the eaſilier defend the works, made uſe of the water they found in the dreins and ciſterns.

The aquæducts at Alexandria, from the Nile.

Ganymede endeavours to deprive the Romans of freſh water.

His project being approved, he began a very difficult and laborious taſk. Having ſtopped up all the conduits that ſupplied his part of the city, he drew vaſt quantities of water out of the ſea, by the help of certain engines, to the higher ground; from whence he continually poured it down upon CÆSAR's aquæducts. This immediately made the water ſalter than uſual in the neareſt houſes; occaſioned great wonder amongſt the ſoldiers, who could not conceive the reaſon of it, and could hardly believe their ſenſes, when they found the ciſterns ſomething lower in the town ſtill taſted as uſual: this cauſed perpetual diſputes, and the difference between them was often compared. But not long after, the higheſt ciſterns became ſo very ſalt, it was impoſſible to drink their water, and the lower began to be infected with the ſame brackiſh taſte.

Brings water from the ſea to corrupt Cæſar's conduits.

The Romans ſtrangely ſurprized.

This immediately convinced them of the occaſion, and ſo ſurprized them all, they thought themſelves reduced to the laſt extremities. Some wondered why CÆSAR delayed going on ſhip-board; and others apprehended ſomething

Deſirous to quit the place.

ſomething worſe would follow, becauſe it was impoſſible to conceal their retreat from the Alexandrians that were ſo nigh them, or to embark whilſt they purſued: For there were ſeveral of the townſmen within CÆSAR's fortifications, whom he had permitted to ſtay in their houſes, becauſe they openly pretended to be in his intereſt, and deſert their fellow-citizens. But I ſhall not throw away my time in defending either their integrity or their conduct, ſince they who are acquainted with their country and temper, know them to be the fitteſt inſtruments in the world for treaſon.

Cæſar's ſpeech; he perſuades them to the contrary.

CÆSAR took care to make his ſoldiers eaſy, by comforting and reaſoning the caſe with them. "He aſſured them they might find freſh water any where but in the aquæducts, for all ſea-coaſts naturally abounded with pleaſant ſprings; but ſhould the ſoil of Egypt be different from all the world beſides, they had no reaſon to deſpair, ſince the ſea was open; the enemy had no fleet to prevent their fetching water either from Parætonium on the left, or Pharus on the right; which places lying different ways, the wind would perpetually ſerve fair from one or other of them. But as for retreating, that thought ſhould not find entertainment with ſuch as had any reſpect for their lives, much leſs with thoſe who preferred their honour before any other conſiderations: for if they perceived it ſo difficult to repulſe the enemy by the aſſiſtance of their works, thoſe once deſerted, they muſt not expect to be equal to them either in place or number. Beſides, it would be as tedious as difficult to go on board, ſince they muſt be obliged to get into the boats before they could embark: whereas the Alexandrians were very nimble, underſtood the nature of the place and buildings, and being fluſhed with ſucceſs, would certainly poſſeſs themſelves of the riſing ground, annoy them from the tops of their houſes, and effectually prevent their retreat. Wherefore they muſt lay aſide all deſigns of that nature, and think of nothing but the neceſſity of conquering."

He commands them to ſink wells, and they find water.

Having encouraged his men by this harangue, he commanded the centurions to employ the ſoldiers day and night in ſinking wells, laying aſide all other buſineſs. The work begun, every one chearfully undertook his ſhare of the labour, and in one night's time was diſcovered a ſpring which furniſhed the army with plenty of freſh water: ſo eaſily was the Alexandrian project, with all their labour and machines, defeated!

CHAP.

C. J. CÆSAR'S

CHAP. III.

The thirty-ſeventh legion arrives on the coaſt of Africk.

TWO days after, the thirty-ſeventh legion, part of POMPEY's troops that had ſurrendered themſelves, arrived on the African coaſts, a little above Alexandria; whither being ſent by DOMITIUS CALVINUS, with corn, arms, darts and engines, they were prevented from finiſhing their voyage by an eaſterly wind, that had continued ſeveral days together; but the coaſts thereabout are excellent good for riding at anchor. They had now been detained a conſiderable time, and freſh water began to grow ſcarce; wherefore they ſent a ſmall veſſel to row againſt the wind, and carry CÆSAR notice of their being there.

Sends Cæſar word they want water, and are detained by contrary winds.

Cæſar embarks to meet them.

Without conſulting any one but himſelf about this affair, he immediately hoiſted ſail, and commanded all the fleet to follow him, leaving his land-forces behind him, becauſe he was not willing the works ſhould be naked during ſo long an abſence. When he arrived at * Cherſoneſus, he ſent his ſailors on ſhore to get freſh water; ſome of theſe venturing too far within the land for plunder, were taken by the enemy's horſe; who from their confeſſion learned CÆSAR was on board, without any ſoldiers. On this advice, they thought fortune had bleſſed them with an happy opportunity; wherefore they manned all the veſſels they had ready equipped, and met CÆSAR as he returned. But he declined fighting, becauſe he had no ſoldiers with him; it was already paſt four in the afternoon, and the approaching night would make them fight more couragiouſly, who were acquainted with the place: nor would it avail him any thing to encourage his men, when neither valour nor cowardice could be obſerved. Wherefore he drew all his ſhips to the ſhore, where he imagined the enemy would hardly follow him; but one Rhodian galley of his right wing ſtood out at ſome diſtance from the reſt. The enemy obſerving this, could not contain themſelves any longer, but immediately detached four large ſhips, with ſeveral ſmaller veſſels, to attack her. Which obliged CÆSAR to ſend her aſſiſtance, to prevent ſo great a diſgrace as the loſs of one of his gallies within his own view; though whatever ill conſequences ſhould happen upon it, he thought he deſerved them for being ſo raſh.

The enemy having notice of his voyage, reſolve to intercept him.

Cæſar declines fighting.

One Rhodian gally attacked, but reſcued.

* This is neither the Taurica, Cimbrica, nor Græca Cherſoneſus, nor to be found in any geographer but PTOLEMY.

raſh. Thus the fight began, and the Rhodians bore briſkly up to the enemy; for ſince they had already given ſo many proofs of their valour and experience, now they willingly endured the burthen of the day, that it might not be reported the Romans had ſuffered by their miſmanagement. In fine, we got the better, took a four-banked galley, and ſunk another, after having killed all the men on board: we made a great ſlaughter likewiſe amongſt the ſoldiers that were in the other gallies, and had not night protected them, ſhould have taken all their fleet. Whilſt the enemy were ſurprized with this diſaſter, the wind blowing gently, CÆSAR towed his tranſports with his gallies to Alexandria.

The enemy engaged and defeated.

Cæſar gets ſafe with his tranſports to Alexandria.

CHAP. IV.

THE Egyptians were ſo terrified at this defeat, to find themſelves not only out-done in the courage of their ſoldiers, but experience of their pilots, * they immediately repaired to the higher ground, to the tops of their houſes, and made blockades to defend them: for they were apprehenſive of being attacked by our fleet, even at land. But GANYMEDE, having encouraged them, by promiſing in council he would not only reſtore the veſſels they had loſt, but encreaſe their number, they began with great hope and chearfulneſs to repair their old ſhips, beſtowing more labour upon the buſineſs than they at firſt deſigned; not at all diſcouraged with the loſs of above an hundred and ten gallies in their ports and arſenal. For they knew, if they became maſters of the ſea, they could eaſily intercept all CÆSAR's ſupplies. Seamen, wherewith Alexandria and the adjacent coaſts abound, who have been brought up to the buſineſs from their infancy, chearfully liſted themſelves for their country's ſervice: they remembered what exploits they had formerly done, even with their little ſhips, and therefore ſet all hands to work for equipping the fleet.

The Egyptians repair their fleet.

Their induſtry.

All the veſſels that uſe to receive toll at the ſeven mouths of the Nile, were recalled to Alexandria; the old gallies, which had long been laid up in the king's private arſenals, were refitted; and finding they wanted oars, they made uſe of planks, pulled off from the portico's, ſchools, and publick buildings, to ſerve the preſent

* Here is ſomething wanting in the original, and to me the text likewiſe appears corrupt: this I ſuppoſe to be the meaning of the author; but I leave every one to make uſe of his own opinion.

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Their expedition, and number of their ſhips.

ſent occaſion: for they knew they were not going a long voyage, being to engage almoſt in the haven. Thus their natural genius ſupplied their neceſſities. In a very few days, beyond expectation, they had equipped two and twenty four-bank'd and five five-bank'd gallies, with ſeveral ſmaller veſſels. They tried in the haven how well they could row; and having put a ſufficient number of marines on board, prepared themſelves for the engagement.

Cæſar's fleet.

CÆSAR had nine Rhodian gallies (for of ten which the iſlanders ſent him, one foundered on the Egyptian coaſt) eight from Pontus, five from Lycia, and twelve from Aſia: but amongſt theſe he had only five gallies with five banks of oars, and ten with four; all the reſt were ſmaller ſhips, and moſt of them without decks: however, depending on the courage of his ſoldiers, and having already tried the enemy's forces, he reſolved to give them battle.

Both fleets drawn up.

Thus both navies promiſing themſelves ſucceſs, put out to ſea: CÆSAR ſailing round Pharus, drew his gallies up over-againſt the enemy in this order. He placed the Rhodian ſquadron in the right, that of Pontus in the left, about four hundred paces diſtant from the other, that they might have room enough to tack about: in a ſecond line behind theſe he diſpoſed the reſt of his ſhips for a reſerve, giving each of them orders to attend and relieve

Cæſar's.

The Egyptians fleet.

ſuch particular gallies. The Alexandrians, who left the port with no leſs aſſurance, diſpoſed two and twenty gallies in the line of battle, placing the reſt behind: but beſides theſe, they had a great many boats and ſmaller veſ-

* Malleoli.

ſels, that carried fire and * arrows loaden with cumbuſtible matter, that burnt whatever they fixed to; deſigning by their number, noiſe, and flames, to ſtrike a terror into our gallies. Between both navies on the African ſide (for half of Alexandria is in Africk) were certain flats, and each expected a conſiderable time whether ſhould paſs them firſt; becauſe they who came over them, would find it a difficult matter to retreat again when they deſired it.

EUPHRANOR was admiral of the Rhodian ſquadron, who for his greatneſs of mind, deſerved rather to be ranked amongſt the Romans than the Grecians; and had deſervedly been conſtituted admiral for his courage and experience.

Euphranor's ſpeech to Cæſar.

He, perceiving CÆSAR's deſign, ſaid; "You ſeem apprehenſive, Sir, of croſſing the ſhallows firſt, leſt you ſhould be obliged to engage the enemy before the reſt of the fleet comes up to your aſſiſtance. Commit that affair

to my charge, I will ſuſtain their attack till the other gallies get over, and ſhew you, my countrymen deſerve your good opinion: for we can no longer endure the diſgrace of being thus inſulted by the Egyptians." CÆSAR having applauded and encouraged his deſign, gave the ſignal. Four Rhodian gallies had no ſooner paſſed the flats, but they were ſurrounded by the Alexandrians, who attacked them with great fury; but they quickly extricated themſelves, and were ſo very dextrous, that notwithſtanding the diſparity of number, they loſt not an oar, never gave the enemy an opportunity of coming upon their broadſides, but always received them on their beaks: by this time the reſt followed after, and the place being narrow, art was obliged to give place to courage. All the Alexandrians, and our ſoldiers that were left behind to guard the fortifications, attending with great impatience the ſucceſs of the day, mounted to the tops of the higheſt houſes, that commanded the fartheſt proſpect, where both ſides earneſtly beſought the gods for victory. But the battle was very unequal, for a defeat would have deprived us of all hopes of retreating, either by ſea or land; and victory could ſecure us nothing. Whereas, had ſucceſs attended their fleet, they had been entire maſters of all; and though they were defeated, might again try their fortune. Add to this the hardſhip of ſo many perſons ſafety depending on ſo few, whoſe want of courage muſt have proved fatal to thoſe, who had not the liberty to fight for themſelves. Theſe arguments CÆSAR had urged ſome days before, that they might maintain the fight with greater valour, ſince the lives of their companions were committed to their charge; and each private ſoldier, following his example, conjured his comrade to behave himſelf worthy of the truſt repoſed in him, by thoſe who ventured the fate of a battle upon his courage. Spurred by theſe powerful motives, they laid about them ſo furiouſly, that neither the enemy's numbers nor experience availed them any thing; nor could ſo vaſt a multitude produce men enough to equal ours in valour. In this battle we took a five-banked and a two-banked galley, with all the ſoldiers and ſailors on board, and ſunk three others, without the loſs of a ſingle veſſel. The reſt eſcaped to the town, being ſheltered by the mole and forts, which hindered our purſuit.

He begins the fight.

The dexterity of the Rhodians.

Cæſar gets the victory, takes two ſhips, ſinks three.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Cæsar attacks the mole;

TO prevent the like inconvenience for the future, CÆSAR thought it of great importance to render himself master both of the mole and island: greatest part of his works being already finished, he believed his forces were sufficient to maintain their ground, and assault the isle. Having resolved upon the attempt, he ordered ten cohorts, with some select light-armed cavalry of Gaul, to embark in boats and small vessels; and at the same time, to divide the enemy's forces, attacked the island on the other side with his gallies; promising great rewards to him that first obtained the land. At first the Egyptians returned our assault with equal fury; for the same instant they cast darts upon us from the tops of their houses, they likewise maintained the shore; which being steep, our soldiers could not easily ascend it. In the mean while they dexterously defended the entrance to the port, by the assistance of their boats, and five gallies. But the coast being fathomed, and the shallows discovered, a few of our men recovered the shore; they were immediately followed by others, who vigorously charged the islanders that stood upon the higher ground, and routed them. These being put to flight, the rest no longer troubled themselves to secure the haven, but quitting their gallies, hastened to the town to defend their houses.

routs the Pharians, gains the island,

Nor were they able long to secure their fortifications, though their turrets (if we may compare small things with greater) resembled those of Alexandria; and being joined together, supplied the want of a wall. Our soldiers had neither scaling-ladders, nor any other things necessary for an assault; but fear, which often deprives men both of their senses and limbs, so infatuated the enemy, that they, who but the moment before thought themselves an equal match for us upon the even ground, being terrified with their flight, did not think themselves now secure on the tops of their houses thirty foot high; but descending to the mole, plunged into the sea, and swam eight hundred paces to the town. However, several were taken and killed, but the number of the prisoners did not amount to above six hundred.

and the town.

Several taken and killed.

Cæsar fortifies the castle at the foot of the bridge neareſt Pharus; attacks the other.

CÆSAR gave the soldiers free leave to plunder, commanded the houses to be levelled, but fortified the castle at the foot of the bridge which was nearest Pharus, and placed

placed a garriſon in it. Thus the Pharians deſerted their quarters; but the ſtrongeſt part of the bridge was ſtill poſſeſſed by the Alexandrians. This CÆSAR likewiſe aſſaulted the day after, knowing when he had obtained them both, he ſhould effectually prevent all excurſions and ſurprizes. He quickly cleared the ſhore of the enemy, by the darts and engines from on board, obliged them to retreat into the town; and having landed about three cohorts, for the place was ſo narrow it would contain no more, the reſt were left behind to guard his ſhips. Having gained the ſhore, he commanded that part of the bridge towards the enemy to be ſecured by a rampier, and the arch to be ſtopped up with ſtones, where their veſſels uſually got out. His orders were ſo well performed, not a cock-boat could get through, and the other part of the work was already begun, when all the Alexandrian forces ſallied out of the town, and poſted themſelves in an open place oppoſite to the bridge, attacking the mole at the ſame inſtant, from on board the veſſels which they uſually ſent through the arches to burn our tranſports. Thus they aſſaulted us in their ſhips, and from the platform: we from the bridge and mole returned their charge.

Gains the ſhore, ſtops an arch up under the bridge, and begins to throw up a rampier.

All the enemy's forces ſally from the town, to attack the Romans likewiſe from on board.

Whilſt CÆSAR was employed in encouraging his men, and diſtributing the neceſſary orders, ſeveral of the rowers and ſailors leaped on ſhore, ſome out of curioſity, others to defend the place. At firſt they repulſed the enemy's veſſels from the mole with ſtones and ſlings, doing great execution at the ſame inſtant with their darts. But the Alexandrians having removed a ſmall diſtance from that poſt, and landed a few ſoldiers on their flank, upon which, as they made a diſorderly ſally, obſerving neither ranks nor files, ſo they now began to retreat to their gallies with the utmoſt precipitation. Encouraged by their flight, the Alexandrians quitted their ſhips, and cloſely purſued our men whilſt they were frightened and in diſorder; which they that remained in the gallies perceiving, hauled up the ladders, and immediately put off from the ſhore, to prevent the enemy's boarding them. The three cohorts on the bridge that firſt landed, finding all things in ſuch confuſion, hearing a noiſe behind them, ſeeing their party routed, being plyed with ſhowers of darts, apprehending they ſhould be ſurrounded, and have their retreat cut off by the departure of the ſhips, quitted the works, and retired as faſt as they could towards the gallies. Some getting on board the neareſt veſſels, over-loaded and ſunk them;

Several of Cæſar's ſeamen come on ſhore, at firſt make the enemy retreat;

but are routed, and occaſion the loſs of the place.

Cæſar's ſoldiers fly with great confuſion.

Some veſſels overloaden and ſunk,

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them; others diſputing with themſelves, whether they ſhould maintain their ground or no, were cut to pieces by the Alexandrians: ſome had the good fortune to preſerve their lives, by getting into empty veſſels that rode at anchor, others taking abundance of pains, by the aſſiſtance of their ſhields, reached the neareſt gallies.

CÆSAR, who ſhared with his ſoldiers in the danger of this enterprize, did his utmoſt endeavour to ſtop their flight from the bridge and fortifications; but finding the reſt were gone, he likewiſe retreated to his galley. He was followed by ſuch a crowd, the ſailors had neither room to work, nor thruſt the veſſel off the ſhore; whereupon CÆSAR, ſuſpecting what afterwards happened, flung himſelf into the ſea, and ſwam to another ſhip further off: from thence he ſent ſeveral boats to the aſſiſtance of his men, preſerved ſome, but the veſſel with moſt on board was ſunk. In this action we loſt about four hundred legionary ſoldiers, of ſailors and rowers ſomething above that number. The Alexandrians having gained their point, fortified the caſtle with ſtrong works and engines, pulled out the ſtones from under the arch, and made the paſſage clear as formerly.

Cæſar eſcapes by ſwimming.

Cæſar loſt eight hundred in this action.

CHAP. VI.

The Romans courage.

OUR ſoldiers were ſo far from being diſcouraged by their late misfortune, that it only ſerved them for a ſpur to aſſault the enemy's works with greater vigour; in their daily ſkirmiſhes they were ſucceſsful, and * took many of the Alexandrians priſoners. In fine, they were ſo eager to regain their credit, that CÆSAR's edict to the contrary could not put a ſtop to their labour or deſire of fighting; whence it plainly appeared, the legions had more occaſion to be reſtrained from, than prompted to embark in the moſt dangerous enterprizes.

The Alexandrians deſire their king's liberty.

The Alexandrians perceiving nothing could daunt the Romans, that ſucceſs confirmed, and ill fortune made them more couragious than before, as we imagine, prompted by the king's officers that were in CÆSAR's quarters, or their own deſign, privately ratified by him, ſent embaſſadors to deſire CÆSAR would grant their king his liberty, and ſuffer him to come to his people, for they were all ready to ſubmit to his royal pleaſure, being weary of a girl's

* The text in this place is ſo corrupt, all we can do is to gueſs at the author's meaning.

girl's precarious reign, and the inſufferable tyranny of GANYMEDE. Should his majeſty think fit to conclude a peace with CÆSAR, no apprehenſions whatever ſhould prevent their ſubmitting to his commands.

Their diſſimulation.

Though CÆSAR knew the Egyptians to be a deceitful people, that always talked of one thing whilſt they meant another; yet he thought it convenient to grant their requeſt. For if they deſigned to perform their promiſe, he believed the king would make them faithful to the Romans: but if they only wanted a prince to head their army, which ſeemed more agreeable to their temper, he eſteemed it abundantly more glorious and honourable to wage war againſt a crowned head, than vagabonds and ſcoundrels. Having therefore adviſed the young prince, "To conſult the intereſt of his hereditary kingdom, to ſpare ſo famous a country, which had already ſuffered too much by fire and ruin; to reduce his ſubjects to reaſon, protect them, and preſerve his faith with the people of Rome, ſince CÆSAR had repoſed ſo entire a confidence in him, as to deliver their monarch to thoſe that were actually in arms againſt him; giving him his hand, he diſmiſſed the youth now almoſt at age." But he, whoſe mind had already been imbued with fallacious principles, that he might not degenerate from the nature of his country; "With tears in his eyes deſired he might not go, proteſting empire was not dearer to him than CÆSAR's preſence." Who, being moved to behold the boy's concern, dried his tears, telling him, If he deſigned it, they might quickly meet again; and ſo ſent him away. But PTOLEMY, as if he had made his eſcape out of priſon, ſoon began to wage war ſo furiouſly upon CÆSAR, that it plainly appeared the tears he ſhed proceeded from a quite different cauſe than he pretended. Several of CÆSAR's lieutenants, friends, centurions and ſoldiers, were well enough pleaſed, that his eaſy temper had been impoſed on by ſo early an impoſtor: not conſidering CÆSAR had been induced to let him go, more by mature conſideration than good nature.

Cæſar grants their requeſt, and why.

His ſpeech to Ptolemy at parting.

Ptolemy's diſſimulation.

He makes war upon Cæſar.

The Alexandrians, having now got the general they deſired, found not their affairs in a better poſture than before: contrary to their expectations, they had the misfortune to ſee nothing done, whilſt the ſoldiers deſpiſed the king's age and weakneſs; and news arrived of conſiderable ſupplies, that were marching by land from Syria and Cilicia to CÆSAR's aſſiſtance, which he himſelf

ALEX. WAR.

The Egyptians design to intercept Cæsar's convoys.

Cæsar sends his fleet to disappoint them.

self as yet knew nothing of. In the mean while, they resolved to intercept those provisions which were coming by sea; therefore, having equipped a fleet for this purpose, they disposed their ships in convenient places, near Canopus, to attend the arrival of our convoy. CÆSAR, having notice of their design, gave orders his fleet should immediately put out to sea: he constituted TIBERIUS NERO admiral, who was attended by EUPHRANOR and his Rhodian gallies, without whom was no engagement, nor the least success. But fortune, who frequently reserves those to harder destiny, on whom she has bestowed many favours, now forsook EUPHRANOR. When our fleet arrived at Canopus, and both navies were drawn up in order of battle, according to his usual custom, he began the engagement, split and sunk a three-banked galley of the enemy's; but pursuing another too far, and the rest of his squadron following but slowly, he was surrounded by the Alexandrians. No galley came up to his relief, either believing his courage and good fortune able to protect him, or fearing to venture so far themselves. Thus the only man that behaved himself

Euphranor dies bravely.

well in this action, perished with his victorious galley.

CHAP. VII.

Mithridates arrived at Pelusium; which he takes by storm.

WHILST these affairs were in agitation, MITHRIDATES of Pergamus, descended from a noble family, equally renowned for his courage, conduct, fidelity, and the place he possessed in CÆSAR's favour, who had been sent, at the beginning of the Alexandrian war, to raise forces in Syria and Cilicia, was arrived by land at Pelusium, where Syria and Egypt join, with a considerable army, which his diligence, and the affection of the country had quickly levied. In this town ACHILLAS had placed a strong garrison, to secure a place of so great importance: for all Egypt towards the sea is guarded by Pharus, and Pelusium by land. However, MITHRIDATES stormed the place, and notwithstanding the defence the besieged could make, his army was so great, he still detached fresh men to relieve the faint and wounded: by continuing the assault, he carried the place the same day he sat down before it, and placed a garrison of his own there. After this success he marched towards Alexandria to join CÆSAR, taking in all the countries by the way, and making

Marches towards Alexandria.

them

them declare for CÆSAR, by vertue of that authority which generally attends the conqueror.

The moſt conſiderable town in thoſe parts, at no great diſtance from Alexandria, is Delta, which borrows its name from the ſimilitude its form has to the Grecian letter: For here a branch of the river Nile divides itſelf into two ſeveral ſtreams, which ſeparating by degrees, before they diſembogue themſelves into the ſea, run at a conſiderable diſtance from each other. PTOLEMY having notice of MITHRIDATES's approach to this place, and knowing he muſt of neceſſity paſs the river there, ſent a conſiderable army to oppoſe him, hoping to defeat, or at leaſt put a ſtop to his journey: the former of theſe would have compleated his wiſhes; but to prevent MITHRIDATES's joining with CÆSAR, was enough to ſecure him from danger. Part of the king's forces having paſſed the river, made what haſte they could to engage him, that they might engroſs the glory of the victory to themſelves: but MITHRIDATES wiſely ſuſtained their charge by the aſſiſtance of a rampier, having fortified his camp after the Roman manner; and perceiving they aſſaulted his works too raſhly, ſallying out, he made a great ſlaughter amongſt them. And had not their knowledge of the country, and the veſſels they croſſed the river in, protected them, they had been entirely defeated. However, having retreated a little way, they joined the reſt of the army, and began a ſecond time to ſtorm MITHRIDATES's trenches.

Delta, why called ſo.

Ptolemy ſends a party to ſtop his paſſage,

but they are put to flight.

A ſecond attempt to ſtorm his trenches.

Whereupon he diſpatched a courier to CÆSAR, with an account of the action: PTOLEMY likewiſe had notice of it from his forces: ſo both he and CÆSAR ſet out almoſt the ſame inſtant, one to ſurprize, the other to relieve MITHRIDATES. The king took the ſhorter cut by the river Nile, on which he had a conſiderable navy ready fitted out. But CÆSAR, to avoid engaging him in his paſſage, ſailed by the African ſhore, and joined the victorious MITHRIDATES before the king's army arrived.

PTOLEMY had encamped in a place well fortified by nature; it was a riſing ground ſurrounded by a plain, and ſecured on three ſeveral ſides by different fences, the Nile, a mountain, and a moraſs. Between this place and CÆSAR's rout, about ſeven miles diſtant from PTOLEMY's quarters, ran a narrow river with very ſteep banks, which diſcharged itſelf into the Nile: the king, upon

Ptolemy encamped.

ALEX. WAR.

He ſends his cavalry to oppoſe Cæſar, paſſing a branch of the Nile;

notice that CÆSAR was marching that way, detached all his cavalry, with the choiceſt light-armed foot, to oppoſe his croſſing the river, and engage him to advantage. Here courage had no opportunity to exert itſelf, nor did the cowardly run any hazard; but our men, no longer enduring to have their paſſage ſtopped by the Alexandrians, whilſt the German horſe were finding out fords, a party of our cavalry ſwam croſs the river, where the banks were eaſieſt of aſcent; and the legionary ſoldiers having cut down great trees that extended from one ſide to the other, flung them into the water, ſtrowed faſcines upon them, and croſſed the river. The enemy were ſo much afraid of being charged by them, they immediately fled; but few eſcaped the ſlaughter to carry the king news of the action.

but Cæſar defeats them. Marches to Ptolemy's camp.

This buſineſs ſo luckily diſpatched, CÆSAR believing his ſudden arrival might ſtrike a terror into the Alexandrians, puſhed his ſucceſs, and marched directly to PTOLEMY's camp. But perceiving the place ſo well defended by art and nature, that the enemy's rampier was guarded by a numerous party, his own ſoldiers fatigued with their journey and late engagement, he did not think convenient to attempt their trenches, but encamped at a moderate diſtance.

Storms a caſtle with great loſs on his ſide.

The day after he aſſaulted one of the king's caſtles in a village not far off, from whence there was a line of communication to their camp: this place CÆSAR ſtormed with all his forces, not becauſe he thought a leſs number were not ſufficient to accompliſh the buſineſs; but whilſt the Alexandrians were frightened and in confuſion, he deſigned from thence to march directly to force their trenches. We had acceſs to this caſtle two ways, one by the plain mentioned before, the other by a narrow paſs between their camp and the Nile. That ſide eaſieſt to come at was defended by the flower of the Alexandrian army; but the enemy wounded and repulſed our men with greateſt ſucceſs on that part leading to the Nile. Here we were ſurrounded by ſhowers of darts from every ſide; galled both from the rampier and the river; where ſeveral veſſels lay with ſlingers and archers on board.

CÆSAR perceived his ſoldiers did their utmoſt to no purpoſe, whilſt they laboured under ſo many diſadvantages; but obſerving the higheſt part of the enemy's camp was left unguarded, becauſe they thought it ſufficiently fortified by nature (for moſt of their forces were come

to

to the place of action, either to behold or ſhare the engagement) he detached a party under the command of CARSULENUS, an officer of equal conduct and courage, with orders to take a circuit round and aſcend the hill. When our men got thither, they found but few of the enemy upon the place, whom they attacked very vigorouſly: the Alexandrians, ſurprized to hear the noiſe of fighting behind them, began to fly; ſo almoſt at the ſame inſtant we forced their camp on every ſide: but CARSULENUS's party entered firſt, and deſcending from the higher ground, made a dreadful ſlaughter amongſt the enemy. Others, to avoid the like fate, flung themſeves headlong in whole troops together from the rampier, to that part of the valley neareſt the river; the foremoſt ranks tumbled into the ditch, and furniſhed an eaſy paſſage for thoſe that came after. The king, during this confuſion, got on ſhip-board, but the veſſel, being overloaden, was caſt away.

Carſulenus detached to ſtorm the higheſt part of the enemy's camp;

which he forces.

The Egyptians entirely routed.

Ptolemy gets on board; but the veſſel is ſunk.

After this ſucceſs, CÆSAR, depending on the fame of his victory, marched the neareſt way by land to Alexandria with his cavalry, and entered that part of the town which was in the enemy's poſſeſſion. Nor did his opinion deceive him, that on the news of this defeat they would no longer think of war; for on his arrival he received the reward due to his virtue and grandeur of mind. The Alexandrians, having quitted their works, and thrown away their arms, came out, arrayed like ſuppliants, to meet him, bringing along with them all thoſe ſacred things wherewith they uſed to appeaſe their angry monarchs, and delivered themſelves up to his mercy. He forgave and comforted them; then entered through their works into his own quarters; where his ſoldiers congratulated his ſafe return, and happy deciſion of the war.

Cæſar marches to Alexandria.

The townſmen come out to meet him like ſuppliants.

Thus CÆSAR, having rendered himſelf maſter of Alexandria and Egypt, took care to perform PTOLEMY's will; who had conjured the Romans not to permit it to be altered; for the king being dead, he divided the kingdom between his younger brother, and CLEOPATRA the elder ſiſter, who had continued faithful to the people of Rome, and ſtaid all the war in his fortifications. But to prevent new commotions, before theſe princes ſhould be ſettled in their thrones, he baniſhed ARSINOE, under whoſe name GANYMEDE had ſo long bore tyrannical ſway. He took the ſixth veteran legion away with him, leaving the reſt of his forces to keep the kingdom in obedience to the ſharers of the crown, who were

He performs Ptolemy the father's will.

Cleopatra and her younger brother conſtituted king and queen.

Leaves an army to protect them.

ALEX. WAR.

not beloved by their ſubjects, becauſe they were friends to CÆSAR; nor could, in a few days reign, acquire the ſame authority with their predeceſſors. It was for our advantage to protect them ſo long as they obſerved their league with the Romans; and the ſoldiers left behind were able to reſtrain them from being ungrateful, if they deſigned it. Thus having ſettled the kingdom, CÆSAR marched by land to Syria.

Marches to Syria.

CHAP. VIII.

Deiotarus deſires aſſiſtance from Domitius againſt Pharnaces.

WHILST theſe affairs were tranſacting in Egypt, king DEIOTARUS, to whom CÆSAR had ommitted the government of Aſia, with the neighbouring provinces, came to beg DOMITIUS CALVINUS's aſſiſtance for ſecuring Armenia the leſſer, his territories, and to prevent Cappadocia, ARIOBARZANES's kingdom, from being poſſeſſed and ravaged by PHARNACES; which misfortunes, unleſs they were freed from, they ſhould not be able to pay CÆSAR the tribute contracted for. DOMITIUS not only conſidering how neceſſary money was for paying the ſoldiers, but likewiſe reflecting what a diſgrace it would be to the Roman empire, to the victorious CÆSAR and himſelf, to ſuffer the kingdoms of ther allies to be invaded by foreign princes, immediately ſent PHARNACES word to quit Armenia and Capadocia; not to provoke the majeſty of the Roman people, becauſe they were engaged in a civil war. Believing this meſſage would have the greater effect, if he marched that way with an army, he went to his legions, and took the thirty-ſixth along with him, for the other two he ſent into Egypt, in obedience to CÆSAR's commands; but one of them arrived not at Alexandria, becauſe it was ſent by land through Syria: beſides this legion, DOMITIUS had two others from DEIOTARUS, which had been inſtructed in the Roman diſcipline, with one hundred cavalry: ARIOBARZANES likewiſe furniſhed him with the ſame number. He ſent P. SEXTUS to C. PRÆTORIUS the treaſurer, for the legions which had been levied in haſte in Pontus, and QUINTUS PATISIUS for other forces out of Cilicia, which ſoon met at the general rendezvous which DOMITIUS had appointed them at * Comana.

He ſends embaſſadors to bid Pharnaces quit Cappadocia and Armenia.

He gets an army together, appoints them to meet him at Comana.

* A town in Cappadocia.

In the mean while PHARNACES ſent embaſſadors, who in anſwer to DOMITIUS's demands, were to acquaint

Pharnaces's anſwer.

quaint him, their king had quitted Cappadocia, and retired to Armenia the leſs, which he had a lawful title to by inheritance. However, he would expect CÆSAR's arrival, and ſubmit his cauſe entirely to his arbitration. But DOMITIUS finding he had not quitted Cappadocia without compulſion, becauſe he could eaſilier defend Armenia, which lay nearer his kingdom, and believed DOMITIUS was marching againſt him with all the three legions: whereas, being formerly adviſed, two were ſent to CÆSAR, he had maintained his ground with greater aſſurance; he reſolved to oblige him to quit that kingdom likewiſe, ſince he had no better title to Armenia than Cappadocia; nor was it reaſonable for him to expect the matter ſhould be entirely referred to CÆSAR; which could not be done till affairs were put in the very ſame poſture he found them, and DEIOTARUS again poſſeſſed of his dominions. Having made this reply, he marched with the forces, I mentioned before, into Armenia, taking his rout along the hills. For from Pontus to Armenia the Leſs, by the way of Comana, runs a continued ridge beſet with woods, which divides Cappadocia from Armenia. The advantages he propoſed by marching this way, were effectually preventing all ſurprizes, and an aſſurance of ſupplies from Cappadocia, which abounded with corn.

Domitius's reply.

He marches directly to Armenia.

PHARNACES in the mean while omitted not ſending perpetual embaſſies to treat of peace, and offer DOMITIUS royal preſents, which he generouſly deſpiſed; anſwering, That nothing was of ſo great value to him, as the dignity of the Roman empire, and the ſatisfaction of regaining thoſe kingdoms that belonged to her allies. Having arrived, by long marches, near Nicopolis, a town of Armenia, ſituate in a plain, but covered by high mountains, at ſome diſtance, on two ſeveral ſides, he encamped about ſeven miles off the place. Between his quarters and Nicopolis, lay a difficult, and narrow paſs, where PHARNACES diſpoſed an ambuſcade of his choiceſt foot, and almoſt all his cavalry. He gave orders that plenty of cattle ſhould be diſperſed about the entrance of the avenue, and commanded ſeveral of the townſmen and peaſants to ſhew themſelves there, that in caſe DOMITIUS came as a friend, he might not ſuſpect an ambuſh, ſeeing both men and cattle in the fields; if as an enemy, his ſoldiers might be attacked, and cut to pieces, whilſt the deſign of prey ſhould have diſordered them.

Pharnaces ſends continual embaſſies and preſents; which are refuſed.

He encamps within ſeven miles of Nicopolis.

Pharnaces's ambuſcade to no purpoſe.

Having

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Having formed this contrivance, he ſtill continued his embaſſies, hoping the eaſilier to deceive him: but as fortune would have it, the proſpect of a peace detained DOMITIUS in his camp on the other ſide the mountains; wherefore having ſlipped the firſt opportunity, leſt DOMITIUS ſhould get notice of his deſign, PHARNACES recalled his forces into his camp.

Domitius removes to Nicopolis.

The day after, DOMITIUS marched nearer, and encamped over-againſt Nicopolis: whilſt our men were working at the trenches, PHARNACES drew his forces out in order of battle. According to the cuſtom of his country, having firſt diſpoſed his front in a line, he backed the wings and middle, each with three reſerves; the reſt between them two conſiſted only of a ſingle line: but DOMITIUS, making part of his forces attend in arms before the rampier, compleated his works. The following night, PHARNACES having intercepted one of our couriers that came from Alexandria, from his packet got intelligence what difficulties CÆSAR laboured under, how earneſtly he preſſed DOMITIUS to ſend him ſupplies, and come nearer Alexandria by the way of Syria. Upon this, thinking himſelf as good as victor, provided he could prolong the time till DOMITIUS ſhould be obliged to quit the country; he ſunk two ditches four foot deep, not far diſtant from each other, on that ſide where there lay the eaſieſt acceſs to the town, and the moſt convenient ground for our army to engage on, reſolving not to march his forces beyond them. Between theſe he conſtantly drew out his army, placing his cavalry in each wing without them; which were infinitely ſuperior to ours in numbers, and would otherwiſe have been uſeleſs.

Pharnaces intercepts a courier with notice of Cæſar's ſtraights.

Deſigns to prolong the time till Domitius goes.

Domitius reſolves to fight him.

But DOMITIUS, who was more uneaſy for CÆSAR's danger than his own, conſidering he could not ſafely retreat, if he ſhould now deſire the conditions he had rejected, or march away without having effected any thing; drew up his forces in order of battle: the thirty-ſixth legion he placed in the right, that of Pontus in the left, thoſe of DEIOTARUS in the middle; contriving to make a very narrow front, and diſpoſing the reſt of his cohorts for a reſerve. Thus both armies being drawn up, and the ſign of battle given, the action began with various ſucceſs; for the thirty-ſixth legion, charging the enemy's cavalry on this ſide the ditch, made ſo conſiderable a progreſs, that they got over the ditch, engaged them on the other ſide, and forced their way to the walls

Draws out his army.

The fight begins with various ſucceſs.

of

of Nicopolis. That of Pontus, in the other wing, being firſt obliged to give ground, endeavoured a ſecond time to paſs the ditch, and flank the enemy, by taking a circuit, but were cut to pieces in the attempt: as for DEIOTARUS's legions, they ſcarce were able to endure the firſt charge. Thus the king's forces being victorious in the right wing and middle, faced about to attack the thirty-ſixth legion; who bravely maintained their ground againſt the conquering enemy; and finding they were over-powered by numbers, with wonderful preſence of mind caſt themſelves into an orb, and retired to the foot of a mountain, whither PHARNACES did not think convenient to follow them, becauſe of the diſadvantage of the place. Thus a conſiderable part of DEIOTARUS's forces being put to the ſword, and the Pontick legion almoſt entirely cut off, the thirty-ſixth gained the higher ground, not having loſt above two hundred and fifty men. In this action fell ſeveral perſons of renown, with ſome Roman knights; but after the defeat, DOMITIUS rallying the remainder of his broken army, retired a ſecure way through Cappadocia into Aſia.

Domitius defeated.

He retreats to Aſia.

Fluſhed with this ſucceſs, PHARNACES entered Pontus with all his forces, at a time when he might have obtained any thing from CÆSAR he could have deſired. Here victory having made him moſt inhumanly cruel, after he had regained what his father loſt, he ſacked ſeveral towns, plundered the natives and Roman citizens, exerciſed ſuch barbarity on thoſe, whoſe age and beauty rendered them lovely, as was more intolerable than death; and no body oppoſing his progreſs, boaſted he had recovered his father's kingdom.

Pharnaces over-runs Pontus; his barbarity.

CHAP. IX.

ABOUT the ſame time, we received another loſs in Illyricum, which province for ſome months before had not only been maintained without diſgrace, but with honour. For Q. CORNIFICIUS, CÆSAR's treaſurer, being ſent thither proprætor in the ſummer with two legions, though the country was hardly able to maintain an army in its happier days, much leſs after it had been laid waſte by inteſtine broils; yet by his prudence and diligence, taking particular care to do nothing raſhly, he reduced and kept the province in obedience. He demoliſhed ſeveral forts erected on the riſing grounds; which furniſhed

thoſe

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those that poſſeſſed them with opportunities of making excurſions, and waging war; theſe he gave the ſoldiers free leave to plunder, and though the ſpoil was inſignificant, it ſatisfied them, being the fruits of their labour in ſo poor a country. On notice that OCTAVIUS, who eſcaped from the ſlaughter of Pharſalia, had put into harbour in his province with a conſiderable fleet, he got together a ſmall number of veſſels from the Judertini, who were always faithful to the commonwealth; and having defeated OCTAVIUS, took the greateſt part of his fleet; which, joined to thoſe of his allies, made him powerful at ſea.

Octavius comes to Illyricum.

Cornificius takes ſeveral of his ſhips.

Whilſt CÆSAR was purſuing POMPEY to the fartheſt parts of the world, on advice that ſeveral of the enemy had retreated to Illyricum, becauſe it lay ſo near Macedonia, he ſent GABINIUS orders to march with the new raiſed legion under his command into Illyricum, and join CORNIFICIUS, to defend the province from danger: but if he found the country could be ſecured by a ſmall number of forces, to return with the legions into Macedonia; for ſo long as POMPEY lived, he expected commotions there.

Gabinius arrives in Illyricum.

GABINIUS marched to Illyricum in winter-time, when all proviſions were ſcarce; either believing the country to be more plentiful than it really was, depending on CÆSAR's fortune, or his own conduct and experience, which had often brought him out of the greateſt dangers with ſucceſs: but he could neither be ſupplied by the province, part whereof had revolted, and part was already drained; nor by ſhipping from the ſea, the winds ſtanding contrary: ſo that he found himſelf obliged to make war, not as he deſigned, but as neceſſity directed. Thus when he was forced by want to beſiege towns or caſtles in the depth of winter, he met with many inconveniencies.

He endeavours to retreat to Salona, his rear cut off.

In fine, he became ſo contemptible in the opinion of the natives, that retiring to Salona, a ſea-port town (faithfully defended by the Roman citizens) they attacked him upon his march. In this action having loſt above two thouſand ſoldiers, thirty-eight centurions, and four tribunes, he retreated with the reſt of his forces to Salona; were ſuffering the laſt extremities for want of all kind of proviſions, he died within a few months after. Whoſe misfortune whilſt alive, and ſudden death, put OCTAVIUS in great hopes of obtaining the province: but fortune, who has a peculiar influence in war, joining with CORNIFICIUS's diligence, and the courage of VATINIUS, ſoon eclipſed his proſperity.

He dies.

VATINIUS

VATINIUS was at Brindiſi when this action happened, and had notice of it from CORNIFICIUS; who frequently preſſed him to come to the aſſiſtance of the province. Being likewiſe informed that OCTAVIUS, having made a league with the natives, began to inveſt our garriſons in ſeveral places, partly by himſelf at ſea, partly by his allies at land; though he found himſelf much indiſpoſed, and his body was ſcarce able to keep pace with his courage, yet reſolution overcame the defects of nature, the hardſhips of the weather, and ſpeedy preparations. For having but few gallies himſelf, he had ſent to KALENUS for a fleet from Achaia; but finding they came not ſo ſoon as our neceſſity required, who were no longer able to hold out againſt OCTAVIUS, he faſtened beaks to a conſiderable number of veſſels that lay in the port, but were not large enough for an engagement. Joining theſe to his gallies, and putting veteran ſoldiers on board, whereof he had many, who ſtaid behind at Brindiſi for the recovery of their health, when the army went over to Greece; he hoiſted ſail for Illyricum, taking in ſeveral ſea-port towns by the way, that had revolted, and leaving thoſe that were obſtinate to perſiſt in their reſolution, thinking nothing of ſo immediate conſequence as purſuing OCTAVIUS, whom he found inveſting Epidaurus, where he had a garriſon by ſea and land; but obliged him to quit the ſiege, and took the garriſon on board his fleet. But OCTAVIUS having notice that VATINIUS's ſquadron conſiſted moſt of ſmall veſſels, depending on the ſtrength of his own, reſolved to attend him at the iſland Tauris. Hither VATINIUS followed him, not that he believed OCTAVIUS ſtaid there, but becauſe he deſigned, if he had quitted the place, to purſue him farther. He no ſooner approached Tauris, his fleet being diſperſed by the tempeſt, and little expecting an enemy, but he diſcerned a galley, mann'd with ſoldiers, making directly towards him with extended ſails. Upon this he immediately gave orders for furling up the ſails, lowering the ſail-yard, arming the ſoldiers, and hoiſting the flag to give the ſign of battle, that the ſhips which came after might prepare for the engagement. OCTAVIUS's fleet came ready drawn up in order out of the port, VATINIUS had hardly time to put themſelves in a poſture of defence; but if the firſt had the advantage in their diſpoſition, the latter had it in courage.

Vatinus fits out a fleet.

Takes ſeveral towns.

Raiſes the ſiege of Epidaurus.

Engages Octavius's fleet, and beats him.

VATINIUS

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VATINIUS, finding himſelf unequally matched with OCTAVIUS, as well in reſpect to the ſize as number of his ſhips, reſolved to commit the affair to fortune. Wherefore he began the charge, by running againſt OCTAVIUS's four-banked with his five-banked ſhip: this he did with good ſucceſs, for he encountered him with ſuch violence, he broke the beak of his galley: the engagement in the mean while was hotly maintained in all places, though the greateſt concourſe was about the admirals. Thus both parties crowding to their aſſiſtance, the battle was fought in a very narrow compaſs. The nearer they engaged, the greater advantage had VATINIUS's ſquadron; for his ſoldiers, leaping into the enemy's ſhips, gave wonderful proof of their courage: thus the fight becoming equal, the ſuperior virtue of our men carried the day. Their admiral's galley was ſunk, ſeveral more endured the ſame fate, and others were taken: part of OCTAVIUS's ſoldiers were cut to pieces, part plunged into the ſea; but he himſelf got into the boat, which being over-loaden was caſt away; however he ſaved his life, though wounded, by ſwimming to his brigantine. Being taken on board, ſo ſoon as night put an end to the battle, the wind blowing ſtrong, he ſpread all his ſails to ſecure his eſcape, attended only by a ſmall number of gallies, that had avoided the danger of the day.

Takes eleven gallies, and other little ſhips; but Octavius eſcapes.

VATINIUS, after this ſucceſs, ſounded a retreat, and entered victor into the port where OCTAVIUS came out, without the loſs of a ſingle veſſel, having taken one five-banked, two three-banked, and eight two-banked gallies, with ſeveral rowers. Here he ſtaid two days to refit his own ſhips, with thoſe he had taken, and the third weighed anchor for the iſland Iſſa, becauſe he had notice OCTAVIUS had retired thither. This place was of the greateſt importance of any in thoſe parts, and moſt firmly united to OCTAVIUS's intereſt: but on VATINIUS's arrival there, the people ſurrender'd at diſcretion, informing him that OCTAVIUS, with a few ſmall veſſels, had ſailed with a fair wind for Greece, from whence he deſigned to purſue his voyage to Sicily, ſo on to Africk. Thus having, in ſo ſhort a ſpace, happily accompliſhed this affair, reduced the province, delivered it into CORNIFICIUS's charge, and defeated the enemy's fleet, VATINIUS returned victorious to Brindiſi, with his army and ſhips entire.

Vatinius takes Iſſa.

Here deſiſts from the purſuit, and returns to Brindiſi.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

WHILST CÆSAR beſieged POMPEY at Durazzo, defeated him at Pharſalia, and was engaged in the dangerous war at Alexandria, though not equal to what fame reported it; CASSIUS LONGINUS was left proprætor in Spain, to reduce the farther province. He, either prompted by his natural temper, or the hatred he bore the country, ever ſince the wounds he had treacherouſly received there, when queſtor gave evident proofs of his malice; or perhaps believing the province bore a natural hatred to him (which was eaſily to be diſcerned, by ſeveral tokens, amongſt a people who knew not how to diſſemble their minds) he reſolved to recompenſe the injury done the people by his love to the army. Wherefore having appointed the ſoldiers a general rendezvous, he promiſed every one of them a * hundred ſeſterces. And not long after, having gained Medobriga, a town in Luſitania, and mount Herminius, where the people of Medobriga had taken refuge, they gave him the title of emperor; he in return preſented them with a hundred more ſeſterces each. Beſides theſe, he beſtowed conſiderable gifts upon particular perſons, which for the preſent, made him mightily beloved by the army, yet ſevere and military diſcipline vaniſhed by degrees.

Caſſius governor of Spain.

His liberality to the army.

* In the maſculine gender.

CASSIUS, having diſpoſed his troops in winter-quarters, went to Corduba to determine law diſputes: here he was deeply in debt, but reſolved to pay it, by laying heavy impoſitions upon the province. For they, who ſo prodigally beſtow their preſents, always do it with a deſign to gain more than they gave away. Money was extorted from the wealthy; which CASSIUS did not only permit, but obliged them to ſpend upon him; thoſe that were rich were amerced for trifling offences. In fine, no kind of profit to be made by great and apparent crimes, or the leaſt and moſt inſignificant were neglected; ſo the emperor's houſe and courts of judicature were never empty. Thoſe who had any thing to loſe, were obliged to find ſecurity for their good behaviour, or go to priſon; which loſſes were attended with danger and diſgrace. Thus it happened, that LONGINUS, doing the very ſame things, when emperor, as he had formerly practiſed when queſtor: the natives likewiſe again conſulted how to aſſaſſinate him. Some of his neareſt attendants furthered this deſign, who,

He goes to Corduba; his extortions.

His fines.

A plot to aſſaſſinate him.

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who, though they had ſhared with him in rapine, yet hated the man by whoſe authority they had committed thoſe crimes; reſtored what they had unjuſtly taken, and placed whatever they detained, or had loſt, to his account.

He raiſes a new fifth legion.

He raiſed a new fifth legion; which added to the people's hatred, becauſe they found their charges encreaſed: he compleated his horſe to three thouſand; impoſed heavy taxes, and allowed not the province a moment's reſpite.

Caſſius receives orders to go to Africk with his army.

In the mean while he received orders from CÆSAR to croſs the ſea with his army for Africk, and march to Numidia, through the confines of Mauritania; becauſe king JUBA had ſent conſiderable ſupplies to POMPEY, and deſigned to ſend more. Immediately on receipt of this diſpatch, prompted by the hopes of gaining new provinces, and ſo rich a kingdom as Numidia, he march'd to Portugal to review his forces, and levy more: he employed commiſſioners to equip his navy, and prepare proviſions; that nothing might retard his voyage at his return, which was abundantly ſooner than expected, for whenever profit called, CASSIUS neither wanted induſtry nor vigilance.

He makes a ſpeech to the ſoldiers.

Having got all his army together, and encamped near Cordova, he made a ſpeech to the ſoldiers, wherein he acquainted them with the orders he had received from CÆSAR; and promiſed, when they ſhould arrive in Mauritania, to give each a hundred ſeſterces. He told them, he deſigned to leave the fifth legion behind him in Spain; and when he had finiſhed his oration, went to Cordova: but the ſame day, about noon, entering the judgment-hall, one MINUTIUS SILO, a client to RASCILIUS, preſented him with a paper, in a ſoldier's habit, as if he had ſome requeſt to make; then retired behind RASCILIUS, for he walked cloſe by CASSIUS, as if expecting an anſwer: the attendants made way for him, and when he was come up to the governor, ſeizing him with his left-hand, he wounded him twice with the dagger he held in his right; then ſetting up a ſhout, all the reſt of the conſpirators immediately fell upon CASSIUS's friends; MANUTIUS PLANCUS killed the next lictor, then wounded Q. CASSIUS the lieutenant: T. VASSIUS and L. MERGILIO ſeconded their countryman PLANCUS, for they were all Italians. And LICINIUS SQUILLUS gave the governor ſeveral ſmall wounds whilſt he lay upon the ground.

He is aſſaſſinated at Cordova by Minutius Silo.

Manutius Plancus kills the lictor.

Squillus wounds Caſſius whilſt he lies upon the ground.

By

By this time CASSIUS's guards came up to his assistance (for he always had several veteran soldiers and select * Spaniards about him) who kept out the rest of the assassines, in which number were CALPURNIUS SALVIANUS, and MANILIUS TUSCULUS. MINUTIUS, stumbling upon a stone that lay in his way, as he endeavoured to make his escape, was taken and brought to CASSIUS. RACILIUS hid himself in a friend's house that lay nearest the place, till he could get information whether CASSIUS was dead. But L. LATERENSIS, not making the least doubt of it, immediately ran with great satisfaction to the camp, to congratulate the † Spanish and second legion upon the news, who he was satisfied had a particular hatred for CASSIUS. In return for his intelligence, they immediately carried him into the tribunal, and proclaim'd him prætor: for there was not a soldier that had been born in the province, of the second and Spanish legion, or who, by long continuance in the country, had been naturaliz'd, but join'd with the people in their aversion to CASSIUS. But besides these, CÆSAR had likewise given him the thirtieth and twenty-first legions, raised some few months before in Italy; as for the fifth legion, he had lately levied that himself.

Cassius's guards come up to his relief. Minutius taken. Laterensis thinking Cassius dead, carries news of it to the camp. † Legio Vernacula.

Mean while LATERENSIS had intelligence that CASSIUS was still alive: upon which news being more troubled for the disappointment, than uneasy for his own safety, he immediately put himself in order, and went to wait upon the governor. The thirtieth legion by this time having notice of what had pass'd, march'd to CORDOVA to their general's assistance; the twenty-first and fifth follow'd their example, leaving only the other two behind them in the camp: whereupon the second apprehending they should be left alone, and have their inclinations discover'd, did the like. But no apprehensions could make the Legio Vernacula move from the place, or alter their resolution.

But finding himself mistaken, goes to wait upon Cassius. Every legion but that of the natives, comes to assist Cassius.

CASSIUS commanded the assassines to be seiz'd, and sent the fifth legion back again to the camp, retaining thirty cohorts for his defence. By MINUTIUS's confession he learn'd that L. RACILIUS, L. LATERENSIS, and ANNIUS SCAPULA, a Spaniard of great quality and interest, as familiar with him as either RACILIUS or LATERENSIS, was equally concerned with them in the conspiracy: nor did he long defer his revenge, before

He causes all the assassines to be seized. Rascilius, Laterensis, and Scapula, put to death.

* Barones, a people of the Provincia Bætica.

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Minutius Salvianus and Mergilio racked.

he cauſed them to be put to death. He deliver'd up MINUTIUS to be racked by his freemen, and CALPURNIUS SALVIANUS, whoſe confeſſion, ſome affirm, juſtly encreaſed the number of the plotters; but others complain what he ſaid was extorted from him by pain. L. MERGILIO likewiſe underwent the queſtion. And SQUILLUS impeach'd ſeveral; who were all condemn'd to die, except thoſe that purchaſed their pardons; for CASSIUS publickly remitted the ſentence of death paſſed upon CALPURNIUS for ten ſeſterces, that on Q. SEXTIUS for fifty; who, though deeply concerned in the aſſaſſination, were only fined. Thus money made him forget the danger of his life, and the pains of his wounds, whilſt avarice and cruelty ſtrove for the victory.

Caſſius compounds the ſentence of death for money with ſome.

He receives news of Pompey's being defeated.

Within a few days after, he received another packet from CÆSAR, with an account of POMPEY's flight, and the victory obtained over his forces. This news equally affected him with joy and ſorrow; for as he could not but rejoice at CÆSAR's ſucceſs, ſo on the other hand he was uneaſy to reflect the deciſion of war would put an end to his licentious way of governing. Thus he was in diſpute with himſelf whether he ſhould ſit down contented, without fear of being called to account for the extortions he had already committed, or purſue the dictates of his covetous temper. At length his wounds being cured, he ſent for thoſe whom he had formerly been liberal to, and commanded them to refund the money they had received from him. As for them on whom he had hitherto impoſed lighter burthens than uſual, he ordered them now to pay larger ſums. With the like juſtice he reſolved to levy new forces amongſt all the colonies and ſocieties of Roman citizens throughout the country; and ſuch as were afraid of a foreign expedition, he obliged to redeem themſelves from the ſervice by amercements; which raiſed him vaſt ſums of money, but encreaſed the hatred of the province. This affair diſpatched, he reviewed the army, ſent the legions he deſigned to ſhip for Africk to Trajectum, and went himſelf to Sevil to ſee the fleet he had prepared; where he ſtaid for ſome time, becauſe he had publiſhed a proclamation, for ſuch as had not paid the monies demanded of them, to attend him there; which was looked upon by all people as a very great hardſhip.

He makes the natives refund the money he gave them, impoſes new taxes.

Makes thoſe that refuſe to go to Africk fine for it.

At Sevil he has news of a mutiny in the thirtieth legion.

About the ſame time L. TITIUS, who was then a tribune of the Legio Vernacula, informed him there was a report the thirtieth legion, under the command of QUINTUS CASSIUS the lieutenant, being encamped at Ilurgis,

Ilurgis, had mutinied, killed ſome of the centurions that oppoſed them, and were gone over to the ſecond legion, who marched another way towards the ſea. On this intelligence, CASSIUS, with five cohorts of the * nineteenth, began his march, and arrived at Ilurgis the next morning early; where he ſtay'd a day to conſult what was proper to be done, then went to Carmona. Here the † twenty-firſt and fifth legions, with four cohorts and all the cavalry, attending him, he had notice that the Legio Vernacula having ſurprized four of his cohorts near Obucula, had obliged them to march with them to the ſecond legion; where, after their joining, they had unanimouſly choſen T. THORIUS, an Italian, for their general. Whereupon CASSIUS immediately ſummoned a council, ſent MARCELLUS to Cordova, to ſecure that town in his intereſt, and Q. CASSIUS, the lieutenant, to Sevil. But within a few days after, he heard CORDOVA had revolted, and that MARCELLUS, either voluntarily, or out of neceſſity (for the buſineſs was variouſly reported) had joined with them, as well as the two cohorts of the fifth legion, who lay there in garriſon. Provoked by this loſs, he decamped, and the day after arrived at Segovia, upon the river Silicenſis; where he made an oration to ſound the ſoldiers affections, whom he found to be ſincerely true to him, not for his own, but CÆSAR's ſake; for they were ready to undertake any dangers, ſo they might but recover the province for CÆSAR.

Thorius arrives at Cordova.

THORIUS, mean while, led his veteran legions to Cordova; and that this rebellion might not appear the effect of his, and the ſoldiers ſeditious tempers, as likewiſe that he might have a name of equal credit to ſet up againſt CASSIUS, who, upon CÆSAR's account, was likely to gain more aſſiſtants than himſelf, he declared his deſign was to recover the province for CN. POMPEY; which perhaps he was equally induced to by the hatred he bore CÆSAR, and the affection he had for POMPEY; whoſe name had a wonderful influence over thoſe legions that formerly ſerved under VARRO: but whether this was really his deſign or no, I ſhall not pretend to determine. However, it was his pretence, as the ſoldiers confeſſed, who bore POMPEY's name engraven on their ſhields. The inhabitants of Cordova, men, women and children, came out in a body to meet him, begging he would not

Has Pompey's name engraven on his ſoldiers ſhields.

* Yet there is no notice taken that he had the nineteenth legion, which therefore in my opinion ſhould be the twenty-firſt.

† We are to ſuppoſe TITIUS's report was falſe, but occaſion'd by the loſs of the four cohorts mentioned; elſe how came the thirtieth legion to attend CASSIUS at Carmona

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deſtroy their town, for they had as ſtrong an averſion for CASSIUS as he, only they deſired they might not be obliged to act againſt CÆSAR.

The army were moved by the tears and entreaties of ſo great a multitude; and finding there was no occaſion for the name or memory of POMPEY to perſecute CASSIUS, who was equally odious to both parties; but that it was impoſſible either to perſwade the people of Cordova, or MARCELLUS to declare againſt CÆSAR, eraſed POMPEY's name out of their ſhields, choſe MARCELLUS, who profeſſed himſelf CÆSAR's friend, their general, joined with the colony, and encamped near the town. Within two days after, CASSIUS croſſed the * Guadalquivir, and encamped on a riſing ground within view of the place, about four miles diſtance from Cordova. From hence he diſpatched couriers to king BOGUD in Africk, and M. LEPIDUS, proconſul in the hither Spain, to ſend him and the province aſſiſtance as ſoon as poſſible, for CÆSAR's ſake: not omitting in the mean while to deſtroy the country and buildings round about Cordova.

The ſoldiers eraſe Pompey's name out of their ſhields, chooſe Marcellus their general.

* Bætis.

Caſſius arrives at the Guadalquivir; ſends to Bogud and Lepidus for aſſiſtance. He ravages the country. Marcellus's army provoked at it, deſire to fight him. Both armies drawn out; but they do not engage.

Fired with this indignity, the legions that had choſen MARCELLUS for their general, unanimouſly deſired he would lead them out in order of battle, and rather engage the enemy, than ſuffer the moſt noble and beloved country of Cordova to be conſumed with fire and ſword before their eyes. MARCELLUS conſidering the fatal conſequences of a fight to CÆSAR, let victory incline which way ſhe would, much againſt his will, was obliged to croſs the Guadalquivir, and diſpoſe his legions in order of battle. CASSIUS did the like upon a riſing ground; but MARCELLUS perceiving he would not deſcend from that advantage, laid hold of the reaſon to perſuade his ſoldiers to return again to their camp. He had already began to retreat when CASSIUS, knowing himſelf to be ſtronger than he, fell upon MARCELLUS's legions with his cavalry, and made a conſiderable ſlaughter amongſt their rear, upon the banks of the river. But MARCELLUS, finding the inconvenience he had met with in croſſing the water, removed his camp to the other ſide the Guadalquivir, where both armies frequently drew out, but did not engage, becauſe of the inequality of ground.

MARCELLUS was much ſuperior to CASSIUS in foot; for he had the veteran legions that had learned experience from the many battles they had fought. But CASSIUS depended more upon the fidelity than the courage of his ſoldiers; wherefore when both armies were encamped over-

over-againſt each other, and MARCELLUS had erected a fort on a convenient place, for preventing the enemy from getting water; LONGINUS, apprehending he ſhould be beſieged in a country that hated him, ſilently decamped by night, and marched towards Ulla, which place he believed firm to his intereſt. Here he encamped ſo near the town, that the nature of the place and walls of the town might ſecure him from any attempts of the enemy. Hither MARCELLUS purſued him, and encamped as near Ulla as he could. Having taken a view of the place, he found himſelf reduced by neceſſity to do what was very agreeable to his own temper, not to engage CASSIUS; which he could not have avoided, had there been a poſſibility of doing it; nor to ſuffer him to march farther, leſt other countries ſhould ſuffer as much as Cordova. Wherefore having erected caſtles in proper places, he drew a line of circumvallation, wherein he encloſed both CASSIUS and the town. But before the works were perfected, LONGINUS ſent away all his cavalry, who he imagined might do him conſiderable ſervice by intercepting MARCELLUS's foragers and convoys; but would only be an uſeleſs clog upon him, to conſume his proviſions, if he was once inveſted.

Caſſius decamps, marches to Ulla, encamps under the walls. Marcellus purſues him, and inveſts him and the town.

King BOGUD having received CASSIUS's letters, arrived in a few days with his forces, having joined a legion of CASSIUS's by the way, with ſeveral auxiliary cohorts of Spain; as it always happens in civil wars, ſome countries favoured CASSIUS, but more MARCELLUS. BOGUD arriving at MARCELLUS's outward works, there happened ſeveral ſharp diſputes, wherein fortune ſometimes favoured one, ſometimes the other party, but MARCELLUS ſtill maintained his lines.

Bogud arrives with his ſupplies.

Mean while LEPIDUS, from the hither province, with thirty-five legionary cohorts, a great number of horſe and auxiliaries, came to Ulla, fully reſolving to compoſe the differences between the two enemies. Upon his arrival MARCELLUS immediately delivered himſelf into his power; but CASSIUS ſtayed ſtill in his camp; either thinking there was more reſpect due to him than to MARCELLUS, or fearing LEPIDUS's mind had been prepoſſeſſed againſt him. LEPIDUS encamped near the town, kept a fair correſpondence with MARCELLUS, but commanded him not to fight; inviting CASSIUS at the ſame time to his camp, and offering his parole for his ſafe return. CASSIUS having long conſidered on the matter,

Lepidus arrives, Marcellus ſubmits his cauſe to him, Caſſius will not.

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Caſſius deſires Marcellus's works may be levelled; 'tis granted.

ſtill diſtruſting LEPIDUS, yet not foreſeeing any proſperous event from his reſolution, if he continued in it, at laſt deſired MARCELLUS's works ſhould be demoliſhed, that he might have free liberty to march out. The truce was not only concluded on, but the works almoſt levelled, and the ſentinels drawn off from the fortifications, when BOGUD's ſoldiers made a furious attack upon one of MARCELLUS's caſtles, which lay neareſt their camp, before any body was acquainted with their deſign, except CASSIUS; for he was ſuſpected not to be ignorant of it. Here they made a great ſlaughter amongſt our ſoldiers; and had not LEPIDUS, provoked with the breach of faith, interpoſed his aſſiſtance to put an end to the diſpute, more fatal conſequences had enſued.

Bogud's breach of the truce.

Marcellus and Lepidus join camps.

CASSIUS having now a free paſſage, MARCELLUS joined camps with LEPIDUS, and both marched together to Cordova; CASSIUS to Carmona. Mean while TREBONIUS arrived to take poſſeſſion of the province, as proconſul: Upon which CASSIUS, having diſtributed his legions into winter-quarters, immediately packed up his goods and embarked, pretending he durſt not truſt himſelf with LEPIDUS, MARCELLUS, and TREBONIUS: his friends reported, it was becauſe he would not make a tour through the province in leſs ſplendor than formerly, ſince part had revolted from him: but others were of opinion, he did it to prevent that money from falling into other peoples hands, which he had ſcraped together by his innumerable extortions. Having weighed anchor, with as favourable a gale as could be expected from the ſeaſon of the year, to avoid ſailing in the night, he put into the Ebro; for though the wind blew ſomething ſtronger than before, yet he thought it not more dangerous; but his veſſel was caſt away in the very mouth of the river, the ſailors neither being able to tack about, becauſe of the rapid ſtream, nor to keep the ſhip ſteddy againſt the violence of the waves.

Caſſius marches to Carmona.

He embarks for Italy;

but is caſt away in the mouth of the Ebro.

CHAP. XI.

Cæſar arrives in Syria, has notice of the diſorders in Italy:

WHEN CÆSAR came to Syria from Egypt, he was informed, as well by letters as ſeveral perſons who arrived there from Rome to attend him, that the city and commonwealth laboured under great diſorders; that dangerous ſeditions were cauſed by the diſputes between the tribunes of the people; that the ambition of the ſoldiers tribunes, and thoſe

thoſe other officers to whom the command of legions had been committed, had ſuffered the ancient and ſevere Roman diſcipline to be corrupted; and that there was no redreſs to be hoped for, but from his preſence. However, before his departure, he thought it abſolutely neceſſary to compoſe the diſſentions in thoſe provinces where he then was, to reſtore the laws to their ancient current, and free them from all apprehenſions of foreign enemies. This he hoped quickly to effect in Aſia, Syria, and Cilicia, becauſe they were not engaged in any wars; but expected to find the buſineſs a little more difficult in Bithynia and Pontus: for he heard no news of Pharnaces quitting Pontus, nor believed he deſigned it, being fluſhed with his late ſucceſs over DOMITIUS CALVINUS. Having made a ſhort ſtay almoſt in every country of note, he diſtributed rewards both publick and private to thoſe that had deſerved them, heard and adjuſted their ancient differences: then having received all the kings and potentates, as well of the provinces as of the neighbouring countries into his protection, and diſtributed the neceſſary orders for defending the country, he diſmiſſed them all with ſatisfaction.

But ſtays to ſettle the affairs of thoſe provinces where he was.

Having ſtayed a few days there, he conſtituted his friend and relation SEXTUS CÆSAR, governor of Syria; then ſailed, with the ſame fleet he came thither in, for Cilicia. He gave orders for all the people of the province to attend him at Tarſus, one of the beſt and ſtrongeſt towns in their territories. Here he ſtay'd no longer than was abſolutely neceſſary to ſettle the publick affairs with thoſe of the neighbouring ſtates; for, prompted by the deſire of beginning the * war, he march'd by long journies thro' Cappadocia, and arrived at Mazaca; from whence, after two days reſt, he purſued his journey to Comana, a town of Cappadocia, renown'd for the moſt ancient and ſacred temple of Bellona; to whom the people pay ſo profound an adoration, that her prieſt poſſeſſes the ſecond poſt of honour and authority in their country, being inferior only to the king. This prieſthood CÆSAR conferred upon NICOMEDES, a Bithynian, of a moſt illuſtrious houſe, deſcended from the royal line of Cappadocia; whoſe anceſtors being reduced to a low ebb of fortune, ſince the ſcepter paſſed out of their line, by vertue of an undoubted law, which for ſome time had been neglected, he demanded the office. As for his competitor ARIARATES, he delivered him into the power and protection of his brother

He makes S. Cæſar governor of Syria. Goes to Cilicia;

* With Pharnaces, from thence to Cappadocia.

Makes Nicomedes prieſt of Bellona.

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Ariobarzanes; for ſince both had well deſerved from the commonwealth, he was not willing ambition ſhould tempt one to rebel, or abſolute power the other to uſe his brother too ſeverely.

He arrives near Pontus. Deiotarus comes to make his ſubmiſſion.

This affair compoſed, he purſued his journey with the uſual diſpatch: when he arrived near Pontus and the confines of Galatia, DEIOTARUS, undoubted king of Armenia the leſſer, tho' his title to the tetrachate of almoſt the whole province of Galatia was diſputed by the other potentates of that country; having laid aſide not only all regal ornaments, but even the habit of a gentleman, attended CÆSAR in a ſuppliant's garb; "humbly begging pardon, that ſince fortune had placed him in a country where CÆSAR had no forces, he had aſſiſted POMPEY; for it did not belong to him to decide the controverſies of the Roman people, but obey the preſent power."

Cæſar's anſwer.

To which CÆSAR, "firſt reminding him of the many friendly offices he had done him, during his conſulate; to convince him the defence he made was no excuſe for what he had done; reply'd, 'Twas impoſſible for a perſon of his prudence and experience to be ignorant who was maſter of Rome and Italy, where the ſenate, people, and republick were; or who was elected conſul after L. LENTULUS and C. MARCELLUS: however, he forgave him, for the former ſervices he had done, the ancient acquaintance there had been between them, the ſuppliant's dignity, his age, and the entreaties of numbers of people, and DEIOTARUS's friends, who interceded in his behalf." Having reſtor'd him his kingly apparel, he declared he would hereafter decide the diſpute about his tetrarchate: but commanded DEIOTARUS to attend him to the war, with all his cavalry and the legion which he had cauſed to be inſtructed in the Roman diſcipline.

He pardons him.

When CÆSAR was arrived in Pontus, and had drawn all his forces together, he found them but inconſiderable, as well in reſpect to their number, as want of experience; for he had only two legions beſides that of DEIOTARUS, and the ſixth of veteran ſoldiers, brought from Alexandria; which was ſo diminiſhed by the fatigues and dangers they had undergone, part being loſt in the difficult marches and voyages they had made, others cut off in the frequent engagements they had been in, that there were not a thouſand men of the legion left. Here, however, he received an embaſſage from PHARNACES: "The deputies, in the firſt place, deſired he would not enter the country in hoſtile manner; for their king was ready to ſubmit

Pharnaces's embaſſage to Cæſar.

ſubmit to whatever CÆSAR ſhould think fit to command him. But they mightily inſiſted on it, as a meritorious act in their maſter, that he had never ſent any forces to the aſſiſtance of POMPEY; which DEIOTARUS had done, but was notwithſtanding received into favour."

Cæſar's anſwer.

To this CÆSAR made anſwer, "If PHARNACES performed his promiſe, he ſhould find CÆSAR his friend: but he mildly adviſed the embaſſadors, not to value themſelves ſo much, becauſe they had not done like DEIOTARUS, in ſending ſupplies to POMPEY; for he always freely pardoned private injuries, but could never forgive thoſe committed againſt the republick, even by the perſons that had done him the moſt zealous ſervices. Beſides, it was a greater advantage to PHARNACES that he had ſent no forces, ſince he had thereby eſcaped a defeat, than to CÆSAR, whom the immortal gods had made victorious. However, he was willing to forgive him the grievous injuries he had done the Roman citizens in Pontus, becauſe it was now too late to think of reſtitution; for neither could thoſe be brought to life again whom he had murdered, nor they regain their virility on whom he had inflicted puniſhments more intolerable to Romans than death. But let him immediately quit the kingdom of Pontus, reſtore the general-receivers their ſervants, and return thoſe goods of private perſons which were in his cuſtody. Theſe conditions once performed, he would likewiſe ſend him thoſe preſents which ſucceſsful generals uſually received from their friends: for PHARNACES had preſented CÆSAR with a golden crown."

He ſent the embaſſadors back with this anſwer; but PHARNACES, who had promiſed ſo liberally, hoping CÆSAR was in haſte to be gone, and had given more credit to his aſſurances than he really had, that he might the ſooner diſpatch other buſineſs of greater importance (for every one knew CÆSAR was recalled by many affairs to Rome) began to perform but ſlowly, deſiring a longer day, other conditions, and endeavouring to fruſtrate CÆSAR's deſign. But he perceiving PHARNACES's drift, was now obliged by neceſſity to do that which at other times he had done by inclination, to decide the diſpute by a battle ſooner than was expected.

Pharnaces's ſhuffling.

Zeila is a town of Pontus, well fortify'd conſidering its ſituation; for tho' the town ſtands upon a plain, yet the walls round about are built upon hills that environ the place,

Cæſar arrives near Zeila.

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place, and look as if they had been contriv'd by art. On every ſide of this town lie many mountains, divided from each other by intervening vallies; the moſt remarkable of them is that which MITHRIDATES's victory, the defeat of TRIARIUS, and the ſlaughter of our army rendered famous; which lies not above three miles diſtant from Zeila, and has a ridge that extends almoſt to the town: upon which PHARNACES, in memory of the ſucceſs his father formerly had, when encamp'd there, lodged himſelf with all his forces.

CÆSAR lay about five miles diſtant from the enemy, and perceiving the ſame valley which fortified the king's camp might be of the like advantage to him, if he could poſſeſs the oppoſite hill (which lay much nearer the enemy's camp than his) before them; he commanded his ſoldiers to furniſh themſelves with faſcines: theſe orders performed, the next morning about three o' clock, leaving all his baggage behind him, he ſet forward with his legions, and by break of day, before the enemy had notice of his motions, poſſeſſed himſelf of the very ſame place where MITHRIDATES lodged when he routed TRIARIUS. Hither he commanded the ſervants of the army to bring all the facines, for he would not ſuffer one ſoldier to be abſent from the works, ſince only a vale, hardly a mile over, divided the two armies.

He gains a ſummit oppoſite to that where Pharnaces was encamped.

Early in the morning, PHARNACES having notice of this, drew all his forces out before his camp: but ſince the diſadvantage of the place was ſo very conſiderable, CÆSAR at firſt believed he did it only to exerciſe the ſoldiers, to retard the progreſs of his works, by obliging him to keep more ſoldiers in arms; or out of oſtentation, to ſhew CÆSAR he depended not more on the advantage of his poſt, than the ſtrength of his army: wherefore keeping only the firſt line in order of battle, CÆSAR commanded the reſt of his forces to go on with the fortifications. But PHARNACES, prompted either by the omen of the place, by religious predictions, which we were afterwards informed he was mightily ruled by, the contempt of our ſmall numbers in arms (for he believed all the ſervants that daily carried materials for the works to be ſoldiers) or depending on the experience of his army, which his lieutenants boaſted had engaged and defeated the twenty-ſecond legion; and deſpiſing our forces, which he had worſted when under the command of DOMITIUS, he reſolved to give us battle, and there-

Pharnaces draws out his forces.

fore

fore deſcended to the bottom of the valley. CÆSAR at firſt derided his vain attempt, in drawing his army into ſo narrow a place, whither no general in his right ſenſes would have ventured. But PHARNACES, in the mean while, having deſcended into the vale, now began to aſcend the ſteep avenues of our hill in order of battle. CÆSAR, moved at his wonderful raſhneſs, and finding himſelf attack'd before he was prepared to receive PHARNACES, in an inſtant drew his ſoldiers off from the works, ordered them to repair to their arms, ſent a party to oppoſe the enemy's aſcent, and diſpoſed his army in battle array. However, the ſurprize occaſioned great confuſion amongſt our men: for before they could be ranged according to method, the king's chariots broke in upon them, and diſordered their ranks; but they were ſo warmly ply'd with our darts, we ſoon put a ſtop to their career: they were followed by the whole army of the enemy, who ſetting up a ſhout, began the fight. The advantage of the place was of no ſmall ſervice to us, though not ſo much as the aſſiſtance of the immortal gods, who as they have an influence over all battles, ſo they moſt conſpicuouſly exert their power, where human conduct is of no ſervice.

The battle begins.

The conflict had been warmly maintained for ſome time, when the ſixth veteran legion, that was diſpoſed in the right, made the firſt ſtep towards victory, by forcing the enemy to deſcend from the hill: ſome time after, by the ſame providential aſſiſtance, the left wing and main body likewiſe routed the king's forces, who as they had eaſily gained the ſummit, ſo they were now obliged to deſcend again with great precipitation. Thus part being killed, part trodden under foot, thoſe who were nimble eſcaped, having firſt flung away their arms; nor was it poſſible for them to defend themſelves even upon the higher ground, whilſt they had no weapons. Our ſoldiers, fluſhed with ſucceſs, made no ſcruple of aſcending their hill, and ſtorming the enemy's works: the cohorts which PHARNACES had left to ſecure his camp made ſome ſmall reſiſtance, but we quickly forced their trenches. Thus all PHARNACES's army being either killed or taken priſoners, he made his eſcape, attended only by a few cavalry; but had not our ſoldiers been amuſed by aſſaulting his camp, he had certainly fallen alive into CÆSAR's hands.

Pharnaces routed, his camp taken.

Pharnaces narrowly eſcapes.

CÆSAR,

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CÆSAR, though he had obtained many victories before, yet was mightily pleas'd with this, which had ſo quickly put an end to an important war; nor did the memory of his unexpected danger a little add to his ſatisfaction, when he reflected from how difficult a beginning he had gained an eaſy conqueſt. Pontus thus reduced, he diſtributed all the ſpoil of the king's army among his ſoldiers, and the day after ſet forward with a guard of light-armed cavalry, having firſt ordered the ſixth legion to return to Italy, where they ſhould receive the rewards and honours they had merited; ſent DEIOTARUS back his auxiliaries, and left CÆLIUS VINCIANUS with two legions to protect the kingdom.

Pontus quieted, Vincianus left governor of the place.

Through Galatia and Bithynia he travelled to Aſia, ſettling all the controverſies of the countries he paſſed thro', and diſtributing equal juſtice amongſt the ſeveral kings, ſtates and tetrarchs. MITHRIDATES of Pergamus he made king of Boſphorus, as a reward for the ſervice he had done him in Egypt: this general was deſcended from a royal family, and had been educated in courts even from his youth; for MITHRIDATES, king of all Aſia, in reſpect to his birth, had taken him whilſt a boy from Pergamus, and kept him in his camp for ſeveral years. Boſphorus was formerly ſubject to PHARNACES, and ſurrounded by barbarous kings, all enemies to the commonwealth; but CÆSAR thought he had taken an effectual method to ſecure it in the Roman intereſt, by committing the kingdom to the charge of ſo faithful a prince. As for the tetrarchate of Gallatia, which for ſome years before had been poſſeſſed by DEIOTARUS, he ſettled it according to the cuſtom of the country, and right of deſcent; nor did he make a longer ſtay any where than the neceſſity of his return to compoſe the diſorders at Rome would allow of; but having quieted all affairs, with equal ſucceſs and diſpatch returned to Italy before he was expected.

Mithridates made king of Boſphorus.

Cæſar ſettles the diſpute about the tetrarchate of Galatia.

HIRTIUS

HIRTIUS PANSA, or OPPIUS's COMMENTARY OF THE AFRICAN WAR.

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CÆSAR, *having compoſed the troubles at Rome, ſails for Africk, gains Leptis. Has ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with* LABIENUS. JUBA, *going to join* SCIPIO, *is forced to return, on news that* BOGUD *had entered his country. The various ſucceſs of the war on both ſides. Towns loſt and taken; ſhips taken, but fortune inclines to* CÆSAR. *A ſet battle, and* SCIPIO *defeated. The death of* CATO, *and ſeveral other perſons of note.* JUBA's *kingdom reduced into a province.*

CHAP. I.

He arrives at Lilybæum.

ON the * nineteenth of December, CÆSAR having marched every day, arrived by moderate journies at Lilybæum; deſigning to go on board immediately, though he had only one legion of new levies, and hardly ſix hundred cavalry. To take away all thoughts of ſtaying, and that his men might be ready upon an hour's warning, he cauſed his pavilion to be pitched ſo near the ſea, it was almoſt waſhed by the waves. The wind happened to be contrary; but however, he permitted not the ſailors, or rowers, to come on ſhore, that he might not omit the opportunity for weighing anchor; for though he

* Mr. D'ABLANCOURT, and the gentleman that tranſlated this book into Engliſh, render XIV. Kal. Jan. the 17th of December, and are two days earlier than me, at CÆSAR's embarking: But I have followed Dr. BUSBY's and Dr. KENNET's accounts of the Kalends, Nones, and Ides.

received

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received intelligence from the inhabitants of Africk how conſiderable the enemy's forces were; that their cavalry was very numerous; that they had ſix legions belonging to king JUBA, ten to SCIPIO, beſides vaſt numbers of light-armed foot, an hundred and twenty elephants, and ſeveral ſquadrons of ſhips; yet not in the leaſt daunted at theſe mighty preparations, he reſolved to purſue his enterprize. Mean while his gallies, tranſports and new levies daily encreaſed; hither likewiſe came the fifth veteran legion, and two thouſand horſe to attend him.

Orders part of the fleet to ſail to Paconia.

Having now got ſix legions, and two thouſand cavalry, ſo ſoon as any foot arrived, he cauſed them forthwith to embark in the gallies, and horſe in the tranſports. Thus he commanded the greateſt part of his navy to ſail before to the iſland * Paconia, that lies not far diſtant from Lilybæum; for he ſtayed behind to expoſe ſome few perſons confiſcated goods to publick ſale. This affair diſpatched, he commanded ALIENUS, prætor of Sicily, to ſend him all neceſſary proviſions, and ſee the reſt of his army go on board ſhortly after; then embarked himſelf on the twenty-ſeventh of December, and quickly overtook the reſt of his fleet. Thus having a fair wind, and quick paſſage, he arrived, after four days ſail, within ſight of Africk, attended by a few gallies; for moſt of his tranſports, being diſperſed by the tempeſt, put into ſeveral ports. Having ſailed by Clupea, Neapolis, with diverſe other towns and caſtles upon the ſea-coaſts, he at laſt arrived at Adrumetum, where the enemy had a garriſon commanded by C. CONSIDIUS; CN. PISO likewiſe appeared upon ſhore towards Clupea, at the head of the cavalry of Adrumetum, and about three thouſand Moors.

Cæſar lands near Adrumetum, with 3000 foot, and 150 horſe.

CÆSAR laid at anchor for ſome time, to expect the reſt of his tranſports; but at length landed his army, which at preſent conſiſted only of three thouſand foot, with a hundred and fifty horſe, and encamped before the town, without doing any perſon an injury, having ſtrictly prohibited his ſoldiers from plundering. Mean time the inhabitants mann'd the walls, and placed themſelves in conſiderable numbers before the gates, to defend the place; for their forces amounted to two legions: but CÆSAR, having taken a view of the town, returned again

* The original is Apomana; but there is no ſuch place to be found in ancient geographers; therefore commentators have thought fit to make it Paconia; which quadrates with the deſcription,

again to his camp. Many people reflected on his conduct, that he had not appointed his fleet a certain place of rendezvous; nor, according to his uſual cuſtom, delivered them orders ſealed up, to be opened at ſome particular place. But CÆSAR had very good reaſon for what he did; for he was apprehenſive, that no part of Africk was ſo clear from the enemy's forces, as to afford them a ſafe landing-place: wherefore he thought it beſt to rely intirely upon fortune, and land where occaſion offered.

L. PLANCUS, the lieutenant, deſired CÆSAR would give him leave to treat with CONSIDIUS, and try if it was poſſible to reduce him to reaſon: his requeſt being granted, he writ a letter, and ſent it into the town by a priſoner. So ſoon as the meſſenger arrived, and was going, according to his orders, to deliver the packet, CONSIDIUS demanded whence it came, before he would receive it; the meſſenger anſwered, from CÆSAR: CONSIDIUS reply'd, he knew no general of the Roman forces but SCIPIO; then commanded the meſſenger to be killed in his preſence, and ſent the letter unopened to SCIPIO.

Conſidius's cruelty.

CHAP. II.

CÆSAR had now attended a day and a night before the town, without receiving any anſwer from CONSIDIUS; and conſidering his forces were not yet arrived; that his cavalry were but inconſiderable in number; that he had not an army ſufficient to inveſt the town; that it would diſcourage his raw ſoldiers to enter upon warm ſervice ſo quickly; that the place was well fortified; and that the enemy expected vaſt ſupplies of horſe; he thought it not convenient to attempt a ſiege, leſt while he purſued that deſign, he ſhould be ſurrounded behind by their cavalry. But when he was decamping, the garriſon made a vigorous ſally, being luckily joined the ſame inſtant by JUBA's horſe, who came thither to receive their pay. They ſoon poſſeſſed themſelves of the camp we had deſerted, and began to purſue our rear; whereupon the foot immediately halted, and our cavalry, though few in number, bravely charged ſo vaſt a multitude. In this action there happened a moſt wonderful accident, for leſs than thirty Gallick horſe broke two thouſand of the Moors, and purſued them even to the gates of Adrumetum. The enemy thus repulſed, CÆSAR continued his march;

He quits Adrumetum; the enemy ſally to attack Cæſar's rear with ill ſucceſs.

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march; but obſerving they frequently ſally'd, and retired again when attacked by our horſe, he diſpoſed a few veteran cohorts, which he had along with him, in the rear, with a party of cavalry, and marched forward ſlowly with the reſt: thus the farther he retired, ſo much the leſs eager were the Numidians to purſue him. Several towns and caſtles ſent deputies to meet him upon the road, proffering to furniſh him with corn, and receive his commands; wherefore he encamped that evening, being the firſt of January, at Ruſpina: from thence he arrived at Leptis, a free town and country. Embaſſadors from this place came out to meet him, declaring how much their country was at his diſpoſal: wherefore having placed centurions with ſtrong guards at the gates, to prevent any ſoldiers from entering and committing diſorders in the town; he himſelf encamped towards the ſhore, not far diſtant from the place. Hither by accident came his tranſports with ſome of the gallies: for the reſt, as they were informed, not knowing where to land, had been ſeen off of Utica. Mean while CÆSAR, finding himſelf obliged to continue near the coaſts, and not make any expeditions higher up into the land, for want of the reſt of his army, commanded all the cavalry to remain on board; and ſent them freſh water thither; which I ſuppoſe he did to prevent the country from being ravaged: but the rowers that came on ſhore to fetch water, were ſurprized by the Moors; who wounded ſeveral with their darts, and killed others before our party came up to their aſſiſtance.

Cæſar encamps at Ruſpina, which declares for him; ſo does Leptis.

Some few of his tranſports arrive.

Whilſt theſe affairs were tranſacting, CÆSAR diſpatched couriers to Sardinia and the neigbouring provinces for ſupplies of men and corn, which they were to ſend him immediately on receipt of his letters; and having emptied part of his gallies, detached RABIRIUS POSTHUMUS for another convoy to Sicily; not omitting at the ſame inſtant to order ten other gallies a cruiſing, to find out the reſt of his ſcattered fleet, and defend them from the enemy. He likewiſe commanded C. SALLUSTIUS CRISPUS, the prætor, to ſail toward Cercina, an iſland in the enemy's hands, where he underſtood was plenty of corn. He diſtributed all theſe orders ſo carefully, he left no room for excuſe or delay. Mean while, having notice from the priſoners and deſerters of the poſture of SCIPIO, and his party's affairs, he pitied their condition, that were ſo infatu-

He ſends to Sardinia and Sicily for men and corn.

Sends Saluſt to Cercina.

infatuated, chooſing rather to be vaſſals to a foreign prince, than peaceably enjoy their own fortunes at home with their fellow-citizens: for SCIPIO was forced to maintain king JUBA's cavalry.

Cæſar decamps, returns to Ruſpina.

On the third of January CÆSAR decamped; and having left a garriſon of ſix cohorts at Leptis, under the command of SASERNA, returned again to Ruſpina with the reſt of his forces, from whence he came the day before. Here leaving his baggage, he foraged with a light-armed party about the villages, commanding the boors to attend him with horſes and carriages. Thus having got a ſufficient quantity of corn, he returned again to Ruſpina; which I ſuppoſe he did, that he might the eaſilier cover the ſea-ports, and ſecure a retreat upon occaſion to his ſhips. Wherefore having left P. SASERNA here with a garriſon, brother to him whom he had made governor of Leptis, he commanded ſtore of wood to be carried into the town; then leaving the place, attended by the ſeven veteran cohorts that had behaved themſelves ſo well under SULPICIUS and VATINIUS, he marched to the haven about two miles diſtant from Ruſpina, where he embarked with them in the evening; which made the whole army very inquiſitive and uneaſy, ſince no body was able to gueſs at the general's deſign. Thus the new levies, who were but inconſiderable, for all were not yet arrived, finding themſelves expoſed to a numerous and craſty enemy, had nothing to ſupport them under their afflictions, but the unuſual mirth and gaiety they obſerved in their general's countenance; for CÆSAR was a man of undaunted ſpirit; from his conduct therefore and experience they promiſed themſelves ſucceſs.

Goes a foraging.

Embarks with ſeven cohorts; his army very uneaſy.

Another part of his army arrives.

He continued all night on board; but the next morning early, juſt as he was about to weigh anchor, moſt unexpectedly arrived that part of his navy that had loſt their way, which had given him ſo much pain. Whereupon CÆSAR immediately commanded all his ſoldiers to land again, and receive the reſt when they came on ſhore. So ſoon as his infantry and horſe were landed, he received the ſhips into the haven, returned again to Ruſpina, encamped near the town, and leaving the baggage there, went to forage with thirty cohorts. Now the army perceived CÆSAR's deſign was privately to have ſailed to the aſſiſtance of the tranſports that were wanting, to prevent their being ſurprized by the enemy's

He returns to Ruſpina.

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fleet. Nor would it have been convenient to have made the ſoldiers he left behind in garriſon acquainted with his deſign, leſt they ſhould have been frightned by conſidering how unequal their number was to that of the enemy.

CHAP. III.

Cæſar goes a foraging.

CÆSAR had not marched above three miles from his camp, before his ſcouts gave him notice the enemy was not far off; which intelligence was ſoon confirmed by the mighty duſt which appeared. Whereupon he immediately recalled the horſe and archers; of the firſt he had but a ſmall number, and only brought an inconſiderable party of the latter along with him; theſe he ordered to follow after leiſurely in good order, whilſt he went before with a ſlender guard. He had only four hundred horſe and ſome archers, beſides the thirty cohorts; but however, ſo ſoon as he arrived within ſight of the enemy, he commanded his ſoldiers to repair to their arms, and make ready for the battle.

Meets Labienus; who draws up in order of battle.

Mean while the enemy, under the command of LABIENUS and the two PACIDII, drew out their forces in a prodigious long front, conſiſting of foot, cavalry, light-armed Numidians and archers, ſo cloſely ranged, that at firſt CÆSAR's army miſtook them all for infantry; but in both their wings were diſpoſed ſeveral ſquadrons of horſe.

Cæſar does the like.

CÆSAR likewiſe being obliged to it by the ſmallneſs of his numbers, ranged his army in a ſingle line; placing the archers in the front, and his cavalry in either wing; giving them particular orders, to take care they were not ſurrounded by the enemy's numerous horſe: for he deſigned only to engage them with his foot.

Both armies expected whether would begin the charge; which CÆSAR thought not his buſineſs; for being ſo much inferior to them in number, he had more occaſion to make uſe of ſtratagem than force: when on a ſudden the enemy's horſe began to ſtretch out upon the hills on every ſide, in order to ſurround CÆSAR's cavalry, who could hardly maintain their ground. Mean while both the main bodies advancing to charge each other, the light-armed Numidian foot, intermixed with horſe, ſallied from their line of battle, and caſt their darts amongſt our legionary ſoldiers; but when our men attempted to return

Labienus's cavalry ſurround Cæſar's army.

return their charge, they immediately retreated, and the foot received our attack, till the horſe had time to rally, and come again to their relief.

CÆSAR obſerving this new way of fighting, conſidered his ſoldiers broke their ranks by advancing too far; for whenever our foot purſued their cavalry, who retreated a conſiderable way, and eaſily evaded our piles by flight, we were flanked by the Numidians: wherefore he commanded, not a ſoldier ſhould move above four foot from his colours. LABIENUS's cavalry all this while, deſpiſing ours for their inequality of number, were endeavouring to ſurround them: our men, overpowered by the enemy, and having their horſes wounded under them, began by degrees to give ground; which made their cavalry purſue with great ardor. Thus the whole army were in an inſtant ſurrounded, and being intangled like beaſts in the toils, were obliged to caſt themſelves into an orb.

Cæſar's army caſt into an orb.

LABIENUS rid up and down bare-headed at the head of his army, ſometimes encouraging his own men, ſometimes ſpeaking to CÆSAR's after this manner; "So ho, you raw ſoldier there! why ſo very fierce? What, have CÆSAR's fair promiſes inſpired you with all this courage? he has brought you into a fine condition! I pity your caſe." To this, one of the perſons he ſpoke to made anſwer, "He was no raw ſoldier, but a veteran of the tenth legion. I don't ſee your colours, reply'd LABIENUS. No matter for that, added the ſoldier, you ſhall quickly know who I am." Then pulling off his helmet to diſcover his face, at the ſame inſtant he darted his pile with the utmoſt vigour againſt LABIENUS; which gave his horſe a dreadful wound in the breaſt: "Now, ſaid he, LABIENUS, remember it was a ſoldier of the tenth legion caſt that javelin at thee." However the whole army was mightily daunted, eſpecially the new levies; for now they only caſt their eyes upon CÆSAR, without doing any thing, except endeavouring to defend themſelves from the enemy's darts.

Labienus's diſcourſe to Cæſar's ſoldiers.

A ſoldier's anſwer.

Cæſar's army in a great conſternation.

At laſt CÆSAR, perceiving the enemy's deſign, commanded the army to extend themſelves as far in length as they could, facing about at the ſame time to form a double front. Thus he broke the enemy's circle with his right and left wings, and attacking them from both ſides at once, after he had received the horſe into the middle of his forces, his infantry caſt their piles, and ſoon obliged

He orders his army to extend themſelves in length; they break the enemy's circle.

He routs Labienus.

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the enemy to fly: but purſued not far, becauſe he was apprehenſive of an ambuſcade. This action over, the enemy repulſed and wounded, he began to retreat towards his camp, in order of battle.

Petreius and Piſo arrive with a ſtrong party to Labienus's aſſiſtance.

Mean while arrived M. PETREIUS and CN. PISO, to the aſſiſtance of the enemy, with eleven hundred ſelect Numidian horſe, and a conſiderable number of foot from the ſame country. This ſupply gave them freſh vigour, and having recovered their late diſorder, their cavalry again began to attack our legions in the rear, endeavouring to ſtop their retreat. Upon which CÆSAR cauſed his forces to face about, and renew the fight in the open plain; but perceiving the enemy fought as they did before, avoiding a cloſe engagement, and conſidering his own cavalry were but few in number, that their horſes had not yet recovered their voyage, being dry, fatigued, and ſo diſabled by the wounds they had received, they could purſue but ſlowly, and that greateſt part of the day was already ſpent; he ordered his men to decide the buſineſs at a blow, nor to deſiſt from purſuing the enemy, till they had forced them to retreat beyond the fartheſt hills, and lodged themſelves there: wherefore he gave the ſignal. The enemy fighting but faintly, he charged them with his ſquadrons and cohorts; who, without much difficulty, in a moment beat them out of the field, and forced them to retreat beyond the hills. Having poſſeſſed themſelves of the place, and ſtayed there a little while, according to their orders, they retired leiſurely to their camp: the enemy, having met with ill ſucceſs, did the like.

They attack Cæſar again, and are again repulſed.

This affair being over, and the diſpute at an end, CÆSAR was informed by deſerters of all kinds, who came over to him in great numbers, as alſo from the enemy's cavalry he had taken, that their deſign was to frighten his new levies, and the few veteran ſoldiers he had with him, by that new and unuſual way of fighting; then to have ſurrounded and cut them to pieces with their horſe, as they had formerly ſerved CURIO. For LABIENUS in his ſpeech to the ſoldiers declared, he would pour in ſo many freſh ſupplies upon us, that being wearied with the ſlaughter, we ſhould be defeated even in the midſt of victory. He depended mightily upon his numbers, becauſe he heard the veteran legions had mutiny'd at Rome, and refuſed to go upon the African expedition; he thought three years ſervice in the country had confirmed

firmed his own ſoldiers in his intereſt, who were reinforced by vaſt numbers of Numidian horſe and light-armed infantry, beſides the German and French cavalry, which after POMPEY's defeat he had brought along with him from * Pharſalia; the other troops he had levied after his arrival in Africk, amongſt the freed men, ſlaves, and ſuch as were deſcended by the father's ſide from Roman citizens; whom he taught the uſe of † bridles; and a hundred and twenty of JUBA's elephants, with innumerable other ſquadrons of horſe. Big with theſe expectations, at the head of ſixteen hundred French and German horſe, eight thouſand Numidians without bridles, eleven hundred other cavalry commanded by PETREIUS, four times as many infantry and light-armed foot, beſides conſiderable numbers of ſlingers and archers, both horſe and foot, did LABIENUS engage CÆSAR in an open and ſpacious plain, the fourth day of January, being the third after his arrival in Africk. This diſpute continued from eleven o'clock till ſun-ſet; during which time, PTREIUS, being dangerouſly wounded, was obliged to quit the battle.

† For the Numidians uſed none.

CHAP. IV.

AFTER this, CÆSAR began to fortify his camp with greater diligence, to encreaſe the number of the guards, whoſe buſineſs was to defend the works, and draw a line of communication on one ſide from Ruſpina to the ſea, the like on the other from his camp, to ſecure the ſafer acceſs for his convoys backward and forward. He likewiſe gave orders the darts and engines ſhould be removed from on ſhip-board to his camp, with ſome of the Rhodian and French rowers and mariners; whom he furniſhed with arms; that upon occaſion he might mix them among his cavalry, as the enemy did their light-armed foot: not omitting daily to encreaſe his forces with ſtrong parties of archers from the Ityrean and Syrian fleets. For he had notice SCIPIO would come within three days after the late engagement, to join his forces with thoſe of LABIENUS and PETREIUS: his army was reported to conſiſt of eight legions and four thouſand horſe. Wherefore CÆSAR took care to erect

Cæſar fortifies his camp.

Prepares vaſt quantities of arms.

Ityrei or Ithyræi, people of Cœloſyria.

* The original is from Brindiſi: but that's a palpable error, for Brindiſi was in CÆSAR's cuſtody long before the battle of Pharſalia.

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forges to make arms, to prepare plenty of darts, bullets, and ſharp ſtakes hardened in the fire; ſending meſſengers at the ſame time into Sicily for hurdles, with timber for battering-rams (becauſe there was but little proper for the purpoſe in Africk) with lead and iron. He conſidered likewiſe the country would not be able to furniſh him with corn, for none had been ſown the year before, the peaſants being obliged to bear arms: beſides, what proviſions there were in Africk, the enemy had ſecured in a few well fortified towns, demoliſhing ſuch as were not tenable, forcing the inhabitants to retire within their works, and leave their fields deſerted. But CÆSAR, notwithſtanding he laboured under theſe difficulties, by his obliging carriage, and the eaſy acceſs he granted all people, had got a ſmall quantity of corn, which he huſbanded to the beſt advantage. He daily viſited the works, relieved the cohorts that kept guard by others; for he was obliged conſtantly to keep a ſtrong party in arms to prevent ſurprize; and LABIENUS about this time ſent his ſick and wounded, which were very numerous, in waggons to Adrumetum.

Cæſar wants corn.

Several of his victuallers burnt.

Mean while, CÆSAR'S victuallers, being diſperſed, ſailed up and down, not knowing the coaſt, or where the general was encamped: as they ſtraggled from each other, the enemy's boats attacked, and took or burnt them. Wherefore CÆSAR ordered his fleet to cruiſe about the ports and iſlands for their ſecurity.

CHAP. V.

MEAN while MARCUS CATO, who commanded in chief at Utica, was daily ſpurring young POMPEY forward to undertake ſome noble enterprize. "Your father, ſaid he, when arrived at your age, obſerving how the commonwealth was harraſſed by impious and daring citizens, who had either baniſhed, or put to death, the moſt worthy of their countrymen; prompted by glory, and the greatneſs of his mind, though only a private man, and very young, gathered the ſmall remains of his father's army, reſtored Rome and Italy, that were almoſt entirely ruined, to their ancient liberty, and with wonderful diſpatch reduced Sicily, Africk, Numidia and Mauritania; by which actions he acquired a glorious reputation throughout the univerſe, triumphing whilſt he was a youth, and only a Roman knight. Nor did he enter into the world with

with thoſe advantages you enjoy; his father had not left ſuch a reputation behind him, his anceſtors were not of that dignity, he had not ſo many clients, nor was of ſo conſiderable quality as you. Will not you therefore, who inherit his honour and glory, who want neither greatneſs of mind, nor induſtry, ſummon all his friends together, make a vigorous effort, and aſſert your own liberty, with that of the commonwealth, and all faithful citizens?"

Young Pompey's ſucceſsleſs attempt upon Aſacrum.

Moved with this advice, which proceeded from ſo grave and auſtere a perſon; young POMPEY, with a fleet of thirty ſhips of ſeveral kinds, amongſt which number were only a few gallies, ſailed from Utica to Mauritania, where he entered the country of king BOGUD. Leaving his baggage behind him, with an army of two thouſand men, compoſed of freemen and ſlaves, part with arms, and part without, he marched towards Aſacrum, where the king had left a garriſon. The inhabitants having notice of POMPEY's arrival, ſuffered him to approach their walls; then making an unexpected ſally, defeated his forces, and obliged them to retire with precipitation to their ſhips. Upon this ill ſucceſs young POMPEY weighed anchor, and not thinking it convenient to touch again upon thoſe coaſts, directed his courſe towards * Majorca and Minorca.

* Baleares.

CHAP. VI.

SCIPIO, in the mean while, having left a ſtrong garriſon in Utica, marched with the army we mentioned before to Adrumetum, where he encamped; but after a few days continuance there, purſued his journey in the night, join'd PETREIUS and LABIENUS, lodging all their forces in the ſame camp, which extended three miles in length. Their cavalry frequently came about our works, intercepted thoſe that ſtraggled too far for wood or water, and obliged us to continue within our fortifications. This reduced CÆSAR's army to great neceſſities, for the convoys from Sicily and Sardinia were not yet arrived; the ſeaſon of the year would not permit any ſhip to put to ſea without imminent danger; nor had CÆSAR above the ſpace of ſix miles every way in Africk, which made forage very ſcarce. But the veteran ſoldiers and cavalry, who had been engaged in many wars both by ſea and land, who had frequently encountred the like hardſhips and dangers before, gathered weeds

Forage ſcarce with Cæſar.

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upon the ſhore, waſhed them in freſh water, and ſo preſerved the lives of the horſes and cattle.

Juba marches to join Scipio;

Whilſt affairs were in this poſture, king JUBA, underſtanding what difficulties CÆSAR had to ſtruggle with, thought it not convenient to allow him reſpite till he ſhould receive freſh ſupplies. Wherefore having gathered a conſiderable number of horſe and infantry, he reſolved to leave his country, and go to the aſſiſtance of his friends. But whilſt he was upon his march, P. SITIUS and king BOGUD joining forces, advanced towards the frontiers of his kingdom: they ſate down before Citra, the richeſt town in his territories, which they reduced in a few days after their arrival. The like ſucceſs they had over two other towns of the Getulians, which they won by ſtorm, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword, having firſt offered them leave to quit the place with their effects, which they refuſed. After this ſucceſs they began to lay the country waſte on every ſide; upon notice whereof JUBA, when he was already arrived within a ſmall diſtance of SCIPIO's camp, conſidering it was more neceſſary to defend his own country, than aſſiſt his neighbours; leſt perhaps he might loſe his kingdom, and meet with as ill ſucceſs where he was going, deſiſted from his journey, recalled his forces from SCIPIO, and apprehending the event of affairs at home, left only thirty elephants behind him; then returned to preſerve his towns from falling into the enemy's hands.

but on notice Bogud had entered his kingdom, returns.

Cæſar diſperſes his circular letters, to let the province know he is arrived.

CÆSAR perceiving the province ſtill doubted of his arrival, believing he had only ſent one of his lieutenants with thoſe forces to Africk, but was not there himſelf in perſon, diſperſed his circular letters to take away this error. Whereupon ſeveral perſons of the greateſt quality, from all the towns round about, came to his camp, giving him melancholy accounts of the cruel treatment they had met with from the enemy. Moved by their tears, CÆSAR reſolved, ſo ſoon as he received the reſt of his forces, and the ſeaſon would permit, to quit his fortifications, and take the field. Wherefore he immediately ſent orders to ALLIENUS the prætor, and RABIRIUS POSTHUMUS at Sicily, which he diſpatched in a ſmall pinnace, that they ſhould forthwith, without any excuſe of the winds or ſeaſon, cauſe the reſt of his army to be tranſported, otherwiſe Africk would be over-run by the enemy; and if he did not quickly come to the aſſiſtance of his friends, SCIPIO's cruelty would not leave them

them a ſingle houſe to retire to. So impatient was he for the arrival of his forces, that the very day after he had diſpatched this packet, he complained they loſt time; ſtill keeping his eyes and thoughts intent upon the ſea, day and night, without intermiſſion: Nor without reaſon; for every moment brought him freſh accounts of the burning of villages, laying of countries waſte, killing and carrying off cattle, ſacking and deſerting of towns and caſtles, impriſoning or maſſacring the chief inhabitants, and making their children captives, under the pretence of hoſtages: but whilſt his army was ſo ſmall, he was not able to deliver them from theſe afflictions, who implored his aſſiſtance. However, to keep his ſoldiers employed, he commanded them to go on with the fortifications, built forts and caſtles, and caſt up a mole into the ſea. Mean while SCIPIO was induſtrious in exerciſing his elephants, which he performed by drawing two parties up, in order of battle, one of ſlingers, which was to act the enemy's part, and caſt ſmall ſtones at the elephants, behind whom he diſpoſed his own army, that when the unweildy beaſts, being frightened, ſhould endeavour to turn upon their friends, they might be driven back again by the ſlingers, and obliged to face about towards the enemy. But he found it a difficult matter to inſtruct ſuch uncouth animals; for elephants, after many years teaching, are never ſo expert at the buſineſs, but he that brings them into the field, runs the ſame hazard with thoſe againſt whom he produces them.

Cæſar's impatience for the arrival of the reſt of his forces.

The way of exerciſing elephants.

CHAP. VII.

WHILST both generals were thus employed near Ruſpina, C. VIRGILIUS PRÆTORIUS, who was governor of Thapſus, a ſea-port town, on notice that ſeveral of CÆSAR's tranſports ſtraggled up and down the ſea, not knowing what haven to put into, laid hold of the opportunity, manned a galley and ſome pinnaces, with foot and archers, reſolving to purſue CÆSAR's ſhips where ever he met them ſingle. Several he attacked with ill ſucceſs, being beaten and forced to fly, yet he did not deſiſt from the enterprize. At laſt, by accident, he came up with a veſſel, where the two TITI, young Spaniards, tribunes of the fifth leigion, were on board, whoſe father CÆSAR had made a ſenator. In their company likewiſe was T. SALIENUS, who had beſieged lieutenant M. MES-

Virgilius takes ſome of Cæſar's ſtraggling ſhips.

The two Titi taken.

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M. MESSALA at Meſſina, and making a virulent ſpeech againſt CÆSAR, had cauſed the money and ornaments deſigned for his triumph, to be ſtopped. Conſcious therefore of his guilt, and apprehending the puniſhment his crimes deſerved, he perſuaded the two brothers to make no reſiſtance, but ſurrender to VIRGILIUS. They were no ſooner in his cuſtody, but he conveyed them to SCIPIO, who immediately ſent them to priſon, and three days after gave orders for putting them to death. It is ſaid, when the centurion led them to execution, the eldeſt deſired the favour to be firſt diſpatched, which he obtained, and thus they ended their lives.

ſent to Scipio, and put to death after quarter given.

Mean while the out-guards of the cavalry on both ſides had frequent ſkirmiſhes; but ſometimes LABIENUS's French and German horſe, upon parol given, converſed with CÆSAR's. About the ſame time LABIENUS, with a ſtrong party of cavalry, went to ſtorm Leptis, where SASERNA commanded with three cohorts, which the beſieged eaſily defended; for the place was well fortified, and ſtored with plenty of engines. However the enemy made frequent attempts, till by chance the captain of a ſtrong ſquadron, that had poſted themſelves before the gates, was killed by a well-directed ſhot from a ſcorpion; whereupon the reſt being frightened, immediately retired to their camp, without ever daring to approach the walls again.

Frequent ſkirmiſhes between the cavalry on both ſides.

Labienus's vain attempt upon Leptis.

Whilſt this affair was in tranſaction, SCIPIO drew his army out every day, about three hundred paces diſtance from his camp; where having ſpent the greateſt part of the day, he returned again at night. This he did frequently; and obſerving none of CÆSAR's forces moved beyond their trenches, or advanced towards his, deſpiſing his enemy's patience, he ranged all his troops in battle array, with his thirty elephants that carried caſtles on their backs; then extending his horſe and foot as wide as poſſible, led them almoſt up to CÆSAR's trenches.

Scipio's bravado's.

Whereupon CÆSAR recalled all his ſoldiers that were gone to fetch forage, wood, or other materials for the works, commanding they ſhould retire leiſurely without confuſion, and aſcend the rampier: but he ordered the out-guards of horſe to continue in their poſt, till the enemy ſhould arrive almoſt within reach of their javelins; if they came nearer, then to retire within the works in as good order as they could: he likewiſe inſtructed the reſt of his cavalry where they ſhould repair to their arms, and attend his farther

What orders Cæſar gave when Scipio drew out.

farther commands. Nor did he trouble himſelf to mount the rampier, or diſtribute theſe orders publickly by word of mouth; but being extreamly well ſkilled in art military, ſettled the whole affair in his tent, ſending his adjutants to perform what he thought convenient; for he remembered how often he had defeated, forgiven, and granted the enemy quarter, when they were infinitely ſuperior to him in number; therefore took it for granted, they never would be ſo hardy to attempt his trenches, whilſt his ſingle name and authority was ſufficient to daunt a conſiderable part of their army. Beſides the ſtrength of his fortifications, the depth of the ditch, the height of the rampier, and the * ſharp ſpikes diſpoſed in the ground after a wonderful manner, were ſufficient, without the ſoldiers aſſiſtance, to have prevented the enemy's acceſs. He was likewiſe plentifully ſtored with all kinds of darts, and † engines neceſſary for a vigorous defence. Nor had he made theſe preparations for fear of the enemy, though they believed the contrary, but becauſe his own forces were inconſiderable. Neither did the ſmallneſs of his numbers, their want of diſcipline, or diſtruſt of victory, prevent his engaging them, but a reflection on the conqueſt he ſhould obtain. ‡ For he thought it below his dignity, to have it reported he had won a bloody victory over the poor remains of his enemy's defeated troops, after having atchieved ſo many glorious actions, and routed ſuch mighty armies. He reſolved therefore to endure their inſolence, till ſome part of his veteran legions ſhould arrive by the ſecond convoy. But SCIPIO having for ſome time continued in the poſture we mentioned, in contempt of CÆSAR's forces, made his own file off by degrees to their camp; where having aſſembled them, he made an harangue, to inform them what a terror they had ſtruck into their enemy, what a deſperate condition they were in, and encouraged them by the hopes of a ſpeedy victory. CÆSAR, on the other hand, commanded his men to proceed with the works, under which pretence he kept the new levies employed.

* Stili Cæci, the ſame with the Stimuli at the ſiege of Aliſe.

† Scorpions and Catapultæ.

Scipio files off again to his camp.

CHAP. VIII.

THE Numidians and Getulians daily deſerted from SCIPIO's camp, ſome returning home, others coming over to CÆSAR in whole companies, becauſe they and

Deſerters come over to Cæſar from the Getulians.

‡ Here our Author takes abundance of pains to compliment CÆSAR at the expence of his own diſcretion.

their

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their anceſtors had been infinitely obliged to C. MARIUS, whoſe kinſman they heard CÆSAR was. Having pitched upon ſome of theſe that were of the beſt quality, he ſent them back to their own country, with letters to the ſeveral ſtates where they lived, encouraging them to take arms, defend their liberties, and be no longer impoſed on by the enemy's ſpeeches.

Acilla declares for Cæſar.

Whilſt affairs at Ruſpina were in this poſture, the free city of Acilla, and ſeveral other places, ſent embaſſadors to CÆSAR, promiſing readily to ſubmit to his commands, provided he would ſend them garriſons for their ſecurity: which condition performed, for the advantage of the publick, they would ſupply him with corn, and ſuch other proviſions as their countries afforded. Their demands were readily agreed to, for CÆSAR immediately detached C. MESSIUS, who had lately bore the office of edile, with the forces deſired, to Acilla. CONSIDIUS LONGUS, governor of Adrumetum, who had two legions and ſix hundred horſe under his command, having notice of this affair, left part of the garriſon behind to ſecure the town, and ſet forward with twelve cohorts for Acilla; but MESSIUS marching with more expedition, arrived there before him. CONSIDIUS therefore, on his approach to the town, perceiving the place was poſſeſſed by a garriſon of CÆSAR's, thought it not convenient to attempt a ſtorm, ſo returned again to Adrumetum without having affected any thing, conſidering the number of forces he had with him. Though ſome few days after, receiving a reinforcement of horſe from LABIENUS, he returned again to Acilla, and began to inveſt it.

Conſidius's deſign upon Acilla diſappointed.

Some ſupplies arrive at Cæſar's camp.

About the ſame time C. SALUSTIUS CRISPUS, whom CÆSAR ſent (as we have already remarked) ſome few days before with a fleet to Circinna, arrived there. Whereupon C. DECIMUS the queſtor, who had been left with a ſtrong party, chiefly compoſed of his own ſervants, to ſecure the corn, got a ſmall veſſel, embarked and made his eſcape. SALUSTIUS was well received by the natives, he found great plenty of corn, loaded his ſhips, and returned to CÆSAR. Mean while the proconſul ALLIENUS had cauſed the twelfth and fifteenth legions, with eight hundred French cavalry, a thouſand archers and ſlingers, to embark; whom he ſent away to CÆSAR with a ſecond ſupply of corn: this fleet having a fair wind, arrived ſafe at Ruſpina in four days time, where CÆSAR lay encamped. Thus receiving both ſupplies of men and corn,

corn, he enjoyed at the ſame inſtant a double ſatisfaction; his ſoldiers being encouraged, and their fears for want of proviſions alleviated, he received the legions on ſhore, ordered them and the cavalry to refreſh themſelves after their voyage, and when they had recovered their fatigue, diſtributed them into the caſtles, and upon the works.

Scipio ſends ſpies into Cæſar's camp; but they betray him.

SCIPIO and his party, whilſt CÆSAR was thus employed, were ſtrangely ſurprized, and could not conceive the reaſon, why he, who always uſed to be ſo ready to engage the enemy, and offer battle of his own accord, ſhould now decline it; which they ſuſpected not to be done without ſome deep deſign. His patience made them very uneaſy; wherefore having choſen two Gentulians, whom they thought firm to their intereſt, they encouraged them by conſiderable rewards and promiſes, to go over to the enemy, under pretence of deſerting, and bring intelligence. But when they were brought before CÆSAR, they deſired leave freely to declare their minds without offence; which being granted, thus they began. "Several of our countrymen, the Getulians, noble emperor, who are entirely devoted to the family of the MARII, with almoſt all the Roman citizens of the fourth and ſixth legions, would come over to your camp, were they not prevented by the guard of Numidian horſe. But we, who are ſent by SCIPIO as ſpies (to diſcover what ditches or traps you had diſpoſed before your trenches for his elephants, and how you deſigned to engage thoſe beaſts, that having carefully made our remarks, we might return an exact account of the poſture of your affairs) gladly accepted of the office, to gain an opportunity of deſerting." CÆSAR, having praiſed and rewarded their candid dealing, ſent them to the other deſerters, and quickly found the truth of their intelligence confirmed; for the day after, ſeveral ſoldiers of the legions they named, came over to his camp.

The deſerters ſpeech to Cæſar.

Cato's diligence at Utica.

Thus ſtood affairs at Ruſpina, whilſt MARCUS CATO, who commanded ut Utica, cauſed new levies daily to be made amongſt the natives, freemen, ſlaves, and all ſorts of people that were able to bear arms, whom he had no ſooner raiſed, but he ſent them away to SCIPIO. Mean while arrived deputies from Tiſdrum, where the Italian merchants and peaſants of the country had laid up three thouſand buſhels of corn; the deſign of their embaſſy was to acquaint CÆSAR how well they were ſtored with proviſions, and deſire he would ſend a garriſon to defend them.

Tiſdrum declares for Cæſar.

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them. He returned them many thanks for their friendſhip, promiſed to grant their demands very ſhortly, and having encouraged them, ſent them back again to their countrymen. About the ſame time P. SITIUS entered Numidia, and reduced a ſtrong fort, ſituate on a hill, by ſtorm, where JUBA had repoſed plenty of corn, and other proviſions for the war.

Sitius takes a magazine of Juba's.

CHAP. IX.

CÆSAR having now augmented his army with two veteran legions, beſides the horſe and light-armed infantry that arrived by the ſecond convoy; he ſent ſix tranſports to Lilybæum for the remainder of his forces. On the twenty-ſeventh of January he, commanding his ſcouts and lictors to be ready to attend him by ſix that evening, and without acquainting any body with his deſign, left orders the legions ſhould be drawn out about three the next morning, and follow him to Ruſpina, the firſt town that had declared for him in Africk, where he had a garriſon. Thence, having paſſed an eaſy deſcent on the left, he marched towards the ſea. Here was a valley wonderfully even, that extended fifteen miles, half encompaſſed by a ridge of a moderate height, though very long, which reſembled the form of a theatre; on the top of this mountain were a few ſmall ſummits, on each whereof forts and watch-towers had formerly been erected, and at the fartheſt of theſe where SCIPIO's out-guards poſted.

Cæſar decamps.

So ſoon as CÆSAR had rendered himſelf maſter of this ridge, he began to build turrets on every one of the little hills; which he effected in leſs than half an hour. But when he approached the laſt eminence, where, as I have already obſerved, lay a Numidian guard, he made a pauſe, to obſerve the ſituation of the place; then having cauſed his cavalry to mount the guard, he ordered the foot to draw a line of communication along the middle of the ridge to his camp. Which SCIPIO and LABIENUS obſerving, they drew out all their horſe, diſpoſed them in order of battle, advanced about a mile from their fortifications, then ranged their infantry in a ſecond line, about four hundred paces off the camp.

Gains a famous ridge, fortifies it.

The enemy draw out with a deſign to interrupt his works.

CÆSAR, not in the leaſt ſurprized at their numbers, commanded his ſoldiers to proceed with the lines: but being informed the enemy, who were already arrived within a mile and a half, ſtill approached with a deſign

to

to interrupt and force his ſoldiers from the works; which would neceſſarily oblige him to draw off the legions; he detached a ſquadron of Spaniſh horſe, and ſome light-armed infantry to ſupport them, with orders to attack the enemy's party on the neareſt hill immediately, and lodge themſelves there. They made ſo vigorous a charge, they quickly took or wounded part of the Numidians that guarded the poſt, obliged the reſt to fly, and carried the place. LABIENUS, obſerving the rout and confuſion of his party, advanced with the greateſt part of his cavalry in the right wing to their aſſiſtance: but CÆSAR laying hold of the occaſion, when LABIENUS had marched ſome diſtance from his army, detached his left to ſurround and cut him off.

He detaches a party of Spaniſh horſe to gain a poſt, which they do.

Labienus advances to ſuſtain his party, but is ſurrounded, and his men cut off by Cæſar's left wing.

In the valley, where this diſpute happened, was a village fortified with four turrets, which prevented LABIENUS from diſcovering CÆSAR's motions; ſo he neither knew he was ſurrounded, nor ſaw our horſe, till he found himſelf attacked in the rear. The ſurprize ſtruck ſo great a terror into the Numidians, they immediately fled, and made the beſt of their way towards the camp: but the Gauls and Germans, who endeavoured to maintain their ground, being charged on all ſides, after a vigorous reſiſtance, were every man of them cut to pieces. Which SCIPIO's legions, that were drawn out before their works, perceiving, were ſo terrified, they immediately began to retire with great precipitation into every gate of their camp. SCIPIO and his forces thus obliged to quit the higher ground, the plain, and fly for ſhelter to their trenches, CÆSAR ſounded a retreat. When the field was empty, he beheld the prodigious bodies of the Gauls and Germans, who had followed LABIENUS out of France, part volunteers, part induced by money or promiſes, and others out of gratitude; who having obtained quarter after CURIO's defeat, were reſolved to return the favour. The carcaſes of theſe men, that lay diſperſed all over the plain, were of a wonderful ſhape and ſize.

The day after this action, CÆSAR drew all his forces out of the caſtles, and diſpoſed them in order of battle in the field; but SCIPIO having had ſo many men killed and wounded the day before, did not think convenient to move beyond his trenches. CÆSAR, marching ſlowly by the foot of the mountain, approached nearer his works. He was already arrived within leſs than a mile of Uzita, a town in the enemy's poſſeſſion, when SCIPIO, apprehending

Cæſar draws out, marches towards Uzita.

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hending the loſs of ſo important a place, from whence his army was ſupplied with water and many other neceſſaries, drew out his forces, and diſpoſed them in four ſeveral lines; the firſt, according to his uſual cuſtom, was compoſed of cavalry, and armed elephants with caſtles on their backs: in this order he marched to relieve the place; which CÆSAR perceiving, believed SCIPIO was now reſolved to give him battle. But he found himſelf miſtaken; for the enemy, making a halt, covered their main body with the town, leaving only the two wings expoſed, where the elephants were ranged in full view of our army.

Scipio does the like, but no engagement happens.

CÆSAR had now attended SCIPIO's motions till almoſt ſun-ſet, when obſerving he advanced no nearer him, deſigning rather to defend himſelf by the advantage of his poſt, if occaſion ſhould be, than venture a battle in the open field; thought it not proper that day to march nearer the town, which covered the greateſt part of the enemy's army, and wherein they had a ſtrong garriſon of Numidians. For he judged it almoſt impracticable at once to aſſault Uzita, and engage both the enemy's wings in a diſadvantageous place; eſpecially ſince his own ſoldiers had continued in arms all that day without eating: wherefore retiring to his camp, the day following he began to extend his lines nearer the town.

CHAP. X.

MEAN while CONSIDIUS, who had long beſieged Acilla with eight cohorts of mercenary Getulians and Numidians, where C. MESSIUS commanded in chief; having made many efforts, and raiſed conſiderable works, which were always deſtroyed by the beſieged; finding he ſpent his labour in vain, on advice of the engagement between the horſe of both armies, was ſo diſturbed, that ſetting fire to his corn, whereof he had plenty, and deſtroying his wine, oil, and ſuch other proviſions as he had in ſtore, he quitted the ſiege; then marching through Numidia, divided his forces with SCIPIO, and returned to Adrumetum.

Two of Cæſar's ſhips taken.

Whilſt CÆSAR was thus employed, one of the tranſports, which ALLIENUS had ſent with the ſecond ſupply from Sicily, where Q. COMINIUS, and L. TICIDA, a Roman knight, were embarked, being ſeparated by foul weather from the reſt of the convoys, was forced into Thapſus

Thapſus, where VIRGILIUS, having fitted out ſome boats and ſmall veſſels, took her, and ſent all the perſons on board to SCIPIO. A three-bank'd galley likewiſe ſtraying from the fleet, was driven by the winds to Ægimurus; ſo falling in with VARUS and OCTAVIUS's ſquadron, was taken. In this veſſel were ſome veteran ſoldiers, with a centurion, and a few new levies, whom VARUS, without offering the leaſt injury, ſent away to SCIPIO. So ſoon as they came into his preſence, and ſtood before his chair of ſtate, "I am ſatisfied, ſaid he, it is by the inſtruction and command of your impious general, you are compelled to purſue the lives of your beſt countrymen; not of your own accord. But ſince fortune has put you into our power, if you will perform your duty, and defend the republick, in concert with the reſt of her worthy members, you ſhall not only have your lives pardoned, but receive rewards for your ſervice: ſpeak therefore, what you reſolve to do."

Scipio's ſpeech to the priſoners.

SCIPIO, having ended his gracious ſpeech, doubted not in the leaſt they would return him many thanks for his merciful proffer: but received this anſwer from the centurion. "SCIPIO (for general I cannot call you) I thank you for proffering me life and liberty, though I am your priſoner by right of war, and perhaps I might accept your favour, could I do it without being guilty of the baſeſt crimes. Shall I draw my ſword againſt my emperor CÆSAR, and his army, under whom I have had the honour to command a company, and to maintain whoſe glory I have bore arms above theſe ſixteen years? No! far be it from me; and, as a friend, I would adviſe you to deſiſt from the enterprize: for if you are yet ignorant with whom you contend, I will acquaint you. Chooſe the beſt cohort in your army, allow me only the liberty to ſelect ten of my fellow-ſoldiers, we will engage them, and from our courage you ſhall form a judgment, what you may expect from that of your own forces."

The brave centurion's anſwer.

The centurion having thus boldly declared his mind, SCIPIO, ſtung with the affront, and enraged to the laſt degree, nodded to the officers about him to perform his orders, cauſed the centurion to be killed at his feet, and commanded the veteran ſoldiers to be ſeparated from the new levies. "Carry away thoſe hardened wretches, ſaid he, whoſe hands have been imbrued in the blood of their fellow-citizens." Accordingly they were carried out of the camp, and barbarouſly murdered. As for the new raiſed

Scipio puts him to death.

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men, he diſtributed them amongſt his own troops, but would not ſuffer COMINIUS and TICIDA to come into his preſence. CÆSAR, mightily concerned for this accident, caſhier'd, and publiſhed a ſevere edict againſt the captains of that ſquadron, which he ordered to cruiſe about Thapſus for the ſecurity of his tranſports and gallies.

The great ſtorm.

Much about the ſame time there happened a moſt incredible accident to CÆSAR's army; the * Vergiliæ being ſet, about nine o' clock at night roſe a violent tempeſt, attended by a dreadful ſhower of hail. CÆSAR had not, like other generals, diſpoſed his forces into winter-quarters, but decamping every three or four days, lodged himſelf in a different poſt, nearer the enemy, which rendered the misfortune greater; for the ſoldiers were ſo much employed about the works, they had no leiſure to take care of themſelves. Beſides, he was ſo eager to have all his army tranſported out of Sicily, that he allowed his men to bring nothing over with them but their armour, neither ſlaves, baggage, nor any thing that might have been ſerviceable to them: what little proviſions they had brought were already conſumed, nor could the country, where they were, furniſh them with more. Reduced to this neceſſity, ſome few lay under tents, others were obliged to erect little huts of reeds, which they covered with their cloaks. Thus ſurprized by the ſtorm, beaten down by the weight of the hail-ſtones, almoſt drowned with water, their fires extinguiſhed, and victuals ſpoiled, they wandered up and down the camp, defending their heads with their ſhields: this night likewiſe the tops of the fifth legion's piles of their own accord took fire.

CHAP. XI.

JUBA having by this time had advice of the defeat lately received by SCIPIO's horſe, and being mightily preſſed to come to his aſſiſtance, left his general SABURA,

* Vergiliæ or Pleiades, the ſeven ſtars, that ſome place in the tail, others in the neck of the bull; which the poets feign to be the daughters of ATLAS or LYCURGUS. The editor of the Dauphin's edition produces two or three manuſcripts to make this Virgiliarum; then the latin will run thus, *Vigiliarum confecto ſigno, circiter vigilia ſecunda noctis*; which is a more tautological way of expreſſion than HIRTIUS is uſually guilty of. Others again have found out many difficulties in reconciling this text to aſtronomy. But for my part, I cannot conceive why the word Vergiliæ ſhould be changed; nor, in my opinion, does it betray the author's ignorance of the courſe of the ſtars, as monſieur D' ABLANCOURT fancies, who from hence infers an error in the ancient Calender. For the Virgiliæ ſet exactly at the time mentioned by HIRTIUS in Africk, when CÆSAR was alive; viz. about nine or ten at night, at the latter end of January, or beginning of February, when, by computation, this action happened, though now indeed they ſet ſome hours later.

with part of his army, to act againſt SITIUS, and thinking his preſence might free the armies of his allies from the dread they had of CÆSAR's, marched with three legions, eight hundred horſe with bridles, ſome Numidians without, a vaſt number of light-armed infantry, and thirty elephants, to join them. When he arrived there, he pitched his own camp, with the forces I mentioned, at no great diſtance from SCIPIO's. CÆSAR's ſoldiers had long been uneaſy with the apprehenſion of JUBA's army, and the nearer he approached, the more pain they were in. But after he had taken up his quarters cloſe by them, their fears immediately vaniſhed, and they deſpiſed him. However, we plainly diſcovered SCIPIO was not a little encouraged by his reinforcement; for the day after he drew out both armies into the field, with ſixty elephants, which he diſpoſed to the beſt advantage; then advancing ſeveral paces before his camp, ſtaid in that poſture a little while, and retired again within his trenches.

Cæſar extends his lines, after having defeated Labienus's ambuſcade.

CÆSAR, conſidering SCIPIO had now received all the forces he expected, thought he would no longer refuſe to give him battle, therefore began to advance nearer him along the ridge of the mountain, extending his lines and erecting forts upon every eminence he rendered himſelf maſter of. But the enemy, depending on their numbers, gained the next hill, and prevented the progreſs of our works: this they did by LABIENUS's advice, who, lying neareſt the place, took care to ſee his own deſign executed.

Before CÆSAR could arrive at this mountain, which he deſired to poſſeſs, he was obliged to paſs a large plain of deep deſcent, wherein were ſeveral hollow places much reſembling caves, beyond which was an olive wood. LABIENUS therefore conſidering CÆSAR muſt of neceſſity march this way, and being well acquainted with the place, diſpoſed an ambuſh of horſe and light-armed infantry there; placing at the ſame time a ſtrong party of cavalry behind the hills, that ſo ſoon as he attacked CÆSAR's foot, the cavalry might advance from behind the mountain: ſo being charged both in front and rear, and ſurrounded on all ſides, the enemy muſt of neceſſity be cut to pieces. CÆSAR, being ignorant of this ambuſcade, commanded his horſe to march before; and when they arrived at the place, LABIENUS's men, either having forgot, neglecting to perform their orders, or apprehending they ſhould be killed by our ſoldiers in the ditch,

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began to appear in ſmall parties, to quit their holes, and aſcend the hill. But CÆSAR's horſe purſuing, ſlew part, took others priſoners; then making towards the hill, beat the enemy from their poſt, and lodged themſelves there. So LABIENUS, attended by a ſmall party of cavalry, hardly made his eſcape.

Draws a line of communication from his old camp to Uzita.

The horſe having ſo well performed their parts, CÆSAR diſtributed the work amongſt the foot, commanding them to lay out a camp there, and gave orders for drawing two lines of communication croſs the plain to his former camp over-againſt Uzita, which parted it from SCIPIO's: theſe lines were ſo contrived as to meet at the right and left angle of the town. The reaſon why he made theſe works was, that when his forces ſhould approach the walls, and begin the ſtorm, they might be ſecure from being ſurrounded by the enemy's horſe, which would otherwiſe oblige them to quit the aſſault. Beſides, by this means his ſoldiers had more frequent opportunities of conferring with their forces, and ſuch as had a mind to deſert, which they could not before without imminent danger, might now do it with greater ſecurity. Nor were theſe the only reaſons that induced him to take this reſolution; for he knew, being nearer the enemy, he ſhould now diſcover whether they deſigned to fight him; and the place he had taken up his quarters in, lying much lower than that he lately came from, he might with greater eaſe ſink wells there, whereas before he was obliged to ſend a long and troubleſome way for water. Whilſt the legions were employed about theſe works, part of the army ſtood in order of battle before the trenches, ſkirmiſhing with the Numidian horſe, and light-armed infantry.

In the evening, when CÆSAR drew his forces from the works, deſigning to retire to his former camp, JUBA, SCIPIO, and LABIENUS, made an unexpected charge upon them with all their cavalry and light-arm'd foot. Our horſe at firſt, over-powered with numbers, began to give ground; but the affair fell out much contrary to what the enemy expected: for CÆSAR immediately halted, and advanced with the legions to ſuſtain his cavalry; who, aſſuming freſh courage upon his arrival, faced about, and charged the Numidians with ſo much vigour, whilſt they were diſperſed with the purſuit, they killed great numbers, wounded others, and obliged the whole party to retreat in great precipitation to their camp: ſo had not the night

and

and duſt, which prevented our ſeeing, put an end to the diſpute, JUBA with LABIENUS had certainly been taken, all their horſe and light-armed infantry entirely cut off. Mean while SCIPIO's men, of the fourth and ſixth legions, daily came over to CÆSAR in great numbers, ſome to his camp, others to ſuch places as lay moſt convenient for them. CURIO's horſe likewiſe, diſtruſting SCIPIO's ſucceſs, followed their example. AFRICAN WAR.

CHAP. XII.

WHILST both generals were thus employed at Uzita, the ninth and tenth legion, who embarked in the tranſports at Sicily, were already arrived at the harbour of Ruſpina; when deſcrying CÆSAR's ſhips that lay at anchor about Thapſus, they miſtook them for the enemy's fleet, ſo put out again to ſea, for fear of falling into their hands, who they imagined lay there in order to ſurprize them. Many days they were toſſed up and down by the winds, till almoſt ſpent with drought and hunger; at laſt they arrived ſafe at the camp. So ſoon as they landed, CÆSAR, remembring the diſorders in Italy, and rapine committed by ſome particular perſons, was glad of the leaſt occaſion to puniſh them for it; wherefore becauſe C. AVIENUS, a tribune of the tenth legion, had taken up one entire veſſel for the uſe of his family and equipage, without bringing a ſingle ſoldier along with him from Sicily, he ſummoned all the officers of the army to attend him the day after, and in their preſence from his tribunal ſaid, "I could heartily wiſh ſome perſons would at laſt have preſcribed bounds to their inſolence and ill manners, that they would have no longer tempted my patience and good nature. But ſince they have not had the prudence to correct their irregularities, I ſhall myſelf do it for them, that they may ſerve for an example to the reſt of the army. Firſt, CAIUS AVIENUS, becauſe you have inſtigated the Roman ſoldiers againſt the republick, plundered the municipal towns, and been unſerviceable both to me and your country, taking up whole veſſels for your horſes and retinue, and deprived the common-wealth of the uſe of thoſe ſoldiers ſhe has occaſion for; I diſmiſs you with ignominy from my army, commanding you to quit Africk, and be gone as far to day as poſſible. The like ſentence I pronounce upon you, AULUS FONTEIUS, becauſe you have been a ſeditious officer, and an ill

He breaks ſeveral officers.

His ſpeech.

AFRICAN WAR.

citizen. And as for you, T. SALIENUS, M. TIRO, and C. CLUSINAS, ſince you gained your commands by favour, not by merit; ſince you have neither proved your ſelves good ſoldiers in war, nor faithful citizens in peace, ſtudying more how to incite the ſoldiers to mutiny againſt their general, than give proofs of your modeſty, I hold you unworthy to bear commiſſions in my army; wherefore I caſhier, and command you immediately to leave Africk." Having ended his ſpeech, he delivered them to the centurions, with orders to ſee they immediately embarked with only one ſervant each.

The Getulians revolt from Juba.

By this time the Getulian deſerters, whom CÆSAR ſent with letters and particular inſtructions, arrived in their country, where the people, equally induced by their authority, and CÆSAR's reputation, were ſoon prevailed on to take arms and revolt from JUBA: upon which, that monarch, being now engaged in three ſeveral wars at once, found himſelf obliged to detach ſix cohorts, to defend the borders of his kingdom againſt the incurſions of the Getulians.

CHAP. XIII.

CÆSAR, having finiſhed his lines of communication, and produced them almoſt within javelin-ſhot of the town, entrenched himſelf there; drew five legions out of his other camp, and cauſed plenty of war-like engines to be fixed in the front of his works directly over-againſt Uzita; whereby he perpetually kept the enemy upon the walls in apprehenſions. This opportunity gave ſeveral perſons of quality in both armies, a deſire to ſee their friends and relations, which occaſioned frequent conferences, that CÆSAR was ſenſible would prove to his advantage. For the chief officers of the Getulian horſe, with ſome others of condition that ſerved under JUBA, whoſe anceſtors had formerly been commanded by MARIUS, and from his generoſity obtained conſiderable eſtates in their country, but ſince SYLLA's victory, had been made tributaries to king HIEMPSAL, taking the favour of the evening, when the fires were lighted, with their horſes and ſervants, about a thouſand in number, came over to CÆSAR's camp, in the plain near Uzita.

Aquinius has a conference with Saſerna, but breaks it off upon Juba's command.

Whilſt SCIPIO and his party were diſturbed at this loſs, they perceived M. AQUINIUS was talking with

C. CA-

C. SASERNA; wherefore the general ſent a meſſenger to let him know, he ought not to have converſe with an enemy; which did not interrupt the conference, till one of JUBA's attendance acquainted him, it was his maſter's pleaſure he ſhould hold no further diſcourſe: whereupon he immediately returned, for fear of offending the king. A moſt unaccountable thing, that a Roman citizen, who had already been promoted to honours in the ſtate, ſhould rather ſubmit to the commands of a foreign prince, than thoſe of SCIPIO, and deſire to ſurvive the deſtruction of his party. But JUBA, not contented to have put this affront upon M. AQUINIUS, a man of no family, lately admitted to the ſenatorian order, gave SCIPIO a greater, who was nobly born, and equally to be reſpected for the dignity and honours he poſſeſſed. For it is reported, that SCIPIO, before the king's arrival, always wore a purple robe; but upon JUBA's ſaying, he ought not to wear the ſame colour with him, changed it for a white one; ſubmitting to the caprice of ſo haughty and fooliſh a monarch.

His pride.

The day after, the enemy drawing out all their forces, poſted themſelves upon a riſing ground, no great diſtance from CÆSAR's camp. He did the like, and immediately diſpoſed his army in order of battle before his lines; taking it for granted, SCIPIO, who firſt drew out, and was ſo conſiderably reinforced by JUBA's arrival, would immediately come to attack him. Wherefore having rode through the ranks, encouraged his men, and given them the ſign of battle, he ſtaid to expect the enemy's charge; for he judged it not convenient to march far from his trenches, becauſe they had a ſtrong garriſon in Uzita, that flanked his right; which made him apprehenſive, if he advanced farther, their forces might ſally out of the town, and fall upon his flank. Beſides, there was a very difficult way to go over, before he could arrive at SCIPIO's army, which would have diſordered his men, when they went to make their onſet.

Both armies drawn out.

Nor muſt I here omit to give an account what order both armies were diſpoſed in: SCIPIO had ranged his legions with thoſe of JUBA in the front, leaving a party of Numidians for a reſerve, in ſo very thin ranks, and ſo far extended, our ſoldiers believed, at ſome diſtance, his wings alone had double lines: his elephants were placed in either wing at equal ſpaces, behind them the light-armed infantry and auxiliary Numidians; all the cavalry

Scipio's diſpoſition.

AFRICAN WAR.

with bridles were poſted on the right, for the left was covered by Uzita, nor had he room enough for his cavalry there. About a thouſand paces diſtant from his right, he had diſpoſed all his * Numidian horſe and light-armed infantry, at the foot of a mountain, the fartheſt diſtant both from the enemy's and his own army; deſigning they ſhould take a circuit when the battle began, ſurround CÆSAR's forces, and diſorder them with their darts.

* Thoſe without bridles, I ſuppoſe.

Such was SCIPIO's diſpoſition; but CÆSAR's army was ranged in this order. I will begin with his left, wherein was placed the ninth and ſeventh legions; in his right the twenty-ninth and thirtieth; in the middle the thirteenth, fourteenth, twenty-eighth and twenty-ſixth: † but the ſecond line of his right-wing conſiſted, part of the cohorts of thoſe legions we have already named, part of new levies; for he had diſpoſed his third line entire behind the left wing, extending it only as far as the middle legion of his front, to make his army triple there, becauſe his right was defended by the works; but it was neceſſary to make his left ſtronger, that they might be the better able to ſuſtain the charge of the enemy's numerous horſe: for which reaſon likewiſe he had placed all his own cavalry, intermixed with light-armed foot there; and ſince he could not rely much upon them, had ordered the fifth legion to ſuſtain them: the archers he diſperſed in ſeveral places, but eſpecially in the wings.

Cæſar's.

No ſet battle.

Thus were both armies drawn up, not above three hundred paces diſtant from each other, and continued in that poſture till four in the afternoon without fighting, an accident never known before. But when CÆSAR began to retreat within his lines, on a ſudden all the Numidian and Getulian horſe without bridles, who, as I have already remarked, had been diſpoſed at ſome diſtance off, began to wheel about to the right, and make towards

But when Cæſar retreats, the Numidian horſe cut off part of his forces.

† The original is, *Ipſum autem dextrum cornu, ſecundam aciem fere, in earum legionum parte cohortium collocaverat. Præterea ex Tironum legionibus paucas adjecerat.* And I wonder the criticks have not altered the text, which is ſo apparently corrupt; ſince a ſmall variation would make it ſenſe, though at preſent incomprehenſible. RHELICANUS indeed has taken abundance of pains to convince the world, that *dextrum cornu* and *ſecunda acies*, are two names for the very ſame thing; ſo, ſays he, no doubt are *ſiniſtrum cornu* and *prima acies*. What he would infer from hence, I cannot conceive; but it is certain his hypotheſis is falſe; elſe we ſhould never be able to underſtand the next ſentence in HIRTIUS, which tells us, *Tertiam autem aciem in ſiniſtrum cornu contulerat.* Might I take the liberty of altering the text, I would write thus: *Ipſius autem dextri cornu ſecundam aciem, fere ex earum legionum parte cohortium, collocaverat; præterea ex Tironum legionibus paucas adjecerat.* And Monſieur D'ABLANCOURT, I perceive, by his verſion, ſeems to have been of the ſame opinion.

CÆSAR's camp upon the hill. Mean while, LABIENUS's cavalry, with bridles, maintained their poſt, and endeavoured to ſtop the march of our legions. Whereupon part of CÆSAR's horſe and light-armed infantry, on a ſudden, without any orders, raſhly ventured too far againſt the Getulians; for having paſſed a moraſs that lay between them, they found themſelves not able to ſuſtain the charge of ſo vaſt a multitude; and being forſaken by the foot, were obliged to retreat in diſorder, after the loſs of twenty-ſix infantry, one trooper, and ſeveral horſes wounded. SCIPIO, proud of this ſucceſs, drew his forces within his lines again: but his joy was ſoon interrupted, for the day after, CÆSAR having ſent a ſquadron of horſe to Leptis, to convoy ſome proviſions, they fell in by the way with a party of Numidian and Getulian raparees, whom they charged ſo very briskly, they killed or took near a hundred priſoners. CÆSAR all this while omitted not advancing his lines, and drawing out his forces, to prevent the enemy's incurſions; nor was SCIPIO idle, for he left nothing unattempted to prevent CÆSAR's excluding him the hill. Thus both generals were employed about their works, yet there frequently happened ſkirmiſhes between the cavalry.

CHAP. XIV.

Some of Cæſar's ſhips taken.

WHILST affairs were in this poſture, VARUS, on notice the ſeventh and eighth legions had ſailed from Sicily, left Utica, where he laid up his ſquadron all winter, and put out to ſea. He manned his fleet with Getulian rowers and marines; then deſigning to lay wait for our tranſports, hoiſted ſail with ſixty ſhips for Adrumetum. CÆSAR, being ignorant of his arrival, ſent L. CISPIUS with a ſquadron of twenty-ſeven ſail to cruiſe about Thapſus, for the ſecurity of his convoy; and Q. AQUILA with thirteen gallies to Adrumetum, upon the ſame errand. CISPIUS quickly arrived at the place he was ordered to; but AQUILA, being toſſed by the tempeſt, could not double the promontory; ſo having found a convenient creek to ride at anchor in, was glad to ſhelter his fleet there from the fury of the winds. Mean while ſome veſſels that lay at anchor in the road of Leptis, were forſaken by the mariners, who went to the town to buy proviſions, or were diſperſed about the ſhore, and left without any body to defend them. VARUS having notice of this from the deſerters, about nine that night left Adrumetum, and the next morning early arrived with all

Some veſſels taken.

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all his fleet at Leptis; where he put fire to the tranſports that rode at anchor without the haven; and meeting with no manner of oppoſition, took two five-bank'd gallies that were empty.

Cæſar puts to ſea, and recovers them.

CÆSAR ſoon received intelligence of this, whilſt he was viewing his works about ſix miles diſtant from the harbour; whereupon laying aſide all other affairs, he immediately poſted to Leptis, where he made no longer ſtay, than to allow the reſt of his fleet ſufficient time to follow him; then embarking in a ſmall galley, himſelf led the way: he ſoon overtook AQUILA, whom he found mightily ſurprized at the number of the enemy's fleet, and having joined him, purſued his voyage. VARUS, equally amazed at CÆSAR's boldneſs and diſpatch, tacked about, and made the beſt of his way for Adrumetum; but CÆSAR, after a league's ſail, came up with him, retook one of his own gallies with all her men on board, a hundred and fifty men more in it that were left by the enemy to guard her, and another three-bank'd galley, with her rowers and mariners; but the reſt of the enemy's ſquadron, having doubled the cape, made the port of Adrumetum, which CÆSAR, by the aſſiſtance of the ſame wind, was not able to do: wherefore having lain that night at anchor, next morning early he ſailed towards the town, ſet fire to all the tranſports that rode without the haven, and waited there ſome time to expect whether the enemy would give him battle; but finding they would not, returned again to his camp.

P. Veſtrius and P. Ligarius taken; the laſt put to death by Cæſar.

In this ſhip was taken P. VESTRIUS, a Roman knight, and P. LIGARIUS AFRANIANUS, whom CÆSAR had taken in Spain, and diſmiſſed with the reſt of the priſoners there; notwithſtanding which favour, he had again entered into POMPEY's ſervice, and having made his eſcape from the battle of Pharſalia, fled to VARUS in Africk: Him therefore CÆSAR put to death for his perjury. But as for P. VESTRIUS, becauſe his brother readily paid his ranſome at Rome, and he made it appear, that being taken by NASIDIUS's fleet, and condemned to die, VARUS had procured his pardon; ſince when he never had an opportunity of making his eſcape, CÆSAR pardoned him.

CHAP. XV.

THE Africans have a cuſtom of hiding their corn in caverns under earth, eſpecially in war-time, to prevent

prevent being ſurprized by the enemy, and every town has private caves for this purpoſe. CÆSAR having intelligence of one of theſe hoards from a deſerter, about midnight drew out two legions with a party of cavalry, ſending them about ten miles off; from whence they returned loaden to the camp with corn. LABIENUS, on notice of this, marched about eight miles from his lines, through the mountains CÆSAR had paſſed the day before, where he laid out a camp large enough to contain two legions; daily attending with a ſtrong party of horſe and light-arm'd foot in ambuſcade, becauſe he expected we ſhould often paſs the ſame for proviſions.

Cæſar gets a booty of corn.

Mean while CÆSAR being informed of LABIENUS's deſign, tarried a few days, to render the enemy more negligent and remiſs, by doing the ſame thing ſo often over; then unexpectedly, one morning betimes, commanded eight veteran legions, with part of his cavalry, to follow him out of the Decuman port. Having ordered his horſe to advance before, they ſurprized the enemy, who lay in ambuſh for them, killed about five hundred, and routed the reſt. Whereupon LABIENUS came up with all his horſe to ſuſtain his party; but CÆSAR, perceiving his cavalry could not maintain their ground againſt ſo unequal a number, advanced with his legions to engage the enemy, who being frightened at his approach, deſiſted from the purſuit, and ſecured their own retreat. The day after, JUBA gave orders all the Numidians who had deſerted their poſt, ſhould be hanged, for a terror to the reſt of his army.

Labienus's ambuſh defeated by Cæſar.

CÆSAR, in the mean while, being ſtreightened for proviſions, recalled all his forces to the camp, and having left garriſons at Leptis, Ruſpina, and Acilla, ordered AQUILA and CISPIUS to cruiſe with their ſeveral fleets, one near Adrumetum, the other about Thapſus, ſet fire to his works, and about three in the morning drew out his army, diſpoſed his baggage in the left, marched directly to Agar, a town that had frequently been inveſted by the Getulians, and as often made a vigorous defence. He encamped in the plain near this place, and went out to forage with part of his forces about the country; where he met not only with a conſiderable booty of oil, wine, figs, and barley, but alſo a little wheat: then having refreſhed his ſoldiers, returned again to his quarters. SCIPIO, having notice of CÆSAR's motions, followed him along the ridge of the hill, with all his forces, and lodged his army

Cæſar marches to Agar.

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army in three ſeveral bodies, about ſeven miles from his camp.

Cæſar takes Zetta.

Zetta lay about ten miles diſtant from SCIPIO, directly over-againſt the poſt he poſſeſſed, but above eighteen miles from CÆSAR. Hither the enemy detached two legions to forage, which CÆSAR being informed of from a deſerter, removed his camp from the valley, to a ſafer place upon the hill; and having left a guard there, about three the next morning paſſed the enemy's camp, and gained the town. When he arrived there, finding SCIPIO's foragers were gone up farther into the country, and that the enemy advanced with their legions to cover them, he deſiſted from the purſuit, and began to return to his camp, after having taken C. MUTIUS REGINUS, a Roman knight, SCIPIO's familiar friend, governor of Zetta, which P. ATRIUS, another Roman knight of Utica, ſurprized two and twenty of the king's camels, and left lieutenant * OPPIUS with a garriſon in the place.

* This is the Oppius ſome ſuppoſe author of this book.

Being now arrived near SCIPIO's quarters, which he was obliged to paſs, LABIENUS and AFRANIUS, with all the enemy's horſe and light-armed infantry, riſing from an ambuſcade, appeared upon the hills, and began to attack his rear; which CÆSAR obſerving, firſt detached his cavalry to receive their charge, then ordered the foot to diſpoſe of their baggage, and face about; nor did the legions ſooner begin their attack, but with great eaſe they forced them from the higher ground. But when CÆSAR, thinking the enemy had been ſo warmly received, they would hardly give him any farther trouble, began to purſue his journey, they ſhewed themſelves upon a neighbouring hill; and the Numidians, with their light-armed foot, who are wonderfully nimble, always mixed amongſt the cavalry (with whom they kept an equal pace either in charging or retiring) fell a ſecond time upon out foot. Thus they frequently renewed the charge, ſtill retiring when we endeavoured to engage, and as we marched forward, preſſing upon our rear. CÆSAR plainly perceived their deſign was to oblige him to encamp in a place where no water was to be had, that his ſoldiers, who had neither eat nor drank from three in the morning till four in the afternoon, might periſh with thirſt and hunger.

Cæſar's rear attacked.

But he ſecures his retreat.

Sun-ſet already approached, when CÆSAR, finding he had not gained compleat an hundred paces in four hours march, drew his cavalry off from the rear; who had loſt ſeveral horſes, cauſing the legions by their turns to

ſecure

ſecure his retreat: thus proceeding ſlowly, by the aſſiſtance of his foot he ſuſtained the enemy's charges with greater eaſe. Mean while, part of the Numidian horſe galloped to the right and left upon the hills, endeavouring to ſurround our army with their number, whilſt others kept our rear employed: but if only two or three veteran ſoldiers chanced to face about, and caſt their piles with vigour, two thouſand of the enemy would fly; then returning, rally again, and following at ſome diſtance, throw their darts at the legions. Thus CÆSAR, one while marching forward, one while halting, and going on but ſlowly, arrived ſafe with all his forces, by ſeven that evening, at his camp, having only ten ſoldiers wounded. LABIENUS likewiſe having loſt about three hundred, ſeveral being wounded, and all heartily fatigued, retreated to his camp. And SCIPIO withdrew his legions and elephants, whom he had ranged for the greater terror within view of CÆSAR's army, before his own lines.

CHAP. XVI.

CÆSAR, having ſo ſubtile an enemy to deal with, inſtructed his ſoldiers, not like a general of a veteran army, who had atchieved ſo many glorious exploits, but as a fencing-maſter teaches his ſcholars; how they ſhould retreat from, how encounter the enemy, how far advance, how far retreat, where, and in what manner caſt their piles. For the enemy's light-armed infantry gave us great uneaſineſs, deterring our troopers from meeting them, by killing their horſes with their javelins, and wearying our legions by their ſwiftneſs: for when our heavy-arm'd foot faced about, and endeavoured to return their charge, they quickly avoided the danger by flight.

This was no ſmall vexation to CÆSAR; for whenever he engaged them without the legions, his horſe were no equal match for theirs mixed with the light-armed infantry. Nor was he leſs concerned, becauſe he had never yet tried the courage of their legions, and knew not how he ſhould be able, even by the aſſiſtance of his own, to ſuſtain their charge, with that of their cavalry and light-armed foot united. To add to theſe grievances, his men were frightened by the number and ſize of the enemy's elephants: however, to redreſs this evil, he had cauſed ſome of thoſe animals to be tranſported from Italy, that his ſoldiers might be better acquainted with the nature and

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and ſtrength of the beaſt, what part of his body was eaſilieſt pierced, and where their furniture left room for caſting in a dart; that being perfectly acquainted with the ſmell, noiſe, and ſpecies of the animal, they might no longer be afraid of it. The deſign ſucceeded to his wiſh, for his men quickly began to handle the elephants, found out their ſlowneſs, the cavalry caſt blunted piles upon them, and by degrees taught their horſes to endure their preſence.

For theſe reaſons CÆSAR became more ſlow and cautious, not waging war with the ſame diſpatch as formerly. For in Gaul his ſoldiers uſed to fight in open plains, and had a generous enemy to engage, who was unacquainted with deſign, and relied entirely upon force, not on artifice: but here he found himſelf obliged to prepare his men for deceit, ambuſcades, and fraud; that they might know when to engage, when to avoid the combat. That therefore they might the ſooner learn this leſſon, he thought it not convenient to ſuffer his legions to continue long in any place, but, under pretence of foraging, made them march up and down the country; for he was aſſured, go where-ever he pleaſed, the enemy would follow him. About three days after, he drew his forces out carefully, and marched by SCIPIO's camp, to offer him battle; but finding he declined it, in the evening retreated again to his own quarters.

CHAP. XVII.

Vacca, deſigning to ſurrender to Cæſar, is ſacked by Juba.

MEAN while arrived deputies from Vacca, a town not far diſtant from Zetta, which CÆSAR lately ſurprized: their buſineſs was to deſire he would ſend them a garriſon, for they had ſeveral ſorts of warlike proviſions, which were at his ſervice. But before their departure arrived a deſerter (that wiſhed as well as they to CÆSAR) to acquaint them, before the intended garriſon could arrive there, JUBA had taken the town by aſſault, put all the inhabitants to the ſword, and ordered his ſoldiers to ſack and plunder the city.

CÆSAR having reviewed his army, the day after drew out, marched about five miles from his camp, and diſpoſed all his forces in order of battle, about two miles diſtant from SCIPIO's: but having long enough invited the enemy to battle, which they were averſe to, retreated. The day following he decamped, and marched towards

wards Sarſura, where SCIPIO had a Numidian garriſon, and a magazine of corn: which LABIENUS perceiving, purſued our rear with all his cavalry and light-armed foot; having ſurprized ſome ſutlers waggons, the ſucceſs inſpired them with ſuch courage, they reſolved to attack our legions, who they thought would not be able to fight, whilſt incumbered with their baggage. But CÆSAR was prepared to receive them, for he had taken care to make a draught of three hundred men out of every legion, who had nothing to carry but their arms; and theſe he detached to cover his rear againſt the inſults of LABIENUS's cavalry; who, frightened at the approach of our enſigns, faced about, and began to make a diſhonourable flight, after ſeveral of his party had been killed and wounded.

Cæſar's rear attacked, but he ſecures his retreat.

When CÆSAR arrived at Sarſura, after he had killed P. CORNELIUS, who commanded there for SCIPIO, and taken the town, he put the garriſon to the ſword, even in the enemy's preſence, who durſt not come to their aſſiſtance. Having given his army corn, he marched the day after to Tiſdra, where CONSIDIUS lay with a ſtrong garriſon, and his cohort of gladiators. CÆSAR having viewed the place, and being deterred from undertaking a ſiege by want of proviſions, proceeded without delay about four miles farther, and encamped near the river; from thence again, the fourth day following, he returned to his camp at Agar. SCIPIO followed his example, and retreated likewiſe to his former quarters.

Cæſar takes Sarſura.

Whilſt theſe affairs went forward, the Thabenenſes, a people ſubject to JUBA, whoſe country lies near the ſea-coaſts, in the fartheſt part of his kingdom, having put the king's garriſon to the ſword, ſent meſſengers to CÆSAR, acquainting him with what they had done. He, applauding the action, ſent them M. CRISPUS, the tribune, with a cohort, a party of archers, and ſtore of warlike engines. About this time all the ſoldiers, who had either been detained by ſickneſs, or any other occaſion, from coming with the former convoys to Africk, now arrived all together: they were four thouſand foot, four hundred horſe, and a thouſand ſlingers and archers. Having therefore drawn out all theſe forces, and the legions he had before, he marched about eight miles from his camp, and halted in a plain about four miles diſtant from SCIPIO's.

The Thabenenſes declare for Cæſar.

There

Both armies drawn out near Tegæa. Cæsar's cavalry engaged with success.

There was a town below SCIPIO's camp, called Tegæa, where he generally had a garrison of about four hundred horse; here, having disposed his cavalry on the right and left sides of the town, he drew out his legions, posted them upon a hill something lower than his camp, and so stood in order of battle about a mile before his lines. But when SCIPIO had continued in this posture a considerable time, and thrown away greatest part of the day to no purpose, CÆSAR commanded his horse to charge the enemy's that were placed before the town, sending a party of light-armed infantry, archers, and slingers, to assist them. Our cavalry had no sooner clapped spurs to their horses, in order to make a vigorous attack, but PACIDIUS extended his troops, that they might at the same instant surround, and warmly return our onset: which CÆSAR observing, he detached three hundred soldiers out of the next legion to sustain his party; whereupon LABIENUS sent more cavalry to the assistance of his, still ordering fresh men to relieve the wounded and fatigued. Ours, who were only four hundred, finding themselves an unequal match for as many thousands, and being wounded by the light-armed Numidians, began by degrees to give ground; which made CÆSAR immediately dispatch another wing to their relief: whereupon our party assuming fresh courage, charged the enemy again, killed many, wounded others, and put them all entirely to the rout. We pursued them three miles, till we had driven them to the hills, then returned again to our army. Thus CÆSAR having stood in order of battle till four in the afternoon, retreated to his camp, without the loss of a single man. In this action was PACIDIUS dangerously wounded with a pile that pierced his helmet; many more officers underwent the like fate, for none that endeavoured to signalize himself escaped without death or wounds.

Pacidius wounded.

CHAP. XVIII.

CÆSAR, at length perceiving he could not persuade the enemy to quit the higher ground, and engage him with their legions; and that it was impossible for him to encamp nearer them for scarcity of water, concluded they depended more on his want of water, than their own courage. Wherefore the fourth day of April, about three in the morning, leaving Agar, he marched to Thapsus,

Thapſus, † ſixteen miles diſtant off the place he came from. Here VIRGILIUS commanded with a ſtrong garriſon; but CÆSAR having encamped, began the ſame day to inveſt the town, and diſpoſe parties in ſeveral paſſes, to prevent the enemy from gaining any place within the compaſs of his lines. SCIPIO, in the mean while, having notice of CÆSAR's deſign, found himſelf obliged to hazard a battle, rather than ſuffer ſo ſignal a diſgrace as the loſs of Thapſus, and VERGILIUS, who had been ſo faithful to him: wherefore taking his rout along the hills, he immediately followed CÆSAR, and dividing his forces into two parties, ſate down about eight miles from Thapſus.

There was a ſalt moraſs, between which and the ſea lay a narrow paſſage, not above fifteen hundred paces long; and SCIPIO deſigned to march this way to the aſſiſtance of the town. But CÆSAR, foreſeeing his attempt, had the day before erected a fort, and left a ſtrong garriſon there; then with the reſt of his forces drew a line of circumvallation about Thapſus. Thus SCIPIO finding himſelf diſappointed, ſpent a day and a night a little above the moraſs; but the morning after, ſo ſoon as it was day-light, removing his quarters about a mile further diſtant from our fort towards the ſea, there encamped. CÆSAR, having notice of this, drew off his ſoldiers from the works, and leaving the proconſul ASPRENAS, with two legions, to ſecure his camp and baggage, marched immediately with the reſt of his forces towards the enemy; having firſt left part of his fleet at Thapſus, and commanded the reſt to make as near the ſhore, towards the enemy's rear, as they could, obſerving the ſignal he ſhould give them; whereupon they were immediately to ſet up a ſhout to ſurprize and frighten the enemy, who would thereby be obliged to face about.

Both armies drawn up; a battle; Scipio defeated.

When CÆSAR arrived at the place, obſerving the enemy had drawn out before their rampier, diſpoſed their elephants in either wing, and that notwithſtanding part of their ſoldiers were employed in fortifying their camp, he likewiſe ranged his forces in order of battle in three ſeveral places; the tenth and ſecond legion he placed in the right; the eighth and ninth in the left; then form-

† The original is, *Prid. Non. Apr. tertiâ vigiliâ, egreſſus, ab Agar* XVI *millia paſſuum nocte progreſſus*, &c. But that's impoſſible, therefore I have left out the word *nocte*.

AFRICAN WAR.

ing a * fourth body of the fifth legion, he diſpoſed five cohorts on either ſide before the wings, over-againſt the elephants: to theſe he likewiſe added archers, ſlingers, and light-armed foot intermingled with his cavalry. Walking through all the ranks on foot, he ſpoke courteouſly to the veteran ſoldiers, inciting them to behave themſelves worthy of their former actions, and encouraged the new levies to rival their example; that, the victory obtained, they might poſſeſs their place, and ſucceed to their glory.

Whilſt CÆSAR was ſpeaking to his ſoldiers, he obſerved the enemy were very uneaſy, running up and down in great confuſion, one while retiring within their trenches, another while coming out again with great aſſurance. Several took notice of this as well as himſelf; wherefore the lieutenants and voluntiers unanimouſly deſired he would give them the ſign of battle, for the immortal gods had certainly deſtined him the victory. Whilſt CÆSAR was doubting with himſelf, ſtriving to moderate their deſire, and reſtrain the ſoldiers, becauſe he thought it not convenient to attack the enemy firſt, on a ſudden, without his leave, a trumpeter in the right wing, being compelled to it by the ſoldiers, ſounded a charge; whereupon all the cohorts marched towards the enemy, whilſt the centurions in vain interpoſed their authority, to make the men attend their general's orders. Which CÆSAR perceiving, found it now too late to recal thoſe who were ſo eager for the engagement; wherefore, having given Good Fortune for the word, he clapped ſpurs to his horſe, and charged the enemy's front.

One of Cæſar's trumpeters ſounds a charge without his leave.

Cæſar gives Good Fortune for the word.

Mean while the archers and ſlingers on the right, plied the elephants warmly with their darts; whereupon the unruly beaſts, frightened with the noiſe of the ſlings and ſtones, faced about, and forcing their way through the thickeſt ranks behind them, endeavoured to enter the camp, where the gates were not above half finiſhed: the officers of the Mooriſh cavalry, finding themſelves deſerted by their guard, did the like. Thus purſuing the elephants, our legions rendered themſelves maſters of their camp, after having killed ſome few that made a vigorous reſiſtance; for the reſt, being beaten back, made the beſt of their way to the place they were encamped in the day before.

The elephants diſordered, and they rout their own army.

* The text is, *Oppoſitis* v. *legionibus in quarta acie, ante ipſa cornua quinis cohortibus contra hoſtias collocatis*: but I believe it ſhould only be *oppoſita quinta legione*.

Here

Here I muſt not omit recording the virtue of a veteran of the fifth legion; who, obſerving an elephant that was enraged with a wound he had received, fell upon a ſutler unarmed, whom he had thrown under his feet, and bending his knee, leaned upon him, till the weight had forced his ſoul to forſake his body, making a dreadful noiſe all the while, and brandiſhing his proboſcis, he could no longer contain himſelf from engaging the beaſt. The elephant, perceiving he advanced towards him, forſook the dead body, catched his enemy up in his trunk, and wheeled him about, armour and all, in the air: the ſoldier, loſing no preſence of mind, notwithſtanding the danger he was in, continually cut the animal's proboſcis with his utmoſt force, till he obliged him to forego his prey, and retire with a hideous noiſe to the reſt of his companions.

A ſoldier taken up by an elephant in his trunk, wounds the beaſt ſo, he obliges him to let him go again.

Whilſt both armies were thus engaged, the garriſon of Thapſus, either deſigning to aſſiſt their friends, or deſert the town, made a ſally through that gate towards the ſea, and marched navel deep through the water, endeavoured to gain the land, but were repulſed with ſtones and darts by the boys and ſervants in the camp, who obliged them again to retire within their walls. SCIPIO's forces thus routed and diſperſed about the field, CÆSAR's legions reſolved to purſue them ſo cloſe they ſhould have no time to rally. So ſoon as their broken troops arrived at the camp they deſigned to fly to, where they would have repaired the works, and again defended themſelves, they found no commander there, whoſe orders and authority they ſhould ſubmit to. Obſerving likewiſe there was no guard to defend them immediately, caſting away their arms, they fled into JUBA's quarters. Theſe CÆSAR had already poſſeſſed; wherefore now, deſpairing of ſafety, they retired to an adjacent hill, humbly beſought his mercy, and ſaluted his ſoldiers by the name of brethren. Nor could this mollify the veteran troops, who, enraged with grief and anger, notwithſtanding their ſubmiſſion, granted no quarter, killing or wounding ſeveral perſons of the moſt eminent quality, whom they upbraided for having been the authors of the war. Amongſt this number was TULLIUS RUFUS, a treaſurer, who was transfixed with a pile, and POMPEIUS RUFUS, who received a wound in his arm with a ſword, and had infallibly been killed, had he not immediately eſcaped to CÆSAR. Whereupon ſeveral Roman

The garriſon of Thapſus endeavour to get out of the town, but are beaten back again.

Scipio's forces entirely routed. Juba's camp taken. Cæſar's ſoldiers grant no quarter.

AFRICAN WAR.

knights and ſenators, being frightened, fled away, leſt they ſhould have received the ſame fate from the licentious ſoldiers, who thought the ſervices of the day ſufficient to attone for all their exceſſes. Thus SCIPIO's ſoliders were put to the ſword, even in CÆSAR's preſence, notwithſtanding they implored his compaſſion, and he endeavoured to reſtrain the fury of his men.

Cæſar returns to Thapſus. Vergilius ſtill holds out.

CÆSAR, having now made himſelf maſter of three ſeveral camps, killed ten thouſand of the enemy, and routed the reſt, only with the loſs of fifty on his ſide, and a few wounded, retired to his former quarters. Thence he immediately drew out before Thapſus, cauſing ſixty-four elephants he had taken, with all their armour, caſtles and ornaments, to paſs by the town, hoping thereby to reduce VERGILIUS and the beſieged to reaſon, after the defeat of their party: he himſelf likewiſe called to VERGILIUS, inviting him to ſurrender, in hopes of that mercy he had ſhewn to his enemies upon all occaſions: but perceiving the other returned no anſwer, he retreated from the walls. The day after, having offered ſacrifice to the gods, he ſummoned the ſoldiers to attend him, made an oration, and within ſight of the town applauded their courage, giving rewards to the whole veteran army in general, not forgetting to recompence each private man's deſert. Then immediately quitted the place, after he had left the proconſul, C. REBELLUS, to continue the ſiege with three legions, detached CN. DOMITIUS with two others to Tiſdra, where CONSIDIUS commanded, and ſent M. MESSALLA before towards Utica, whom he followed himſelf with the cavalry.

CHAP. XIX.

Cæſar marches to Utica.

Scipio's horſe that eſcaped the ſlaughter, ſack Parada.

MEAN while SCIPIO's horſe that had eſcaped the ſlaughter, making the beſt of their way towards Utica, arrived at Parada; but the inhabitants, having already received news of CÆSAR's victory, ſhut their gates againſt them. Wherefore having taken the town by ſtorm, they brought vaſt piles of wood into the market-place, flung all the people upon them, and after they had ſet fire to them, bound the beſieged; and, without reſpect to age and dignity, compelled them all to expire in ſo horrid a manner; which bloody work effected, they marched directly to Utica. CATO, finding the common people ſtood ill affected to his party, becauſe of the Ju-

Plunder Utica.

lian

lian law, from whence they had received ſignal advantages, had expelled them the town ſome time before without arms, and obliged them to encamp before the warlike gate, where they had fortified themſelves only with a ſmall ditch, whereon they diſpoſed conſtant guards, whilſt the ſenate alone were permitted to dwell within the walls. SCIPIO's cavalry therefore, knowing theſe people were well-wiſhers to CÆSAR, aſſaulted their camp, that they might ſatiate their revenge by putting them to the ſword. But the Uticans, aſſuming courage on the news of CÆSAR's victory, repulſed the aggreſſors only by the help of ſtones and clubs: finding therefore they could not force the trenches, the cavalry flung themſelves into the town, where they killed and plundered ſeveral of the inhabitants. CATO finding all his perſuaſions were not able to appeaſe theſe diſorders, and bring them to join their forces with his, for the common defence of the place; conſidering what they wanted, he gave each ſoldier a hundred ſeſterces to make them quiet: FAUSTUS SYLLA did the like out of his own pocket, and leaving Utica with them, marched towards Numidia.

AFRICAN WAR.

Porta Bellica.

By this time ſeveral had fled to Utica; whom CATO having aſſembled with the three hundred merchants that furniſhed SCIPIO with money to carry on the war, adviſed them to enfranchiſe their ſlaves, and maintain the town. But finding whilſt part were willing to agree to his opinion, others were ſo frightened they could think of nothing but making their eſcape, he furniſhed them with veſſels, giving them free leave to ſail whither they pleaſed. After this, having ſettled his own affairs, and recommended his children to the care of L. CÆSAR, his ſub-treaſurer, without the leaſt ſuſpicion (for his voice and countenance were ſtill the ſame as formerly) pretending to go to ſleep, he privately carried his ſword into his bed-chamber with him, and run himſelf through the body. Before he expired, falling off the bed, the noiſe alarmed his people; immediately his friends and phyſicians came to his relief, but in vain they endeavoured to ſtop his wound, whilſt forcing it open again with his own hands, he died without the leaſt concern. Though hated by the Uticans, when alive, becauſe of his different party, yet now in reſpect to his ſingular integrity, and out of gratitude for the wondrous fortifications he had erected to defend their town, they interred him honourably. CATO thus deceaſed,

Cato calls a council.

Furniſhes thoſe that are afraid with ſhips.

Cato kills himſelf.

He is honourably buried by the Uticans.

AFRICAN WAR.

ceaſed, L. CÆSAR, to make the beſt uſe of this occaſion, having aſſembled the people, made a ſpeech, wherein he adviſed them to open their gates, and depend upon CÆSAR's mercy. His counſel being ſubmitted to, he marched to meet the emperor CÆSAR. And MESSALA, being now arrived at Utica, according to his orders, diſpoſed guards at every gate.

L. Cæſar adviſes them to open their gates to Julius Cæſar.

Cæſar takes Uſceta by ſurrender.

Mean while CÆSAR, leaving Thaſpus, arrived at Uſceta, where SCIPIO had repoſed plenty of corn, arms, darts, and other warlike proviſions; he ſoon carried the place, and from thence purſued his journey to Adrumetum, which immediately ſurrendered at diſcretion; wherefore, in conſideration of the corn and money he found there, he gave quarter to Q. LIGARIUS, and C. CONSIDIUS the ſon, who was governor of the place; then leaving LIVINEIUS REGULUS there with a legion, marched directly for Utica. L. CÆSAR meeting him upon the road, threw himſelf at his feet, deſiring nothing more but that he would vouchſafe to pardon his life, a requeſt he eaſily obtained from CÆSAR's nature and wonted clemency. CÆRCINA, C. ATEIUS, P. ATRIUS, the two L. CELLA's, father and ſon, M. EPPIUS, M. AQUINIUS, CATO's ſon, and DAMASIPPUS's children, obtained the like favour. In the evening, by torch-light, he arrived at Utica, but lodged that night without the town, to prevent diſorders.

He pardons ſeveral of the contrary party.

Enters Utica.

Next morning early he entered the town; and having ſummoned all the inhabitants to attend him, firſt returned the Uticans thanks for their affection, then enlarged in a ſharp invective againſt thoſe Roman citizens, and the three hundred merchants that had furniſhed VARUS and SCIPIO with money to carry on the war. But at laſt he ordered them to lay aſide their apprehenſions, and appear before him; for he would pardon their lives, but confiſcate their eſtates, allowing them notice when their goods ſhould be ſold, and their liberty of redemption on payment of a fine certain. The merchants, who deſpairing of life, were already half dead with fear, joyfully embraced ſo grateful and unexpected a proffer, unanimouſly deſiring CÆSAR would pleaſe to impoſe an amercement in groſs upon them all. He therefore ordered them to pay two hundred thouſand * ſeſterces to the republick, at ſix equal payments, within the ſpace of three years.

Fines the 300 merchants.

* *Bis millies II. S.* Suppoſing theſe to be ſeſterces in the neuter gender, they were worth 7 l. 16 s. 3 d. a ſeſterce, at Mr. KENNET's computation.

Nor

Nor did any refuſe the conditions, but each eſteeming it the day of his nativity, returned CÆSAR many thanks for his mercy. AFRICAN WAR.

CHAP. XX.

MEAN while JUBA, having eſcaped with PETREIUS out of the battle, hid himſelf always whilſt it was day, and travelling only in the night, arrived in Numidia. But when he came to Zama, the uſual place of his reſidence, which at the beginning of the war he had ſtrongly fortified, becauſe he lodged his wives, children, riches, and moſt valuable things there; the inhabitants, having received the welcome news of CÆSAR's victory, refuſed to admit him into the town, becauſe, when he firſt declared war againſt the people of Rome, he made conſiderable quantities of wood to be carried into Zama, whereof he erected a lofty pile in the middle of the market-place, deſigning, if he met with ill ſucceſs, to kill the citizens, fling their bodies with all their effects upon it, then ſet fire to the ſtack, which ſhould conſume him, his wives, children, ſubjects, and all his royal treaſure together. He waited a long time before the gates, firſt making uſe of threats, afterwards of entreaties; but finding neither had any effect upon the people, he at laſt deſired they would deliver him his wives and children, that they might ſhare his misfortune; but perceiving they returned him no manner of anſwer, without obtaining any thing, he left Zama, retiring with PETREIUS and a few cavalry to his country-houſe. Soon after, the inhabitants ſent embaſſadors to CÆSAR, who was then at Utica, to acquaint him with what they had done, and deſire he would ſend a garriſon to defend them, before JUBA could gather forces enough to aſſault the town, though they were ready to maintain the place for his ſervice, even to the laſt man, being entirely devoted to his intereſt. CÆSAR, having given the embaſſadors thanks, ordered them to return, and acquaint their fellow-citizens, he himſelf would quickly come to their relief. Accordingly, the day after, leaving Utica, he began his march. Several of JUBA's officers met him upon the road, and moſt humbly begged he would pleaſe to pardon them; which he did, and quickly arrived at Zama. The fame of his clemency being now divulged, almoſt all the perſons of quality in the kingdom attended him there, and were freed from their apprehenſions.

Zama, capital of Numidia, refuſes Juba admittance.

The inhabitants ſend embaſſadors to Cæſar.

Cæſar leaves Utica; marches to Zama.

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Whilſt affairs were in this poſture, CONSIDIUS, who commanded at Tiſdra, with his own retinue, a company of gladiators, and a party of Getulians, having notice of SCIPIO's defeat, and being frightened at DOMITIUS's approach with the legions, deſpaired of ſafety, therefore abandoned the town: but endeavouring to make his eſcape into Numidia with a few of the barbarians, and a conſiderable treaſure, they cut his throat upon the road for the lucre of his money, then diſperſed themſelves up and down the country.

Conſidius deſerts Tiſdra.

His throat cut by his guards for the ſake of his money.

Mean while C. VERGILIUS, finding it was in vain to make any further defence after he was inveſted by ſea and land, conſidering all his party were either killed or diſperſed; that CATO had laid violent hands upon himſelf at Utica; that JUBA wandered up and down deſerted and deſpiſed by his ſubjects; that SABURA's forces were routed by SITIUS; that CÆSAR had been received without the leaſt oppoſition at Utica; and that of ſo vaſt an army, there was not the leaſt remainder left from whence he might expect relief; capitulated with CANINIUS REBILUS, ſurrendered himſelf, his effects, and the town, to the proconſul.

Vergilius ſurrenders Thapſus.

JUBA, being refuſed admittance by all his cities, was reduced to deſpair; wherefore he and PETREIUS, that they might make an honourable exit, engaged each other with their ſwords; but JUBA, being the ſtronger of the two, ſoon diſpatched PETREIUS; afterwards attempting to run himſelf through the body, and finding he was not able to do it, he entreated the favour from one of his ſervants, and obtained it.

Juba and Petreius by conſent kill each other.

Mean time P. SITIUS having engaged SABURA, defeated his army, and killed him upon the ſpot; afterwards marching through Mauritania to CÆSAR, by accident he fell in with FAUSTUS and AFRANIUS, at the head of the party that had plundered Utica; who now amounted to about fifteen hundred, and deſigned to tranſport themſelves for Spain. Wherefore having diſpoſed an ambuſcade over night, he fell upon them the next morning early with ſuch ſucceſs, that almoſt all were either killed or taken, except a few in the rear that made their eſcape. Amongſt the number of the priſoners were AFRANIUS, FAUSTUS SYLLA, his wife and children. Not many days after, a mutiny ariſing amongſt the ſoldiers, they cut AFRANIUS and SYLLA to pieces. But CÆSAR took care of POMPEIA, SYLLA's wife, and his children, reſtoring them to their eſtates.

Sitius defeats and kills Sabura. Takes Afranius and Sylla.

They are killed by the ſoldiers.

About

About the ſame time SCIPIO, DAMASIPPUS, TORQUATUS, and PLÆTORIUS RUSTIANUS, long toſſed by adverſe winds upon the ſea, inſtead of arriving at Spain, as they deſigned, were obliged to put into the haven of Hippo, where SITIUS's fleet rode at anchor; whoſe larger gallies ſoon ſunk their ſmaller ſhips, and thus SCIPIO with his companions periſhed. CÆSAR, after he had expoſed the goods of king JUBA, and thoſe Roman citizens who had bore arms againſt cheir country, to publick ſale, gave great rewards to the inhabitants that had adviſed ſhutting the gates of Zama againſt their king, freed the people from the heavy impoſts they had lain under, changed the kingdom into a province, and leaving CRISPUS SALLUSTIUS governour, returned again to Utica.

Scipio, with ſeveral others, forced into the port of Hippo; their ſhips are ſunk there.

Here likewiſe he confiſcated the effects of thoſe officers that had ſerved under JUBA and PETREIUS, fined the people of Thapſus twenty thouſand ſeſterces, and the company of Roman merchants there thirty thouſand; thoſe of Adrumetum thirty thouſand more, and their company fifty thouſand, but preſerved them from being plundered. Leptis, which JUBA had ſome years before ranſacked, and upon complaint made to the ſenate had reſtitution made by arbitrators, was ordered every year to furniſh the republick with thirty thouſand pounds of oil; becauſe at the beginning of the war, by ſeditious advice, its chief inhabitants had made an alliance with the king of Numidia, whom they aſſiſted with arms, ſoldiers and money: but the people of Tiſdra, becauſe of their extreme poverty, were only condemned annually to pay a certain quantity of corn.

Cæſar fines the cities that were in the enemy's intereſt.

The war thus decided, CÆSAR embarked at Utica the thirteenth of June, and arrived at Carales in Sardinia four days after: Here he amerced the Sulcitani, for receiving and aiding NASIDIUS's fleet, a hundred thouſand ſeſterces: and whereas they formerly uſed only to pay a tenth, now he impoſed an eighth upon them, ordered ſome few perſons goods to be ſold, and before the twenty-ninth of June, weighing anchor at Carales, ſailed along the coaſts, and arrived within eight and twenty days at Rome; after having been obliged to put into ſeveral havens by contrary winds.

Cæſar arrives in Sardinia, or Cagliari.

HIR-

HIRTIUS PANSA, or OPPIUS's COMMENTARY OF THE SPANISH WAR.

The CONTENTS.

CÆSAR's *arrival in Spain. The occaſion of the war. The battle of Munda. The taking of Cordova and Sevil. The death of* POMPEY's *eldeſt ſon. The taking of Munda. The ſiege of Urſaon. And* CÆSAR's *imperfect ſpeech.*

CHAP. I.

SPANISH WAR.

Young Pompey and his party get poſſeſſion of the farther Spain.

PHARNACES defeated, and Africa reduced, thoſe who with young CNEIUS POMPEY had eſcaped the ſlaughter, got poſſeſſion of the farther Spain, whilſt CÆSAR was employed in diſtributing rewards in Italy. POMPEY, the better to ſtrengthen his party, began to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of every ſtate; thus partly by entreaty, partly by menaces, he ſoon levied a conſiderable army, and began to lay the province waſte: ſome cities freely ſent him ſupplies, whilſt others ſhut their gates againſt him; but if any of the latter happened to fall into his hands by aſſault; ſo little regard did he ſhew, even to his father's beſt friends, that if they were accounted rich, he quickly found an occaſion to cut them off, and diſtribute their effects amongſt his licentious followers. His ſoldiers meeting ſo good encouragement, their number was ſoon encreaſed; wherefore they that

that were in CÆSAR's intereſt, diſpatched frequent couriers into Italy, to demand his protection.

CÆSAR had now compleated his third dictatorſhip, was choſen a fourth time to the * ſame office; when making what haſte he could to diſpatch the war in Spain, after ſeveral days journey, he met the deputies from Cordova upon the road, who had deſerted from CN. POMPEY: they informed him, he might eaſily ſurpriſe their town by night, for the enemy, as yet, knew nothing of his arrival in the province, notwithſtanding they had diſpoſed ſcouts in every place, to bring them notice of it. Many other things they likewiſe propoſed, which appeared ſo feaſible, that CÆSAR immediately ſent his lieutenants Q. PEDIUS and Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS advice of his coming, and commanded them to attend him with all the cavalry in their province. He finiſhed his journey much ſooner than he expected, and when he came to the place of rendezvous, found his orders punctually performed.

Ulla beſieged by young Pompey.

SEXTUS POMPEY now commanded in chief at Cordova, with a ſtrong garriſon (for this they accounted the capital of the province) whilſt his elder brother inveſted Ulla, where he had been employed for ſome months. The beſieged having notice of CÆSAR's arrival, contrived to ſend meſſengers, to deſire he would immediately come to their aſſiſtance. CÆSAR remembering how faithful the people of Ulla had always been to the republick, about nine o' clock that night detached eleven cohorts, with a proportionable number of horſe to their relief, under the command of L. JULIUS PATIECUS, an experienced officer, who was well acquainted with the country. He happened to arrive at POMPEY's quarters, whilſt it rained ſo violently, and the wind blew ſo hard, it was difficult even to diſtinguiſh the next perſon to you; which was a very lucky opportunity, and as well improved; for PATIECUS, diſpoſing only two ſoldiers in a rank, made them march directly through the enemy's lines to the town: when CÆSAR's party was in the middle of the enemy's, and the queſtion aſked, Who went there? they made anſwer, "They had taken that occaſion to approach the walls, and ſtorm the town, therefore bid them be ſilent." Thus they got ſafe to the gates, where, upon the ſignal given, they were admitted; for part of SCIPIO's guards were prevented from doing their

Cæſar throws ſupplies into the town.

* PLUTARCH ſays he was conſul, not dictator, when he went into Spain.

duty

SPANISH WAR.

duty by the tempeſt, and the reſt were ſatisfied with the anſwer PACIECUS's ſoldiers made them. Having ſo luckily ſucceeded in this attempt, both horſe and infantry together, leaving a party within the town, made ſo vigorous a ſally upon the enemy, who knew nothing of their arrival, that the greateſt part of POMPEY's forces had much a-do to preſerve themſelves from being taken priſoners.

Cæſar beſieges Cordova, ſo obliges Pompey to quit Ulla.

This ſupply thrown into Ulla, CÆSAR, that he might oblige POMPEY to quit the ſiege, marched directly for Cordova, ſending a ſquadron of cavalry, and ſome ſelect heavy-armed foot before. So ſoon as this party arrived within ſight of the town, the infantry got up behind the troopers; which the people of Cordova could not obſerve; but when the enemy's horſe made a ſally to engage them, our foot leaping off horſe back, returned their charge ſo warmly, that out of a conſiderable number, but few returned again to the town. SEXTUS POMPEY was ſo frightened at this action, that he immediately wrote to his brother for relief, leſt CÆSAR ſhould take the place before he arrived. Thus CN. POMPEY, having almoſt rendered himſelf maſter of Ulla, on receipt of his brother's packet, was obliged to break up, and march with all his forces to Cordova.

CHAP. II.

* Bætis.

WHEN CÆSAR came to the banks of the * Guadalquiver, finding the river too deep to be forded, he cauſed baſkets full of ſtones to be ſunk, † whereon he erected a bridge over-againſt the town; which was ſupported by double beams, as we have already deſcribed, and having paſſed his army over it, divided them into three parties.

† The text is, *Ita inſuper ponte facto, copias ad caſtra tripartito tranſduxit. Tenebant adverſus Oppidum e regione Pontis trabes, ut ſupra ſcripſimus, bipartito.* To me theſe ſentences do not only ſeem corrupt, but tranſpoſed; for the very next period ſays, *Huc quum Pompeius cum ſuis copiis veniſſet, & ex adverſo parti ratione caſtra poſuit*; which appears to have a more immediate connexion with the laſt ſentence but one than the laſt; therefore I have taken the liberty of tranſlating them in that order. I have likewiſe converted *Pontis* into *Pontem*, which, in my opinion, is the more natural conſtruction of the two; for *tenebant* and *ſuſtinebant* ſignify the ſame thing in ſome places. That part, *Ut ſupra ſcripſimus*, probably may refer to CÆSAR's deſcription of the bridge over the Rhine: but I have already ſpoken more at large on that ſubject in my preface. Monſieur D'ABLANCOURT tranſlates, *Copias ad caſtra tripartito tranſduxit*, Paſſa à trois fois tout ſon armée. And had CÆSAR paſſed his army over in ferry-boats, that could only have held ſuch a number at a time, I ſhould ſubmit to his opinion: but I cannot conceive the neceſſity of making three paſſages when there was a bridge; therefore have rather choſe to apply the *tripartito* to *caſtra* than *tranſduxit*.

POMPEY

POMPEY likewiſe arriving at the ſame place, encamped directly oppoſite to him, diſpoſing his forces after the like manner.

Skirmiſhes between the two armies.

CÆSAR, that he might cut off POMPEY's communication with the town, and the eaſilier intercept his convoys, began to draw a line of communication to the bridge, and the enemy did the like; which occaſioned frequent ſkirmiſhes between the two armies, and various ſucceſs. At laſt greateſt part of each general's forces being drawn out, whilſt either endeavoured to maintain his poſt, the diſpute grew warm and dubious; for when the combatants approached the bridge, they wanted room to beſtir themſelves, and conſiderable numbers were thrown over into the river: Thus the loſs was equal on both ſides, for on both lay mountains of the ſlain. CÆSAR however frequently eſſayed all methods to bring POMPEY to an engagement on equal terms, that he might decide the war as ſoon as poſſible.

Cæſar marches to inveſt Ategua.

But obſerving, though he had obliged the enemy to remove, yet he could never perſuade them to accept of battle, he cauſed great fires to be made in the night, croſſed the river with all his forces, and marched to Ategua, one of their ſtrongeſt garriſons. POMPEY having notice of his decamping from the deſerters, retired the ſame day, with all his baggage and enſigns, through a narrow road to Cordova: But on advice that CÆSAR had began to inveſt Ategua, immediately marched to relieve it. CÆSAR, mean while, to compleat his lines, had erected ſeveral forts, part whereof were poſſeſſed by his horſe, part were to ſhelter his infantry, when they watched upon an out-guard. It happened, when POMPEY arrived, to be a very cloudy morning, which gave him an opportunity of ſurrounding ſome of our cavalry with a party of horſe and cohorts, who were cut almoſt every man of them to pieces.

Pompey arrives to relieve the place.

Pompey encamps between Ategua and Ucubis.

The following night, POMPEY having put fire to his camp, croſſed the river Salſus, and marching through the valleys, encamped upon a hill, between Ategua and Ucubis, whilſt CÆSAR was employed in carrying on his works, raiſing mounts, vines, and preparing all things neceſſary for the ſiege. The country hereabouts is mountainous, and proper to encamp in, for the river Salſus runs through the plain, about two miles diſtant from Ategua. POMPEY therefore took up his quarters between the two towns; his army conſiſted of twelve legions, of which

SPANISH WAR.

which number thoſe he moſt depended on were, the two Spaniſh legions that had deſerted from TREBONIUS; one levied amongſt the Roman colonies; and another that had formerly ſerved under AFRANIUS, which he brought along with him from Africk: as for the reſt, they were compoſed chiefly of deſerters or auxiliaries. But we were far ſuperior to him in light-armed foot and cavalry.

The nature of the place, the plenty of water and proviſions all the province abounded with, enabled POMPEY to prolong the war; nor were the numerous forts, which had been erected in all places remote from great towns, to prevent the excurſions of the natives, leſs aſſiſtant to him in this deſign: for they were not covered with tiles, but terras, as in Africk; and in them were ſentinels, which could deſcry any party from a conſiderable diſtance. Beſides, moſt of the cities in the farther Spain being built upon hills, fortified by nature, and difficult of acceſs, prevent an enemy's approaches, and could not eaſily be reduced; as plainly appeared in this war.

Whilſt the enemy lay between Ategua and Ucubis, within ſight of both places, CÆSAR had poſſeſſed himſelf of a certain eminence, called POSTHUMUS's camp, about four miles diſtant from his own quarters, whereon he had built a fortreſs. But POMPEY, who lay nearer the place, being covered by the very ſame ridge, obſerving it was remote from CÆSAR's camp, who he believed would be prevented from ſending relief thither by the river Salſus; about twelve at night began to inveſt the fort, that he might deliver Ategua from ſo troubleſome a neighbour. * When his party approached the place, ſetting up a ſudden ſhout, they caſt their darts with ſuch ſucceſs, they quickly wounded ſeveral of our men.

Pompey attacks a fort of Cæſar's, without ſucceſs.

But when we began to defend ourſelves, and CÆSAR, on notice of the action, approached with three legions to our relief, the enemy being ſurprized, many were killed or taken, others flung away their arms, that they might eaſilier make their eſcape; and when the diſpute was over, we found eighty ſhields they had left behind them. The next morning early arrived ARGUETIUS with a party of cavalry, and five colours he had taken from thoſe of Saguntum; but was obliged to quit his poſt by Aſprenas,

* The original indeed is, *Noſtri cum appropinquaſſent clamore repentino, telorumque multitudine jactus facere cœperunt*, &c. but it is palpably corrupt; for this action, as appears by the following ſentence, relates to POMPEY's men; therefore it ſhould either be *illi cum*, &c. or *noſtris cum appropinquaſſent.*

who

who came with another body of horſe from thence to CÆSAR. This night POMPEY decamped, and marched towards Cordova; but king INDUS, following their rear with too much ardour, was taken and killed by the Spaniards. The day following, our cavalry purſued a convoy that brought proviſions from Cordovo to POMPEY, for a conſiderable ſpace, and took fifty priſoners beſides horſes: the ſame day Q. MARCIUS, a tribune in POMPEY's army, deſerted to us; and that very night, about twelve o'clock, * the beſieged began to ſtorm our lines with great fury, caſting plenty of combuſtible matter within our trenches, either fixed to their darts, or conveyed ſome other way.

Pompey decamps; marches to Cordova.

This attempt being ended, C. FUNDANIUS, a Roman knight, came over to us; and the day after, two ſoldiers of the Spaniſh legions, being taken by our men, pretended themſelves to be ſervants, but were diſcovered by thoſe that had formerly ſerved under FABIUS and PEDIUS, to be deſerters from TREBONIUS, and were therefore put to death. About the ſame time, the couriers that were diſpatched from Cordova to POMPEY, miſtaking our camp for his, had their right-hands cut off, and were diſmiſſed. Mean while the beſieged, according to their uſual cuſtom, about nine o' clock at night, ſpent a conſiderable time in caſting darts and fire upon our ſoldiers; which wounded ſeveral of them; and by break of day ſallied out upon the ſixth legion, whilſt our forces were buſy about the works, and began a ſharp diſpute; but were repulſed with many wounds, by the virtue of our men, notwithſtanding the advantage of the higher † ground.

The beſieged in vain attempt to force Cæſar's lines.

The day after, POMPEY began to draw a line of communication from his camp to the river Salſus, and ſurprized a ſmall party of our horſe, who were obliged, after the death of three troopers, to give way to his ſuperior numbers. This day A. VALGIUS, a ſenator's ſon, whoſe brother was in POMPEY's camp, leaving all his baggage behind him, mounted his horſe, and went over to the enemy. One of POMPEY's ſpies, that belonged to the ſecond legion, being taken, was put to the ſword: but about the ſame inſtant POMPEY ſhot a bullet into Ategua with this inſcription, "The moment CÆSAR ſhould endeavour to ſtorm the town, he would come to their

* The text does not exactly agree with this, but can't be underſtood any other way.

† The next ſentence is exactly the ſame, only different in the manner of expreſſion; therefore I have left it out.

aſſiſtance."

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aſſiſtance": which put the beſieged in ſuch hopes, they aſcended their walls with leſs apprehenſions than before, and began to flatter themſelves, they might ¶ hold out. The day after they overthrew a conſiderable part of the outward ¶ rampier; the garriſon left by POMPEY to defend the place, took ſome of our ſoldiers priſoners, who had formerly deſerted from them, yet diſmiſſed them to deſire leave they might march out with their baggage. To which CÆSAR replied, "It was not his cuſtom to let the enemy chooſe their conditions, but impoſe them himſelf." When the beſieged received this anſwer, ſetting up a ſhout, they began to caſt ſhowers of darts upon our men, and attack us in our trenches, which made moſt people believe they would attempt to make an eruption: wherefore ſurrounding the town on every ſide, we engaged them very briſkly, plying them at the ſame inſtant with our engines, which killed five of their men in one turret, and a boy, whoſe buſineſs it was to obſerve our battery.

Pompey builds a fort on the other ſide the Salſus.

Some time after POMPEY erected a fort on the other ſide the Salſus, without meeting any oppoſition, and was not a little proud to think he had been able to effect ſuch a deſign, ſo near us. The day after, endeavouring to carry on his lines, ſome of his cavalry and light-armed foot encountered another party of our horſe, who were ſoon obliged to give ground, being inferior to the enemy in number, and wanting infantry to ſuſtain them. This action happened within view of both camps, and POMPEY, ſeeing his men purſue, was mightily puffed up with the ſucceſs: but our cavalry having retreated ſome paces, and being reinforced by a party of foot, faced about and renewed the fight with equal vigour. Such was the uſual way of fighting amongſt the cavalry of both armies; for whenever a trooper diſmounted to engage a foot-man, he found himſelf unequally matched, as appeared in the late action, when a ſelect number of light-armed infantry, on a ſudden attacked our horſe, who alighted to ſuſtain the charge. Thus, in a moment, from a horſe it became a foot ſkirmiſh; and again, from a foot, a horſe rencounter. Not far off our rampier was a conſiderable ſlaughter made; for on the enemy's ſide fell an hundred and twenty-three, ſeveral were diſarmed, and the reſt obliged to fly

A ſkirmiſh, where Pompey has the worſt.

* The text is not *Tenere*, but *Potiri*, which muſt of neceſſity be a corruption: but this book is ſo full of errors, I ſhall for the future give the reader and my ſelf no further trouble, than to mark ſuch places thus *

to

to their quarters; nor did we escape without loss, for we lost a hundred and eleven men upon the spot, besides twelve foot and five troopers wounded.

The garrison of Antegua put the townsmen to the sword.

The remainder of the day the garrison found us employment; but having cast many javelins, and a great deal of fire upon our men to no purpose, most inhumanly, before our eyes, they began to murder the townsmen, and cast them over the walls like Barbarians; such an action as has not been heard of since the memory of man. In the evening they privately sent an incendiary to set fire to our turrets and rampier, designing that night, about twelve, to make an eruption. Accordingly, having thrown plenty of darts, and consumed a considerable part of our rampier, opening that gate which fronted POMPEY's camp, they sally'd out with all their forces, bringing fascines along with them to fill up the ditches, hooks to destroy the barracks (which our men had covered with straw, to defend them from the cold) and fire to reduce them to ashes: so likewise, to amuse our soldiers, they brought all their effects along with them, that whilst we should be employed in seizing the plunder, they might fight their way through, and escape to POMPEY, who, expecting their arrival, watched with all his forces, in order of battle, on the other side the Salsus, to favour their retreat. But though they surprised us, yet depending on our virtue, we drove them back again with many wounds into the town, made ourselves masters of the spoil, their arms, and some prisoners, who were killed the day after.

Make another sally to no purpose.

The next day a deserter that came from Antegua informed us, JUNIUS was employed in the mine whilst the massacre happened amongst the inhabitants; ¶ but upon his return, severely reprimanded the soldiers for being guilty of so bloody, and ungrateful an action, to those that had received them into their houses, whereby they had violated the laws of hospitality; adding many things more to the like purpose, which put a stop for the future to such inhuman practices. The following day TULLIUS, with CATO the Portuguese, were sent embassadors to CÆSAR, who made him an oration to this effect: "We could heartily wish the immortal gods had so ordained, that we might have been your soldiers rather than POMPEY's; that we had given these proofs of our constancy in obtaining victories for you, rather than suffering for him; since being reduced to these misfortunes,

Deputies sent to treat of a surrender.

Their speech.

SPANISH WAR.

we can reap only doleful applauſes; for though Roman citizens, yet being now no longer able to defend ourſelves, the ¶ civil war will make us accounted enemies to the republick. It has been our hard deſtiny to ſerve a man, whoſe proſperity we ſhared not, nor have been able to aſſiſt him in his adverſity: in fine, having long ſuſtained the attack of ſo many legions, watching night and day to oppoſe your ¶ deſigns; being deſerted by POMPEY, and overcome by your ſuperior virtue, we have nothing left to depend on but your mercy: We conjure you therefore, not to ſhew leſs compaſſion to ſurrendering Romans, than you have for foreigners."

CÆSAR having diſpatched the embaſſadors, as T. TULLIUS entered the town, he perceived C. ANTONIUS did not follow him; wherefore, returning to the gate, he caught hold of him, which TIBERIUS taking notice of, cut off TULLIUS's hand, and ſo they both made their eſcape to CÆSAR. About the ſame time a ſtandard-bearer of the firſt legion came over, who informed us the day the engagement happened between the horſe, thirty-five of his company were killed: but they were not permitted to ſay they had loſt a ſingle man in POMPEY's camp. Not long after, a perſon that had left his wife and children in the town, and deſerted to CÆSAR, was murder'd by his ſlave, that made his eſcape to POMPEY; ¶ who, from his information, gave the beſieged an account, by a letter faſtened to a bullet, what preparations CÆSAR was making to defend his lines: the perſons, whoſe buſineſs it was to attend the coming of ſuch bullets, had no ſooner carried the letter into the town, but two Portugueſe brothers came over to CÆSAR, and gave him an account ¶ what POMPEY's packet contained: that, ſince he could not relieve them, he adviſed the beſieged privately to withdraw in the night towards the ſea: to which one made anſwer, 'twere more honourable to venture another engagement, than appear to fly; for which he was immediately killed. About the ſame time we intercepted ¶ one of their couriers that was carrying a packet to the town: CÆSAR delivered the letters to the inhabitants, and the meſſenger begging his life, had it granted, with promiſe of further reward, provided he ſet fire to the enemy's wooden turret; which could not be effected without imminent danger. However, he undertook the enterprize; but going to execute the deſign, was killed by the beſieged. The ſame night

Pompey's advice to the beſieged.

night a deſerter informed us, POMPEY and LABIENUS were very angry to hear the townſmen had been murdered. SPANISH WAR.

About nine o' clock at night, the enemy ſtormed a wooden turret of ours ſo vigorouſly, that the firſt, ſecond and third ſtory began to fall: whilſt others, at the ſame inſtant, attacked our trenches, and having a fair wind, ſet fire to the upper part of the ſame tower. The next morning a matron caſt herſelf over the wall, and came to our camp, reporting her whole family had the ſame deſign, but being apprehended, were put to death. And not long after a letter was found, wherein was thus written, L. MINUCIUS to CÆSAR: "If you will pardon my life, ſince I am deſerted by POMPEY, I will ſerve you with the ſame ſincerity I have done my duty to him." And at the ſame time the town ſent the former embaſſadors again to CÆSAR, deſiring only their lives, and they would deliver up the place the next day. To which he reply'd, "He was CÆSAR, and ſhould perform his word." Thus Ategua ſurrendered the nineteenth of February, and CÆSAR was ſaluted thereupon with the name of Emperor.

Another ineffectual ſally.

L. Minutius's letter to Cæſar.

Deputies ſent again.

Cæſar's anſwer.

The town ſurrenders.

CHAP. III.

POMPEY having notice from ſome deſerters, that the town had changed its maſter, removed nearer Ucubis, where he began to build fortreſſes, and contain himſelf within his lines. CÆSAR likewiſe decamped, and lodged as near him as he could. About this time we were informed by a Spaniſh legionary ſoldier, who deſerted to us, that POMPEY had aſſembled the inhabitants of Ucubis, and commanded them to make ſtrict enquiry after all male-contents. Not long after the ſlave that had murdered his maſter, being taken in a mine, was burned alive. During this time eight more ſoldiers of the Spaniſh legion came over to us: but a party of our horſe and light-armed infantry encountring another of the enemy, were worſted, and ſome of them wounded. This evening our ſcouts ſurprized three ſervants and ſome Spaniſh ſoldiers; the former were hanged, and the latter beheaded.

Pompey removes nearer Ucubis.

Cæſar follows him.

The day following, ſome of the enemy's cavalry and light-armed foot deſerted to us; at the ſame time about eleven of their horſe fell upon a party of our ſoldiers

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that were ſent out to fetch water, killed ſome, and took others priſoners; amongſt which number were eight troopers. The next morning POMPEY condemned ſeventy-four perſons to be beheaded for favouring CÆSAR's cauſe, and gave orders for ¶ apprehending others; but a hundred and twenty made their eſcape to CÆSAR.

Pompey condemns ſeveral to death, others eſcape to Cæſar.

Some time after, the deputies of Burſavola, whom CÆSAR had taken priſoners at Ategua, and ſent to acquaint their country what uſage they muſt expect from POMPEY, whoſe ſoldiers had maſſacred the inhabitants of Ategua, and committed ſeveral other outrages in their preſence, arrived at the town, attended by ſome Roman knights and ſenators of our party: but no body durſt enter, except thoſe that were natives of the place. In fine, after many meſſages carried backwards and forwards, as the deputies were retiring to our party, the garriſon purſued, and put them all to the ſword, except two that made their eſcape to CÆSAR. ¶ However, the inhabitants having ſent ſpies to Ategua, to learn the truth of the deputies report, and finding what they had told them confirmed, raiſed a tumult, and ſurrounding ¶ the governour, reſolved to ſtone him, for having cauſed the embaſſadors to be murdered: but ¶ at length he obtained his pardon, on condition he would go himſelf and make his peace with CÆSAR. Upon this pretence he was diſmiſſed; but having gathered a ſtrong party, was admitted into the gates by treachery in the night; made a dreadful ſlaughter amongſt the townſmen; and having cut off the chief men of the contrary party, again reduced the town into his power. When this affair was over, we were informed by ſome ſervants that deſerted, he had confiſcated the inhabitants goods, and permitted no body to ſtir out of the place but unarmed; for ſince Ategua was taken, ſeveral being frightened, and deſpairing of ſucceſs, had come over to ¶ us. But when any of ours deſerted, ¶ they met not with equal encouragement, for they were placed amongſt the light-armed infantry, and only received ¶ their pay.

The negotiation at Burſavola.

The deputies murdered.

The townſmen ſurround the governor; he narrowly eſcapes.

Returns and murders the inhabitants.

The day following CÆSAR removed his camp nearer POMPEY's, and began to draw a line to the river Salſus: but whilſt our men were employ'd about the works, a ſtrong party of the enemy's forces came pouring down from the higher ground upon them, and ¶ wounded ſeveral. Whereupon, ¶ contrary to their uſual cuſtom, they began to * retreat; which being obſerved, ſome centurions

Cæſar removes nearer to Pompey.

* Ut ait Ennius, noſtri ceſſere parumper.

of

of the fifth legion croſſed the river to ſuſtain them. The diſpute was carried on with great vigour; but one of the centurions having received many wounds from the darts that fell from the higher ground, expired: his fellow-officer, after his death, ſtill endeavoured to maintain his ground, till finding himſelf ſurrounded on every ſide, he began to ¶ retreat; but ſtumbling, multitudes of the enemy flocked about him. Yet they were quickly repulſed by our horſe, who obliged them to retreat to their rampier; but perſiſting with too much ardour, were intercepted by POMPEY's cavalry and light-armed foot. So, had they not behaved themſelves with the utmoſt gallantry, they had all been taken; for they were driven into ſo narrow a compaſs, they had hardly room enough to move their arms in. ¶ In this action were wounded ſeveral horſe and foot, amongſt the reſt CLODIUS AQUITIUS; but our party came off victorious, having only loſt the two centurions.

A skirmiſh: Cæſar's party get the better.

The day after both armies withdrawing from Saricaria, we continued our works: but POMPEY perceiving his communication with the fort of Aſpavia cut off, found himſelf obliged to fight: However, he did not proffer us battle upon equal terms, but drew up upon a hill, that he might have the advantage of the upper ground. Both armies therefore endeavouring to render themſelves maſters of a certain eminence, our men forced them to retire into the plain; which gained us the day: we made a dreadful ſlaughter amongſt them on every ſide, whilſt they fled before us, and were obliged to the next riſing ground, not to their courage, for preſervation. But had not the night befriended them, though inferior in number, ¶ we had certainly cut them all to pieces; for three hundred twenty-four of their light-armed infantry, and a hundred thirty-eight of their legionary ſoldiers, fell upon the place, not computing thoſe that were diſarmed. Thus the loſs of the two centurions, but the day before, was richly vindicated.

An action: Cæſar victorious.

The next day POMPEY's ¶ horſe, according to their uſual cuſtom, came towards our lines, for none but his cavalry durſt venture to draw up upon even ground. Hither they flocked in conſiderable numbers, whilſt our men were employed about the works, frequently calling upon our legionary ſoldiers, and provoking them to an engagement, ¶ deſigning, if we purſued, when they ſhould have drawn us ſome diſtance from the camp, to

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The combat between Turpio and Niger.

face about and give us battle: our men having advanced ſome paces beyond the valley they were poſted on, halted on a more ¶ equal place; whereupon the enemy did not think fitting to engage them. But ANTISTIUS TURPIO, one of their party, depending on his ſtrength, and thinking no perſon able to encounter him, ¶ profeſſed himſelf the champion of the cauſe: QUINTUS POMPEIUS NIGER, a Roman knight, born in Italy, ſoon accepted the challenge, and their meeting was not unlike that of * ACHILLES and MEMNON.

¶ Both armies being drawn out, their minds were wholly intent on the ſucceſs of the combatants, each impatiently expecting the fate of their champion. † The ¶ knights deſcended into the field with equal ſprightlineſs, armed with reſplendent ſhields; and they had certainly been parted, but for our ſoldiers, who had diſpoſed themſelves not far off, to prevent the deſigns of the enemy's horſe and light-armed infantry. When our men were retreating towards the lines, the enemy fell upon their rear with great fury: but, facing about, we returned their charge with ſuch vigour, they were obliged to retire to their camp, after having loſt ſeveral of their party. CASSIUS's horſe behaved themſelves ſo well on this occaſion, CÆSAR rewarded them with a preſent of thirteen thouſand ‡ ſeſterces; amongſt the light-armed foot he diſtributed ten thouſand more, and gave the captain of the party two golden chains. This day likewiſe A. BÆBIUS, C. FLAVIUS, and A. TREBELLIUS, all Roman knights of Aſta, came over to CÆSAR loaden with treaſure, reporting, all the Roman knights in POMPEY's army had agreed to do the like; but their deſign being diſcovered by a ſlave, were apprehended.

Not long after, we took a courier with this packet, From POMPEY to URSAON ¶: "Wiſhing you the ſame health we at preſent enjoy. This is to acquaint you, we have hitherto had all the ſucceſs we could deſire over the enemy, and ſhould put an end to the war ſooner than

* This citation, though trifling for an hiſtorian, is abundantly more pardonable than the former, where, in the midſt of an important deſcription, he quotes Ennius's authority for a common phraſe, which I have remarked in the foregoing page, *Ut ait Ennius, noſtri ceſſere parumper*; a way of writing by no means agreeable to the ſtate and gravity required in an hiſtorick ſtile.

† But whether got the victory, this careleſs author, or his more negligent tranſcribers, have left undetermined. Yet one would believe Niger had the better of it, becauſe Cæſar's men prevented their being parted.

‡ According to Mr. KENNET's computation, 1s. 3d. for I cannot ſuppoſe them to be in the neuter gender.

you

you could expect, provided they would but offer us battle upon equal terms. But they dare not bring their raw army into the plain, only prolong the war by the aſſiſtance of thoſe forts they have ſurprized. For removing from one country to another, they ſupply themſelves with corn. But we ſhall take care to cover thoſe ſtates under our protection, and decide the war as ſoon as poſſible. We deſign to ſend you ſome cohorts for your defence, and doubt not, but when we ſhall have intercepted the enemy's ſupplies, they will find themſelves obliged to fight."

Some time after, our men being careleſly diſperſed about the works, a party of our cavalry, that went to fetch wood, were killed by the enemy in a thicket of olives. This day came over ſeveral ſlaves, who informed us, that ever ſince the action on the fifth of March at Soritia, all POMPEY's army had been in continual apprehenſions, and ATEIUS VARUS had been appointed to ſurvey their lines. Immediately after, POMPEY removed, and encamped in an olive wood near Seville. But CÆSAR did not follow him till ¶ midnight, giving orders to the garriſon he had put into Ucubis, when it ſurrendered, to ſet fire to the town, and afterwards join the reſt of his army. VENTISPONTE ſurrendered to him by the way; from thence he marched to Carruca, and took up his quarters over-againſt POMPEY's: Who, ¶ before his arrival, had reduced the town to aſhes, becauſe the inhabitants refuſed him entrance. Here, apprehending a ¶ deſerter from our army, who had murdered his brother, we put him to death. Then purſued POMPEY to the plains of Munda, where we lodged directly oppoſite to him.

Pompey decamps; marches towards Seville.

Cæſar burns Ucubis, and follows him.

Purſues Pompey to the plains of Munda.

CHAP. IV.

THE day following, as CÆSAR deſign'd to march further, he had notice brought him, that POMPEY's army had been drawn out in order of battle a ¶ conſiderable time; for he intended to march towards Urſaon, to convince the inhabitants, as raw as his army was, he durſt venture to deſcend into the plains, notwithſtanding POMPEY's letter, which had given them ſo great hopes, and perſuaded them he had ſo much the advantage. However, ſo ſoon as he received this intelligence, he immediately gave the ſign of battle, though the enemy had the

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advantage of the ground, and were defended by the fortifications of Munda, near which they lay encamped; for, as we have already taken notice, ¶ the farther province is full of continued hills.

A deſcription of the place of action.

Here I muſt not omit to give an account what happened at this juncture. Between both armies lay a plain about five miles over; but POMPEY was defended, as well by the nature of the place he poſſeſſed, as the town, at the foot whereof began this valley, through which ran a river, that ſerved as well as the riſing ground to prevent our approach to the enemy; for on the right, overflowing its banks, it made a moraſs. CÆSAR doubted not in the leaſt but the enemy would meet him half way, becauſe the plain was within view of ¶ Munda. Beſides, having ¶ diſpoſed their cavalry on the lower ground, the day being ſerene, and the ſun ſhining bright, our ſoldiers began to rejoice, that the immortal gods had bleſſed them with ſo happy an opportunity; though ſome were uneaſy to think, how ſoon the fate of both parties ſhould be placed in the ballance of fortune. Thus we proceeded to give them battle, expecting they would do the like: ¶ But when we arrived within a thouſand paces of the town, the enemy did not think fitting to advance towards us, ſtill continuing cloſe by the walls. Wherefore we marched ſo near, that the equality of the ground might invite them to the engagement: nor was this ſufficient to entice them from the mountains; where they continued till our men, arriving at the river, made a halt.

The diſpoſition of both armies.

Their army conſiſted of thirteen legions; their wings were lined with cavalry and ſix thouſand light-armed foot, beſides as many auxiliaries. But we had only eighty cohorts, and eight thouſand horſe. Thus when we arrived at the extream part of the valley, the enemy ſtood ready on the higher ground, to prevent our further progreſs. Which CÆSAR obſerving, that his raſhneſs might not draw his ſoldiers into an inconvenience, he cauſed a mark to be made, beyond which they were not permitted to paſs; which reſtraint rendered them more eager. This pauſe likewiſe made the enemy more inclinable to engage, whilſt they fancied our men were afraid of them: wherefore ¶ deſcending a few paces from the higher ground, they gave us an opportunity of coming at them, though not without danger: however, our men, ſetting up a ſhout, began the charge.

The

The tenth legion, according to CÆSAR's uſual cuſtom, was placed in the right; the third and fifth, with the auxiliaries and horſe, in the left: the diſpute was maintained with great obſtinacy on both ſides; for though they had the advantage of the ground, yet we were ſuperior in virtue: however, ſo great was the noiſe, ſo dreadful the concourſe, ſo thick flew the darts, that our ſoldiers began to deſpair of victory; for the enemy returned our firſt charge, which is uſually of greateſt conſequence in a battle, with equal vigour. ¶ The fight had continued dubious for ſome time, when a ſhower of javelins, from our ſide, made a dreadful ſlaughter amongſt POMPEY's forces. Whereupon the tenth legion, which we have already obſerved, were poſted in the right, put the ¶ enemy's left wing into a great diſorder, and obliged them to give ground, till another legion detached from the ¶ right of their army, came to ſuſtain them, and prevent their being ſurrounded. Mean while our cavalry in the left, laying hold of this opportunity, charged the enemy's right ſo briſkly, they left no buſineſs on that ſide for any body elſe to do. The ſhouting of the ſoldiers, intermingled with groans, and the claſhing of arms, did not a little terrify our new levies; for here, as * ENNIUS ſays, they ſet foot to foot, and arm to arm. But at length, after a vigorous reſiſtance, the enemy gave ground, and ¶ retired to the town: thus the moſt couragious of their men being broken, and obliged to fly, had not preſerved themſelves, but that they eſcaped to the place they came from. † In this action POMPEY loſt near thirty thouſand men, amongſt which number were LABIENUS and ATTIUS VARUS, whoſe funerals were celebrated after the battle: beſides three thouſand Roman knights, part of Rome, part of the province. We took all their eagles, ſeveral other enſigns, and POMPEY's faſces, with ſeventeen general officers. Whereas on our ſide were only a thouſand, part horſe, part infantry, killed, and five hundred wounded.

The battle begins.

Pompey defeated.

CHAP. V.

SUCH was the event of this battle; they who eſcaped retired into Munda, which obliged us to draw a line of

Munda inveſted.

* The ſecond time he has cited ENNIUS.

† PLUTARCH and APPIAN give a different account of this battle, and tell us, CÆSAR was never before engaged in ſo dangerous an action; here he uſed to ſay he fought for life, in other places for victory.

circum-

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circumvallation about the town. We made uſe of the enemies dead bodies inſtead of turves, their ſhields and javelins heaped ſupplied the place of a rampier; round about were fixed the heads of the deceaſed on ſwords and daggers, to ſtrike the greater terror into the beſieged, ¶ and let them ſee the rewards they were to expect for their obſtinacy. ¶ The management of this ſiege was committed to the Gauls, who having thus compleated their lines, began to aſſault the town with darts and javelins.

Valerius eſcapes to Cordova, acquaints the younger Pompey with the defeat, who thereupon quits the town.

Young VALERIUS, having made his eſcape with a few cavalry, retired to Cordova; where he acquainted SEXTUS POMPEY with the melancholy news: who thereupon immediately divided what ready money he had ¶ amongſt the horſe, and pretending he was going to treat with CÆSAR concerning a peace, about nine o' clock the ſame night left Cordova. Mean while his elder brother, with a ſmall party of cavalry and foot, made the beſt of his way towards his navy, which lay at Carteia, a town about a hundred and ſeventy miles diſtant from Cordova. When he was arrived within eight miles of the place, he ſent P. CALVITIUS, the marſhal of his camp, before, to fetch a litter to carry him to the town, becauſe he found himſelf indiſpoſed. His orders were obeyed, and when he entered Carteia, ſeveral of his friends attended him, privately to enquire about the ſtate of affairs. But the whole town ſoon flocking about him, ¶ he found himſelf obliged to acquaint them with the truth of the matter, and truſt to their fidelity.

The elder Pompey flies to Carteia.

Cæſar marches to Cordova.

The battle being over, and the lines about Munda compleated, CÆSAR marched towards Cordova, where part of the enemy's forces that eſcaped the ſlaughter, had poſſeſſed themſelves of a bridge. When we arrived there, they mocked us, becauſe our number was but inconſiderable; demanding, whither we deſigned to fly? as if we had been the army defeated. Thus they began to oppoſe our paſſage; but CÆSAR having croſſed the river, encamped on the other ſide. SCAPULA, who had levied the freedmen and ſeditious, eſcaping to Cordova, called his followers about him, cauſed a funeral pile to be erected, and adorned with his richeſt garments; then ordered a ſumptuous ſupper to be prepared: which being ended in good time, he diſtributed what money he had amongſt his attendants: and having plenty of frankincenſe and ſpikenard with him, ¶ aſcended the pile, commanding a freed-man, his catamite,

Scapula's death.

catamite, to diſpatch him, and another to put fire to the ſtack.

Mean while there aroſe ſo loud a contention amongſt the beſieged, whilſt ſome were for POMPEY, others for CÆSAR, that the noiſe was heard even into our camp. Some of the forces in garriſon conſiſted of vagabonds, and the townſmen's ſlaves, whom POMPEY had enfranchiſed; who immediately on CÆSAR's arrival, ¶ were for ſurrendering; but the thirteenth legion made a vigorous defence; ¶ for part of their turrets being beaten down, they ſtill aſcended the walls. At length the inhabitants ſent to deſire CÆSAR would grant them a party for the defence of the town; whereupon the garriſon began to ſet fire to their houſes, but were beaten by our men, and twelve thouſand of them killed upon the ſpot, not computing thoſe that fell without the walls. Thus CÆSAR rendered himſelf maſter of Cordova; and whilſt he was employed here, the beſieged at Munda made a vigorous ſally, but were repulſed into the town again with conſiderable loſs.

A diſſention in the town.

The inhabitants demand a guard of Cæſar.

Cæſar gains the town.

This affair diſpatched, CÆSAR marched towards Seville; but deputies met him upon the road, and humbly beſought he would pardon the town; which he condeſcended to, and ſent lieutenant CANINIUS thither with a garriſon. POMPEY's forces within the town, taking it ill that CÆSAR's ſhould be admitted, privately diſpatched one PHILO, a ſtanch aſſertor of his party's intereſt, to Portugal, where he was well known, ¶ to pray aſſiſtance from CÆCILIUS NIGER, ſirnamed the Barbarous, who lay encamped there, near Lenius, with a conſiderable number of the natives. Being privately received into the town at his return, he put the ſentinels and garriſon to the ſword, ſhut the gates, and began to defend the place.

Cæſar marches to Seville; which ſurrenders.

The town recovered by a plot.

Mean time arrived deputies from Carteia, who, to attone for having ſhut their gates againſt CÆSAR, now brought him word they had ſecured POMPEY. The Portugueſe, all that while, obſtinately ¶ held out; which CÆSAR obſerving, leſt deſpair might make them ſet fire to the city, and demoliſh the walls, if beſieged too cloſely, held a council that night about the matter; wherein it was reſolved, the garriſon ſhould be ſuffered to make an eruption, yet the buſineſs ſo ordered, it might not appear deſign. Accordingly, the Portugueſe, having forced

Carteia ſends deputies to acquaint Cæſar they had ſeized Cn. Pompey.

Cæſar regains Seville.

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forced their way to the river Bætis, put fire to our ſhips that rode at anchor there, and whilſt we were employed in extinguiſhing the flame, made their eſcape; but were afterwards purſued by our cavalry and cut to pieces. Thus CÆSAR having recovered Seville, marched towards Aſta; which ſent embaſſadors to meet him, and deliver the keys of their town. Whilſt theſe affairs were tranſacting, Munda having long been cloſely beſieged, ſeveral who had eſcaped thither out of the battle, deſerted to us, and were diſtributed amongſt our troops; but before they came over, the beſieged and they had agreed upon a certain ſignal to be given in the night, when they within the walls were to make a vigorous ſally, whilſt the deſerters did what execution they could in the camp. The plot being diſcovered, the next night about twelve o'clock, the ¶ ſoldiers were ordered to caſt lots for their lives, and all the officers were put to death without the rampier.

Aſta ſurrenders.

The conſpiracy of Pompey's party at Munda detected.

CHAP. VI.

CÆSAR took in all the towns as he march'd along, which now deſerted POMPEY, who was ¶ employed at this time in quieting an inſurrection at Carteia; for only part of the town conſented to the ſending of deputies to CÆSAR, one half ſtill remained in POMPEY's intereſt: after a warm diſpute he made ¶ himſelf maſter of the gate, and having received ſome wounds, ſecured his retreat to his thirty gallies, ſo eſcaped. But DIDIUS, who commanded a ſquadron of CÆSAR's ſhips at Cales, on notice of his weighing anchor, immediately put out to ſea after him; having firſt ordered ſeveral horſe and foot to embark, in caſe there ſhould be occaſion to purſue by land. He had already chaſed their gallies four days, when the enemy, who hoiſted ſail without neceſſary proviſions, found themſelves obliged to put into land for freſh water: mean while arrived DIDIUS, burnt ſeveral of their ſhips, and took the reſt.

A ſedition at Carteia: Pompey is wounded, and narrowly eſcapes: Is purſued by Didius, and killed.

Pompey lands; his ſhips taken and burned.

POMPEY thus reduced, fled for ſhelter to a place fortified by nature; but our horſe and infantry, who were put on board for that particular ſervice, having ſent their ſcouts before, purſued day and night without intermiſſion. POMPEY had been dangerouſly wounded at ¶ Carteia in his

He is purſued

his ſhoulder and left leg; beſides, he had put his ankle out of joint, which prevented his making ſpeedy journies; for he was forced to be carried in a litter. However, ¶ the better to diſguiſe himſelf, he had put on the habit of a Portugueſe ſoldier; but being found out by CÆSAR's party, they quickly ſurrounded the ¶ place where he was, with their foot and cavalry: the poſt was difficult of acceſs, for the moment he perceived himſelf diſcovered, he gained an eminence, which a few ſoldiers were able to defend againſt a more conſiderable number: thus our men were repulſed by their darts, and eagerly purſued by the enemy when they endeavoured to retreat. ¶ DIDIUS perceiving his party had frequently attempted the hill to no purpoſe, reſolved to draw a line about the place, that he might encounter them upon equal terms: ¶ he had already began his works, when they, perceiving his deſign, betook themſelves to flight.

Cn. Pompey killed in a cave, his head ſent to Cæſar.

POMPEY, as we have already obſerved, being lame and wounded, was not able to keep pace with the reſt, for the deſcent was ſo ſteep, no horſe or litter could carry him down. Our forces having driven the enemy from the upper ground, dealt deſtruction on every ſide: CN. POMPEY, having deſcended into the valley, had hid himſelf in a cave, that he might be ſecure; but being betrayed by the priſoners, our ſoldiers put him to the ſword. His head was preſented to CÆSAR on the twelfth of April, as he marched to Seville, and there * expoſed to the view of the people.

Didius's encounter with the Portugueſe; his death.

DIDIUS being proud of this ſucceſs, retreated to a neighbouring caſtle, cauſing ſome of his veſſels to be hauled on ſhore to be refitted. Mean while the Portugueſe, who had eſcaped from the battle of Munda, rallying in a conſiderable body, marched againſt him. ¶ Omitting nothing for the preſervation of his fleet, he ſometimes found himſelf obliged to ſally from his caſtle, to put a ſtop to the enemy's excurſions. This occaſioned daily ſkirmiſhes between them; but at laſt the Portugueſe, dividing their forces into three parts, ordered one to put fire to the ſhips, ¶ another to receive our charge, and diſpoſed the third in ambuſcade. When DIDIUS marched out with his forces to engage them, immediately on a ſignal given, the gallies were ſet on fire, and whilſt

The ambuſcade.

* Which does not well agree with APPIAN's account, who ſays CÆSAR cauſed his head to be buried.

our

SPANISH WAR.

our men purſued the enemy, they were attacked from behind. Here DIDIUS behaved himſelf with ſignal bravery, and was attended by the greateſt part of his followers to the other world. Some few that had the good fortune to eſcape the ſlaughter, leaped into the boats that lay neareſt the ſhore, whilſt others made to the gallies by ſwimming, and weighing anchor, immediately put out to ſea; which preſerved their lives, but the Portugueſe got all their baggage.

CHAP. VII.

WHILST this buſineſs was in tranſaction, CÆSAR returned from Cales to Seville. Mean while FABIUS MAXIMUS, whom he had left to carry on the ſiege of Munda, having cloſely blocked up the town, had frequent ſkirmiſhes with the garriſon; ¶ but at laſt attempting to force their way through our fortifications, many loſt their lives, and the reſt were taken priſoners. Our men laid hold of this occaſion, to render themſelves maſters of the town; from whence they marched directly to Urſaon. This place was equally fortified by art and nature, and beſides the advantage of its ſituation, no water except that within the walls, was to be had at leſs than eight miles diſtance: nor were materials to be met with for building turrets nearer than ſix miles off; for * POMPEY, to render the place more ſecure, had taken care to fell all the timber round the country; which obliged our men to ſupply themſelves with neceſſaries of that kind from Munda.

Fabius Maximus takes Munda: Thence marches to Urſaon.

Thus ſtood affairs at Munda and Urſaon, when CÆSAR, the day after his arrival at Seville, aſſembled the inhabitants, and made an oration to this effect:

Cæſar at Seville.

His ſpeech.

" When firſt I entered on the office of treaſurer, yours was the province that determined my choice; which I obliged with all the friendly ſervices in my power. When I was choſen prætor, I prevailed with the ſenate to remit the tribute MARCELLUS had impoſed upon you, undertook your protection, promoted ſeveral laws for your advantage, and publickly aſſerted as well the intereſt of your country in general, as all its natives in particular; which created me many enemies: nor did I forget to con-

* The younger brother, who, as I ſuppoſe, was in the town.

tinue

tinue the ſame favours, after my election to the conſulat. But you, ungratefully forgetting all theſe benefits, have twice waged war againſt me and the common-wealth: Nay, though you were well acquainted with the Roman cuſtoms, have, like Barbarians, violated the law of nations, by twice aſſaſſinating the ſacred perſon of a magiſtrate, and attempting to murder CASSIUS in the publick market-place, even at noon-day. So rebellious have you always been, that the republick is continually forced to be at the expence of keeping an army on foot in your country, to keep you in obedience; whilſt you miſconſtrue good turns for bad, ill offices for good: thus you have neither given proofs of a quiet temper in peace, nor conſtancy in war. CNEIUS POMPEY, though a youth, a private gentleman, found reception amongſt you, and here uſurped imperial pomp. After the defeat of ¶ his party in Africk, here he raiſed recruits againſt the common-wealth, and at your own deſire laid your province waſte. But ſuppoſe you had defeated me, what could that have availed you, whilſt the Roman people had ſtill ten legions left, who are not only able to ſubdue the farther Spain, but all the earth beſide? *Quorum laudibus & virtute*". SPANISH WAR.

Deſunt reliqua.

FINIS.

THE

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